

**UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA**

**POLITICS AND THE GHANA SCHOOL FEEDING PROGRAMME IN THE GA  
WEST AND EFFUTU MUNICIPALITIES**



**EBENEZER TEYE AMANOR-LARTEY**

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A THESIS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION,  
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(SOCIAL STUDIES) DEGREE.

APRIL, 2018

## DECLARATION

### STUDENT'S DECLARATION

I, Ebenezer Teye Amanor-Lartey declare that this thesis, with the exception of quotations and references contained in published works which have all been identified and acknowledged, is entirely my own original work, and it has not been submitted, either in part or whole for another degree elsewhere

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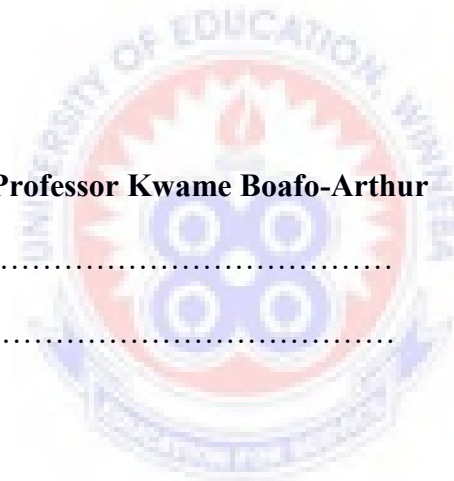
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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this work to the lovely and ever beautiful partner of mine, my wife, Jennifer A. Amanor-Lartey (Nee: Akuoko), my son, EdJohn Padi Amanor-Lartey, and my daughters Eden Padikie Amanor-Lartey and Keilah Padikuor Amanor-Lartey.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

ADRA	Adventist Development Relief Agency
AU	African Union
CAADP	Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Programme
CRS	Catholic Relief Services
DA	District Assembly
DCE	District Chief Executive
DDF	District Disability Fund
DFID	Department for International Development
DIC	District Implementation Committee
EFA	Education For All
EMA	Effutu Municipal Assembly
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization
FBO	Farm Based Organizations
FCUBE	Free Compulsory and Universal Basic Education
FFE	Food for Education
GPRS	Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy
GSFP	Ghana Schools Feeding Programme
GWMA	Ga West Municipal Assembly
GYEEDA	Ghana Youth Employment and Entrepreneurship Agency
GYEEDA	Ghana Youth in Entrepreneurship and Employment Development Agency
HIC	High-Income Countries
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Country

HTFI	Hunger Task Force Initiative
ILO	International Labour Organization
LEAP	Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty
LIC	Low-Income Countries
MCE	Municipal Chief Executive
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MGSP	Ministry of Gender and Social Protection
MIC	Municipal Implementation Committee
MLGRD	Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development
MLGRDE	Ministry of Local Government Rural Development and Environment
MMDCE	Metropolitan/Municipal/District Chief Executive
MOESS	Ministry of Education, Science and Sports
MOFA	Ministry of Food and Agriculture
MOH	Ministry of Health
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MOWAC	Ministry of Women and Children Affairs
NEPAD	New Partnership for African Development
NGO	Non-governmental organizations
NHIS	National Health Insurance Scheme
NSPS	National Social Protection Strategy
NYEP	National Youth Employment Programme
PAMSCAD	Programme of Action to Mitigate the Social Cost of Adjustment
PSC	Programme Steering Committee

PTA	Parents' Teacher Association
RCC	Regional Coordinating Councils
RCO	Regional Coordinating Office
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SDA	Social Dimensions of Adjustment
SFP	School Feeding Programme
SIC	School Implementation Committees
SLB	Street-Level Bureaucrat
SMC	School Management Committee
SNV	Dutch Development Agency
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
SSNIT	Social Security and National Insurance Trust
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations International Children Emergency Fund
WFP	World Food Programme



## ABSTRACT

This study sought to examine the institutional politics around the implementation of the Ghana School feeding Programme (GSFP). The aim of the study was to examine the effects of politics on the implementation of the GSFP in the Ga West and Effutu Municipalities of the Greater Accra and Central Regions respectively. The study adopted qualitative research methodology and purposive sampling was used to select 63 respondents. The research instrument used for data collection was an interview guide containing key questions of interest to the study.

The study found that there was stakeholder collaboration in the implementation of the GSFP. The structures vital to the implementation of the school feeding programme at the District level such as the District Implementation Committees and the School Implementation Committees were not functioning to expectation in the Effutu Municipality whilst they were functioning better in the Ga West Municipality. From the analysis, the first two objectives of the GSFP had been met to a large extent in both Municipalities. The third objective had, however, not been achieved in both Municipalities. Also, the level of community participation varied in the two Municipalities. The Ga West Municipality had some appreciable level of participation whilst the Effutu Municipality had very little community involvement.

From the results, I argued that the District level structures should be strengthened to better supervise the Ghana School Feeding Programme. I recommend that validation and sensitization workshops should be organized to get the beneficiary communities involved in the implementation of the GSFP at the district levels. There should be a district level procurement agency to buy foodstuffs grown locally from the local farmers and sell to the caterers in order to boost local agriculture and local economy.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.0 Background to the Study

The development of every nation hinges on the human capital which is always the product of its educational system. Over the years, there have been several interventions by governments to make sure that education is at its best in the country. There have been several educational reforms and policies which aimed at, among other things, increasing enrolment, attendance and improving retention. Such interventions in the educational sector include free education, student loan scheme, scholarship schemes, FCUBE and capitation grant among others. One of the recently introduced educational policies is the Ghana School Feeding Programmes (GSFP).

As early as the 1930s, countries such as the United States and the United Kingdom had implemented school feeding programmes to improve children's health. School children were fed a meal or a snack at school. As a social safety net, Food for Education (FFE) programmes have also gained popularity among political leaders and policy makers in developing countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. School feeding is the provision of food to school children. School feeding has been classified into two main groups based on their modalities: in-school feeding, where children are fed in school and take-home rations, where families are given food if their children attend school (Bundy, Burbano, Grosh, Gelli, Jukes and Drake, 2009). School feeding has been recognized as an effective programme that alleviates hunger while supporting education, health and community development. It is suggested that:

School feeding programs are often used for social protection purposes as much as or more than for education goals. The programs provide an explicit or implicit transfer to households of the value of the food distributed, with the value of the transfer varying significantly from in-school snacks at the lower end and large take-home rations at the upper end of the spectrum (Bundy et al., 2009, p. 13).

Bundy et al. (2009) emphasized that school feeding has the overall objective of providing a productive safety net as part of the response to the social shocks of the current global crises, and a fiscally sustainable investment in human capital as part of long-term global efforts to achieve Education For All (EFA) and provide social protection for the poor.

School feeding has been identified by the World Food Programme (WFP) in a study, as a versatile safety net that can be used as a platform to support children and their families in a variety of contexts:

At the onset of an emergency, school feeding can be used to get food to affected communities. For example, in the aftermath of the 2004 Tsunami in South East Asia, WFP used schools to deliver food to those in the most affected areas.

During economic shocks, such as those related to increasing global food prices, or during protracted crises such as drought, famine, civil war, school feeding can be an effective safety net to reinforce livelihoods and prevent those affected from adopting negative coping strategies. School feeding is currently being used in this way in many countries, including Haiti, Liberia, Pakistan and Senegal.

Finally, if linked with local purchases, school feeding can increase the incomes of small-scale farmers and stimulate local development (WFP, 2007a).

School feeding programme is not new in Ghana. There is a long history of school feeding programmes in Ghana. The World Food Programme (WFP) (2007a) points to the fact that, in the 1950s, pupils of several Catholic primary and middle

schools in the country were given take-home food aid rations. The objective of the school feeding then, was to improve the nutritional status of school children, increase school enrolment and improve retention. The programme was in line with government policy of accelerating the education and training of Ghanaians to fill job vacancies created by foreigners who had to leave the country after independence (WFP, 2007b).

Over the years, the World Food Programme (WFP) and the Catholic Relief Services (CRS) were the two lead agencies executing School Feeding Programmes (SFPs) in the country. They focused their activities in the northern part of the country due to the high incidences of poverty and food insecurity. The WFP has been involved in school feeding in Ghana for over 40 years. Later, the World Vision, Adventist Development Relief Agency (ADRA) and the Dutch Development Agency (SNV) joined the cohort of development agencies and partners involved in School Feeding Programmes (SFP).

The WFP (2007a) in its study, points out that the GSFP started on a pilot basis in 2005 from September to December, in ten districts, one from each of the ten regions, and was intended to last for five years. The GSFP is explained by the WFP to have been born as a result of the New Partnership for African Development/Hunger Task Force Initiative (NEPAD/HTFI) under the auspices of the Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP) of the African Union (AU). Ghana was selected as one of the initial countries in sub-Saharan Africa to pilot the programme. Funding for the programme was to be equally provided by the Government of Ghana and NEPAD. The Ghana government ended up providing full funding due to delays in the release of funds from NEPAD.

After the pilot phase of half-year, the programme was scaled up to two schools per district in 2006. At the end of December 2006, the programme was in 598 schools with a total pupil population of 234,800 followed by further extension of the programme in March 2007 to 975 schools covering 408,989 kindergarten and primary pupils. By the end of the first quarter of 2007, the GSFP had already surpassed the 2007 year-end target of 889 schools and 320,000 school children. By 2010 the GSFP covered not more than 6 selected schools in each of the 170 districts, catering for over 1,040,000 of the school pupils nation-wide. The school feeding programme was made a national programme for public basic schools throughout Ghana after the pilot programme yielded the expected results. Currently, the GSFP covers about 25% of all public basic schools across the country.

The GSFP is intended to be a home-grown programme making use of locally produced foodstuff which was a departure from what had been in existence since school feeding was introduced in Ghana. The GSFP launched in September, 2005 had the intermediate objectives to:

- Increase school enrolment, attendance and retention
- Reduce hunger and malnutrition
- Boost domestic food production (GSFP, 2011, p. 1).

By achieving these objectives, the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) concerning the reduction of hunger would have been achieved.

In the longer term, the government of Ghana through the GSFP seeks to address the following problems:

- i. poverty that generally affects households and communities and has a bigger impact on children, particularly those under 5 years of age;
- ii. hunger, particularly short-term hunger in children, including those under 5 years of age;
- iii. malnutrition in children and rural households that results in stunting, wasting, and poor health, including higher incidence of infections and reduced access to opportunities to escape poverty altogether;
- iv. food insecurity that reinforces poverty in rural households and reduces the capacity of children to take advantage of the opportunities provided through education to improve their chances of escaping poverty;
- v. low enrolment rate, attendance and retention due to short-term hunger and poverty, among other reasons. (WFP, 2007b, p. 16)

The target of the GSFP is children in deprived public primary schools and kindergartens. Such pupils would be served one hot and nutritious meal a day prepared from locally grown foodstuff.

## **1.1 Statement of Problem**

The Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP) has been implemented since 2005. It is therefore important to look into the dynamics of the factors that have influenced the implementation of such a national programme. Central to this study is the role of politics in all its forms in the implementation of the Ghana Schools Feeding Programme (GSFP) in the Ga West and Effutu Municipalities of Ghana. The GSFP has been saddled with many issues that are affecting the effective implementation of the programme. Some of those issues include a lack of co-ordination between implementing institutions, interference from government officials at the district levels in the running of the programme, non-payment of caterers, sub-standard food served to pupils, among others. Beneficiary communities, schools and civil society have raised various concerns about the inefficiencies in the implementation of the GSFP resulting in the ineffectiveness of the programme as a whole.

The issue of politics has not been accorded a significant role in thinking and policy-making around social protection in sub-Saharan Africa. Bundy, et al. (2009) argue that the dominance of economics in the field of social protection has encouraged a more technocratic focus on the subject, thus overlooking the key role of politics and political economy in raising and shaping this agenda. The dilemma then, is what else apart from politics can explain the radical expansion of social protection schemes in the developing world?

Explanations for the relative absence of formal social protection systems and programmes in Sub-Saharan African countries tend to suggest that the key problem is simply a lack of financial and administrative capacity. However, there is growing

evidence that „politics“ plays a more central role in shaping social protection initiatives than has hitherto been recognized. Chitonge (2012), suggests that, lack of political “commitment, weak institutional capacity ... are the real barriers to expanding social protection in the region. Social protection schemes and programmes are ever growing in poor countries where the proportion of those living in poverty is rising” (p. 324). The African Union Commissioner on Social Affairs pointed out that cost is not the major factor for not establishing social protection and transfer programmes in Africa. To him, social protection programmes are affordable if political will exists (Chitonge, 2012).

The design and implementation of a successful social protection programme requires political will, domestic ownership and a broad-based consensus or „social contract“. Decisions about the implementation of social protection are political and deeply embedded in a political environment (Giovannetti, de Haan and Sabates-Wheeler, 2011, p. 445). Social protection in the developing world cannot be implemented as „stand-alone“ policies. There is the need to integrate and contextualize these social protection policies in the broader socio-economic and most especially, political agenda of countries. This study therefore, seeks to investigate the role of politics in the implementation of the GSFP.

This study goes beyond national politics and investigates the institutional politics and stakeholder interactions at the grassroots levels in the implementation process. Institutional politics has proven to be very vital to the success or failure of any public policy. In the case of the GSFP, there are several actors in the implementation process. The supervising ministry is the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development with the collaborating partners being the Ministries of Education, Food



and Agriculture, Health, Gender and Social Protection, Finance and Economic Planning, the District Assemblies and the development partners. The implementing unit is the Ghana School Feeding Programme Secretariat. Institutional politics and capacity go a long way in determining the extent to which a public policy succeeds. There is the need for effective policy design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, which are all embedded in the „politics“ of the institutions involved. Design of most policies of the government has always been centralized, but implementation has to be decentralized. Capacity is therefore needed at the decentralized levels for effective transmission of such policies on the ground.

In the case of the GSFP, there are lots of institutions as stated above. The „intra“ and „inter“ organizational dynamics come to play in situations where multiple state institutions are involved in the implementation process of the policy. The „intra“ and „inter“ organizational dynamics go a long way in determining the success or otherwise of public policies. In the case of the GSFP, these several state institutions and the politics involved would have an impact on the effectiveness of the implementation of the programme. Where different ministries and levels of government implement specific forms of public policy, there can be duplication and overlap, possibly resulting in gaps in coverage and poor institutional coordination (Giovannetti et al., 2012, p. 444).

The central problem driving this study, therefore, is to study the nature and role of institutional politics in the process of implementing the Ghana School Feeding Programme.

## **1.2 Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this research is to examine the effects of politics on the implementation of the Ghana School Feeding Programme. The aim of this research is to explore the various forms of politics that affect the implementation of the Ghana School Feeding Programme in the Ga West and the Effutu Municipalities of the Greater Accra and the Central Regions respectively.

## **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

The objectives of this study are to:

- i. Explore the role of institutional politics in the implementation of the GSFP.
- ii. Establish whether the GSFP has been implemented to achieve its objectives in the Districts of study.
- iii. Examine how community participation is integrated into the implementation of the GSFP.
- iv. Examine the contributions of the stakeholders in the feeding programme to the implementation process at the district level

## **1.4 Research Questions**

The study sought to find answers to these questions:

- i. How is institutional politics affecting the implementation of the School Feeding Programme in Ghana?
- ii. How has the GSFP as implemented achieved its objectives?
- iii. How is community participation integrated into the implementation process of the school feeding programme?

- iv. How are stakeholders involved in the implementation process of the feeding programme at the district level?

### **1.5 Significance of the Study**

This study provides empirical evidence of the role of institutional politics in the implementation of public social intervention policies in Ghana. This study focuses on the Ghana School Feeding Programme and the various „politics“ that influence the implementation of the policy. Researched works available on the implementation of the school feeding programme usually discusses politics at the national level and how it influences the implementation process.

This study will add to the store of researched work on the Ghana School Feeding Programme. The study assesses the implementation process and investigates the contributions of the stakeholders in the feeding programme to the implementation process at the district level. Thus the research findings will serve as a reference point for District Assemblies in the implementation of the Ghana School Feeding Programme. It unearthed the challenges that the programme faces in relation to the structures that are to function to ensure efficient implementation process.

### **1.6 Delimitation**

This study was delimited to the Effutu and Ga West Municipalities. The selection of these two (2) study areas was based on the fact that according to the UNICEF Poverty league table, both Municipalities scored 60 points and both municipalities fall in the middle section of the poverty league tables for districts in Ghana (UNICEF, 2014). These municipalities had some common characteristics which

served as basis for comparison. Both municipalities had a lot of rural communities with schools benefiting from the school feeding programme. Such rural communities are predominantly farming communities and this commonality between the two municipalities presented another area that was of significant interest to the study. The GSFP being a home grown one, was to benefit the local economy. An assessment of the home grown policy comparatively was important in order to assess the achievement of the objectives of the SFP.

This study was also delimited to schools participating in the Ghana School Feeding Programme in their schools. The chosen population was also delimited to officers in the Municipalities who were officially, working in fields or offices related to the school feeding programme. This study was also delimited to the school coordinators for the school feeding programme and the caterers cooking for schools on the feeding programme.

### **1.7 Operationalization of Politics**

For the purpose of this study, there is the need to contextualize politics. The concept of politics does not yield itself to a single acceptable definition. Different „politics“ are associated with distributive, redistributive and regulatory policies (Lowi, 1972; Hickey, 2007). According to Leftwich (2004), “it is important to recognize that any definition, conception or understanding of politics is likely to carry with it quite far-reaching implications for methodology” (p. 5). Leftwich explain that, how one defines politics influences what the fellow looks for and his/her analysis of issues. A conceptualization of politics is therefore necessary for this study. Leftwich

emphasized the role of structure and agent. The structural approach to the explanation of politics looks into the broad features in the social, economic and political structures of the system. To Leftwich, politics could be interpreted better when one considers the prevailing structural arrangement. The structural application to the understanding of politics seeks to explain issues within the context of the societal structures such as the level of industrialization, class structures within the society, educational levels of citizens, etc. These structures are the factors that churn out activities that could be social, economic or political. In order to better understand these happenings, it is essential to approach them within the context of the structures that nursed these occurrences into fruition.

In Leftwich's arguments, the agency explanation to politics is focused much more on the role of individuals or parties in shaping political activities. Hay (2002) had earlier explained that, structures cannot get things done, agents (persons and groups) do. All agents also work within the framework of structures. It is therefore important not to separate the two but put them together in order to better understand politics. For any political phenomenon to be fully appreciated, the structural context as well as the actions of agents must be critically studied for a holistic understanding of the phenomenon.

Peters (2004) in his analysis of politics as an activity, explained it to encapsulate the relations of power and influence. Politics assumes the existence of a set of institutions or structures through which governance (decision making and policy implementation) takes place. All activities that take place within the institutional environment is „politics“. Whenever there is an interaction of a set of variables including

societal needs and scarcity of resources there is politics. This interaction needs decision making which leads to policy making and the eventual policy implementation.

Lasswell (1936) gives a classical definition of politics as a distributive act to mean “who gets what, when and how”. To Lasswell (1936), all political acts ultimately have distributional and redistributive outcomes. This definition agrees with Easton (1953), who defined politics as the authoritative allocation of values in any social system. From the definitions of these two scholars, one is able to deduce that politics is an interaction of some elements within society through which values are allocated to the section of society so decided by the legitimate authority.

Politics in this study refers to all forms of interactions between the structure and agencies that have the aim of allocating resources to meet the needs of society. This definition recognizes the presence of some form of relations or interaction between some elements within the political system. Embedded within the elements are the presence of leadership (political and administrative), institutions (state and non-state) and beneficiaries of policies, programmes and projects. In the allocation of resources, leadership comes out with projects, policies and programmes. It is through these (projects, policies and programmes) that the state implements its agenda of solving societal challenges. The needs of society are various and varied, and the state has the responsibility of dealing with the challenges to ensure the satisfaction of society.

Institutional politics is the forms of interactions that take place between various institutions and within institutions that shape the policy implementation process. Such interactions are either inter-institutional or intra-institutional and they determine how policy implementation would end.

## **1.8 Organization of the Study**

The study is organized into six chapters. Chapter one is the introduction. It is dedicated to the justification of the study which include the background to the research problem; the statement of the problem; purpose and objectives of the study; research questions; definition of terms; significance of the study; limitations of the study and the general layout of the study report.

Chapter two is the review of relevant literature. This section includes literature on the theoretical framework guiding the study. The literature reviewed have been categorized under the following major headings: definition of social protection, school feeding in Ghana, and the Ghana School Feeding Programme.

Chapter three gives an extensive report on the research methodology and the justification for the methodology chosen. Issues discussed include sampling techniques, tools for data collection and data analysis, research design etc. Chapter four is dedicated to the analysis of data. Chapter five discusses the results of the data. Chapter six gives the Summary of the research findings, the conclusions of the research and recommendations made.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.0 Introduction**

This section reviews literature relevant to the study and it is broken down into themes such as the definition and conceptualization of social protection, evolution of social protection, school feeding in Ghana, the Ghana school feeding programme, politics and social protection and the theoretical issues in relation to implementation of social protection programmes.

#### **2.1 Situating School Feeding Within Broader Framework of Social Protection**

Social protection has been on the ascendancy in recent times. It has emerged very strongly in the development agenda of developing countries as a policy framework aimed at addressing in a holistic manner, poverty and vulnerabilities. The rise in the range of social protection policies and programmes has come about as a result of such factors as the activities of international development organizations and national governments' development of national social protection programmes aimed at poverty reduction. It has primarily been on the rise in developing countries, where the incidences of poverty and vulnerabilities have also been on the rise following decades of economic mismanagement which resulted in economic crises that called for structural adjustment programmes in the 1980s and 1990s.

Social protection is the foundation for building and providing a secure and acceptable life with the objective of tackling poverty and protecting people from risks and shocks within the society. Social protection has been defined variously by scholars,



development agencies, social workers and government officials. A definition and operationalization of social protection would be appropriate for this study. Careful attention is paid to various definitions by various authors highlighting their strengths and weaknesses.

Social protection is defined by Otoo and Osei-Boateng (2012, p. 21), to consist of a “set of benefits provided by the state, the market or a combination of both to individuals or households to mitigate possible hardships ...” This definition by Otoo and Osei-Boateng (2012) presents social protection as a set of formal interventions that seek to insulate the vulnerable from hardships. It is however, only one form of social protection that is considered by the authors. The important phenomenon of traditional social protection is conspicuously missing in their definition. It should however be noted that in African societies in general and Ghana in particular, traditional forms of social protection are still relevant. It caters for a large segment of the Ghanaian population.

In reference to International Labour Organization (ILO), Barrientos (2010), explained social protection to be “associated with a range of public institutions, norms and programmes aimed at protecting workers and their households from contingencies threatening basic living standards” (p. 1). Social protection strategies have been grouped under three main headings, namely: social insurance, social assistance and labour market (Barrientos, 2010; Barrientos and Hulme, 2008). Social protection as elaborated by Lustig (2001), includes labour market interventions, social safety nets and pensions. Social protection therefore becomes public interventions intended to ameliorate the economic risks of individuals and households.

Social insurance is explained to consist of programmes providing protection against life-course contingencies such as maternity and old age, or work-related contingencies such as unemployment or sickness. Normally, social insurance is financed from the accumulated contributions by workers and their employers. Social assistance on the other hand, is derived from taxes and it seeks to provide assistance to those in situations of need or in poverty. The third form of social protection as identified by Barrientos (2010) is labour market social protection strategies. This includes a wide range of policies that seek to establish basic standards at work, gives right and voice to organizations to express any misgivings about anything that is adversely affecting their wellbeing.

This definition and classification of social protection by Barrientos (2010) seems too restricting as it presents social protection in the light of the labour force in the formal sectors of the economy. There has, however, been a shift from the purely labour related definition to more general definitions. There is an enlargement of the scope of social protection from the narrow view of being limited to the policies that seek to insure workers from shocks. The emerging paradigm in social protection in the developing world is now focused on risk and vulnerability not just for the labour force, but for the entire citizenry.

Norton, Conway and Foster (2001), also define social protection as “the public actions taken in response to levels of vulnerability, risk and deprivation which are deemed socially unacceptable within a given polity or society” (p. 7). In the light of Norton, Conway and Foster’s (2001) definition, social protection deals with situations of absolute deprivation with reference to the basic needs of life and the vulnerabilities

that confront the poorest within the society. Social protection also seeks to insulate those who are currently non-poor but have the tendency to slip into situations of deprivation (due to vulnerabilities that are prevalent) in the face of shocks and life-cycle poverty related events.

Social protection is also defined by Adesina, 2011 (citing Holman and Jørgensen, 2000), as “public interventions to assist individuals, households, and communities better manage risk, and provide support to the critically poor” (p. 257). Adesina (2011) identified three domains for social protection: the informal/family, market, and the public. The family domain has been largely informal or traditional. Such forms of social protection remain under the control of individual families without any form of formal regulation. The burden of social protection has increasingly been placed on market-based instruments and provisions such as personal health, accident and disability insurance, old-age pensions, financial market investment, borrowing from financial institutions, and micro-finance.

Adesina (2011) further explains that, the public dimension to social protection involves two components: policy making and the facilitation of market-based financial institutions for social protection and the second component becomes relevant when informal and/or market-based means of social protection are non-existent, broken down or are dysfunctional. In such instances, the state has the responsibility to provide social protection to its citizens. In Ghana, the introduction of the Ghana School Feeding Programme follows this argument by Adesina (2011). Due to poverty, children of school going age are unable to attend school. The state intervened with the school feeding programme to bring relief to parents. Their children would only have to be in

school to be fed. Parents would therefore be able to save some money for other equally important expenses.

The Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP) falls within the second component of social protection as identified by Adesina (2011). School feeding had been implemented on project basis in Ghana by such international organizations as the Catholic Relief Services, the World Vision and the World Food Programme. Such projects needed to be enlarged to cover a lot more schools but this did not materialize and the government of Ghana had to step in to expand the school feeding projects into a national programme and on a large scale.

DFID (2006) also explained social protection to include public actions carried out by the state or privately that enable people to deal effectively with risk and their vulnerability to crises, changes in circumstances and to help tackle extreme and chronic poverty. The DFID focuses attention on social protection and sought not to give too broad a definition to social protection. To them, many actions would grant social protection, but may not necessarily be classified as social protection. The DFID therefore, came up with a narrower and more focused definition of social protection. Their definition focuses on interventions that help to address risk, vulnerability and chronic poverty. Social protection, according to the DFID (2006), comprises three sets of instruments:

- i. Social insurance which refers to the pooling of contributions by individuals in state or private organisations so that, if they suffer a shock or change in circumstances, they receive financial support;

- ii. Social assistance which is made up of non-contributory transfers that are given to those deemed vulnerable by society on the basis of their vulnerability or poverty; and,
- iii. The setting and enforcing of minimum standards to protect citizens within the workplace.

The difference that the DFID brings to the store of definitions of social protection lies in the third instrument which is widened by other scholars to include measures that are public actions but not core social protection. Such issues identified include gender inequality issues and access to land. The DFID definition though quite on point, falls short as it does not seek to address the causes of the vulnerabilities, but at the core of poverty and vulnerabilities are some problems that are related to issues like gender inequality, access to land and discrimination. If such core issues that give rise to poverty and increase the vulnerabilities of segments of society are not addressed (but the symptoms), then the quest to eradicating absolute poverty would be an exercise in futility.

UNICEF (2012) defines social protection as a “set of public and private policies and programmes aimed at preventing, reducing and eliminating economic and social vulnerabilities to poverty and deprivation” (p. 23). Vulnerability is the interaction between exposure to risk(s) and the capacity to respond and cope in the face of such risk(s). Vulnerabilities according to the UNICEF (2012), are multi-dimensional (both social and economic) in nature. The position of UNICEF is that social protection

programmes and policies are to address both social and economic vulnerabilities together with their underlying causes.

The UNICEF provides a definition that considers the causes of poverty and seeks to prevent the occurrence of poverty. This definition does not seek to deal with the symptoms of poverty and vulnerabilities, but seeks to roll out policies that would prevent, reduce and eliminate the fundamental causes of poverty and the vulnerabilities. This position of the UNICEF is shared by Barrientos (2010) who explained that, social protection, to the different economic regions of the world, denotes different issues and approaches. To the developing world, social protection has increasingly come to describe a policy framework for addressing poverty and vulnerability. Social protection therefore, has a strong focus on poverty reduction and the provision of support to the poorest within the society. The main focus of social protection is addressing the causes of poverty, and not merely addressing its symptoms. In the developed countries on the other hand, the emphasis of social protection is on income maintenance and on the protection of living standards for all (Barrientos, 2010).

Barrientos (2008) gave a comprehensive framework for social protection to be:

All interventions from public, private, voluntary organizations and informal networks, to support communities, households and individuals, in their efforts to prevent, manage, and overcome a defined set of risks and vulnerabilities. Social protection is an extension of anti-poverty policy. It is grounded in the view that vulnerability, understood as the limited capacity of some communities and households to protect themselves against contingencies threatening their living standards, is a primary factor explaining poverty. It is also a key factor explaining the low levels of human capital investment observed among households in poverty, which prevent them from taking advantage of economic opportunities (p. 278).

This study recognizes social protection to include a range of policies, programmes and projects that are rolled out by stakeholders in their quest to prevent poverty, alleviate poverty and deprivation and ensuring that vulnerabilities are eliminated such that groups at risk would be insulated within the society. Social protection therefore includes a wide range of social and economic policies that governments, formal institutions, families and tribes implement to mitigate the poor socio-economic state of the targeted group. Social protection should not be used as a political tool to reward loyalists but should be used as a socio-economic mechanism to deal with absolute poverty. The target group to benefit from social protection must be the most deprived and vulnerable within the society.

## **2.2 Evolution of Social Protection**

Social protection as a public policy, is essential in dealing with poverty and vulnerabilities in the developing world where the incidences of poverty are very high. Social protection did not just emerge as an agenda for developing countries. “Social protection in contemporary Africa is the product of several strands of social policy, from European social security systems to humanitarian relief interventions” (Devereux, 2013, p. 13). In the development agenda of Africa, there were major watersheds that facilitated the spread of social protection in Africa. Devereux (2013) argues that, the current social protection policy agenda in Africa is not indigenous but rather, largely imported from the Western nations that colonized Africa. The initiation of Africa into the sphere of formal social protection started with the adaptation of European social security models, which he explained, were first applied to the formally employed

workforce in African countries. This came in the form of contributory pensions and unemployment insurance. Africa's delay in embracing formal social protection is attributable to the fact that the African economy had been very informal until the introduction of colonial rule. The penetration of social protection policies to the larger population was a challenge because the formal sector in Africa still remains relatively small as compared to the informal sector which employs the majority of the work force.

Social protection was extended to the informal and self-employed sectors in the form of targeted cash transfer programmes such as „social pensions“ in most African countries. Secondly, Devereux (2013) identified that, social protection grew in Africa with the ad hocism with which the international community responded to food security shocks in Africa. This position supports Sepúlveda and Nyst (2012), who hold the position that the rapid manner in which social protection has gained predominance and political support in the context of the development and poverty reduction discourse over the past few years is almost without precedent.

Social protection in low-income countries generally, has been in operation for a long time and has placed emphasis on different policies and programmes in different eras. For instance, in the 1960s and 1970s food subsidy policies were employed as a means of ensuring that all citizens could afford enough to eat (Ellis, Devereux & White, 2009). In the 1980s, with the introduction of the conditionalities of the Bretton Woods institutions, social protection switched to a minimalist stance with the „safety nets“ concept. The „safety nets“ concept played a limited role in protecting vulnerable citizens from the removal of previous state supports (like food and input subsidies) (Ellis, Devereux & White, 2009).



In sub-Saharan Africa, the safety net idea was “predicated strongly on the notion that the economy as a whole is moving forward, living standards are rising, but nevertheless there are pockets of people especially in rural areas who confront seasonal or unexpected food deficits that need to be addressed” (Ellis, Devereux and White, 2009, p. 5). There were limitations to the safety nets approach to social protection in Sub-Saharan Africa. Safety nets proved unequal to the task of protecting the minimum acceptable standards in living conditions, for instance, in food consumption. In Ghana, the introduction of the IMF/World Bank programme of Structural Adjustment saw the woes of the deprived within the society deepened. A safety net in the form of Programme of Action to Mitigate the Social Cost of Adjustment (PAMSCAD) was rolled out but never solved the problem as it was promised. It was stifled of funds and its implementation was a failure.

In the 1990s, social protection underwent transformation in the developing countries. With developing countries facing economic crises, structural adjustment and globalisation, social protection emerged as a development paradigm which helped to set the agenda for social policy in developing countries. In the view of Barrientos and Hulme (2008), there were several distinguishing features of the emerging paradigm. Social protection is identified to focus on the core issues of poverty reduction and on providing the needed support to the poor and the vulnerable.

The Social Dimensions of Adjustment (SDA) programme was launched by the World Bank as an appropriate response to the mounting evidence of the severe social cost of the orthodox Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). The SDA as launched by the World Bank involved the use of safety nets to address the social costs of the SAP.

The SDA strictly targeted the segment of the population considered to be in situations of high levels of impoverishment.

In tracing the development and inclusion of social protection as a state policy in Africa, Devereux (2013) argued that most social protection programmes in Sub-Saharan Africa have not been planned very well but come about as an ad hoc measure by the government to solve a challenge and to score political points with the next elections in sight. This study seeks to either confirm or refute Devereux's (2013) position with reference to the structures put in place to ensure effective policy implementation. The presence of well-defined and working structures of implementation the GSFP, would be evidence of proper planning of the programme.

The roots of social protection in Sub-Saharan African countries cannot be traced and attributed to the colonial era. There is ample evidence from the culture of African societies that prior to colonial rule, there was social protection. Various forms of social protection schemes were implemented in the traditional African society through such institutions as the extended family. Scholars lose sight of the fact that social protection is simply, the insulation of the vulnerable from situations of deprivation. This was executed by the extended family system. A distinction should therefore, be made between formal social protection in modern states and traditional social protection in the traditional African societies. This distinction clears the issue of when social protection was introduced to developing countries.

The current social protection schemes in Sub-Saharan Africa have arisen as a result of the effects of economic recession and the social cost of structural adjustment since the 1980s. A number of international development agencies and some African

states emphasized social protection as a useful strategy for positive change in dealing with extreme poverty, deprivation and vulnerabilities that come about as a result of the failures of the market. Since the late 1980s, social protection was streamlined into the development agenda of African states. According to Adesina (2011), policy attention since the 1980s has been focused on social protection instruments to mitigate the cost of structural adjustment in Sub-Saharan Africa. Social protection has been recognized to be a very useful intervention strategy that can yield positive dividends in dealing with poverty.

### **2.3 School Feeding**

School feeding is defined as the provision of food to school children (Bundy et al., 2009). The nature of the feeding (whether in-school provision of food or take-home food rations) is not of prime concern to them. Adelman et al. (2008) also define school feeding as „Food For Education (FFE) Programme“. The FFE programme is explained to include meals served in school and take home rations conditional on attendance. The Millennium Development Goal (MDG) Task Force on achieving the Education MDG cites FFE programmes as one important approach that can attract children to school and improve learning. The MDG Task Force Report on Hunger (Sanchez et al., 2005, in Adelman et al., 2008) acknowledged FFE programmes apart from improving school attendance, as an indirect nutrition intervention that can contribute to the reduction of malnutrition among children of school going age.

“The global food, fuel, and financial crises have given new prominence to school feeding as a potential safety net and as a social support measure that helps keep children in school” (Bundy et al., 2009, p. 2). School feeding programmes have been the

largest and often the only direct transfer programme that can be used for a quick response getting children of school going age from poor homes to attend school. This intervention not only serves the purpose of feeding the children from poor homes, but also getting them to school in order to benefit from the in-school feeding. Ghana seeks to achieve the double impact of good nutrition to children and getting them to attend school. Through this, Ghana is on the path to achieving the SDGs on the eradication of hunger, achieving quality education and creating the conditions for reducing inequality and fostering gender equality. There is also the improvement in the nutrition of children and thereby giving them a chance at improving their fortunes in the future.

School feeding programmes have been employed in various parts of the world, especially developing countries with the primary objective of increasing school attendance and retention. Adelman, et al. (2009), argue that, the use of food served in school or take-home, rather than cash as the form of transfer acknowledges that many poor children of school going age suffer hunger, which may discourage school attendance and also impede effective learning. School feeding programmes as implemented in many developing countries, comes with the awareness that, by fortifying the food with protein and key micronutrients, children's nutritional status are improved and morbidity reduced.

School feeding has been identified to come in two forms: in-school meals and take-home rations. The positive impact of in-school feeding include the improvement in pupils' school attendance, improved nutrition for pupils and hence improved health, alleviation of short-term hunger during school days, sustained nutrition providing for the pupils' physiological capacity for learning (Adelman et al., 2008; Bundy et al.,

2009). The two forms identified above, all come with their own unique challenges and prospects. The in-school feeding was also identified to decrease the age of entry into school and decreases the dropout rate. The in-school feeding is, however, identified to disrupt the learning process as time is spent cooking and distributing cooked food. Take-home rations on the other hand, is identified to help in distributing food to the entire household. The challenge with the take-home food ration is that, in cases where the food ration is not sufficient to feed the entire household, there is no surety that the food would be fed to the pupil at home. This would defeat the primary purpose of any FFE programmes. There is the possibility that, in-school meals would be much more nutritious as there would be the addition of more sources of protein as compared to take-home rations which are usually in the form of cereals and cooking oil. In Ghana, the in-school feeding has been employed by the Ghana School Feeding Programme.

According to Bутtenheim, Alderman and Friedman (2011), school feeding programmes are rolled out in developing countries with the intention to, among other things, decrease the net cost of schooling which would lead to improvements in enrolment, attendance, and age at school entry. A second goal of school feeding is to alleviate short-term hunger during the school day to improve children's concentration and cognitive functioning which would result in better learning and higher achievement. A third objective of school feeding is to improve children's long-run macro nutritional and micro nutritional status through the provision of additional calories and fortified foods to reduce the incidences of childhood malnutrition and its attendant negative impact on future health and productivity. Bundy et al. (2009) identified three main reasons why countries choose to implement school feeding programmes: to address

social needs and to provide a social safety net during crises; to improve learning and educational outcomes; and to enhance nutrition.

In justifying the necessity of school feeding programmes, the argument is that, “children who are malnourished have significantly impaired opportunities to make an economic contribution to society in the long term. Adequate nutrition is critical to children’s cognitive development, particularly during their younger years (5 and under)” (Anderson et al., 2005, p. 9). In communities with chronic malnutrition, school feeding programmes become one of the surest ways of improving the nutritional and educational status of young children. School feeding programmes have helped mitigate chronic malnutrition among children and thereby, improving their health and retention at school. School feeding programmes have also proven to be an effective solution to the challenge of absenteeism of girls which threatens the achievement of the gender equality. Local agriculture would also be boosted in places where the school feeding depended on locally produced foodstuffs. Reliance on locally produced foodstuffs would create a ready market for local farmers. These benefits of school feeding are enough motivation for the implementation of school feeding programmes. In Ghana, all these are part of the objectives of the GSFP.

#### **2.4 School Feeding Programmes in Ghana**

School feeding in Ghana dates back some decades when it was implemented by international organizations and religious organizations such as the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), the Catholic Relief Services (CRS) and the World Vision International using imported foods (SEND Ghana, 2008). In 1995, the World Food Programme (WFP) in conjunction with the Ministry of Health (MOH), initiated a

Supplementary Feeding and Health and Nutrition Project (SFHNP) in Ghana. The WFPs food aid served as a nutritional supplement to school pupils under the age of five (5). Under this scheme, children were served two cooked meals a day. Girls in the Junior Secondary Schools (JSS) (now the JSS has been renamed, Junior High Schools) who were able to attain at least 90% rate of attendance per month were given take home food rations. This programme was undertaken in seventeen districts of the three Northern, Upper East and Upper West regions of Ghana.

According to Anderson et. al. (2005), the WFP used food aid to attract girls from impoverished homes to attend school. There was also a quarterly ration collection by parents which created the platform for parent-teacher interactions. The Catholic Relief Services (CRS) also operated a school feeding programme in each of the three regions in the northern part of Ghana, reaching out to a third of all schools in the three northern regions. The CRS also provided take home food rations for school girls who attained at least 90% attendance rate, each month. For the CRS, the beneficiary communities contributed storage facilities, kitchens and at times, foodstuffs. On some occasions, pupils were asked to make some payments (GH¢0.02p) towards the sustenance of the SFP. The school management committees also made occasional payments to supplement the funds needed to sustain the SFP (Anderson, et al., 2005). For the early part of the implementation of school feeding in Ghana, it was mainly used as a tool to get pupils especially girls to attend school and were also rewarded for attending school regularly. The current Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP), however, focuses on using the school feeding to supplement the nutrition of pupils and to attract children to

schools. The marked difference between what the GSFP does and what was done earlier by the CRS, WFP and the World Vision is the absence of the take-home food rations.

The World Food Programme (WFP) for instance, engaged in two activities in support of the Ghana government's quest to improve school pupils' nutrition and the long term effect on education in Ghana. The WFP implemented the „on-site“ school feeding for primary schools and the „take-home“ rations for girls from Primary 4 to Junior High School Form 3. The WFP targeted the Northern, Upper East and Upper West regions and granted technical support to the GSFP to implement the nation-wide school feeding.

In all, it was projected that a total of 42,000 girls and their families in 25 districts of the three northern regions would have benefited from the WFP's take-home rations as a monthly incentive for girls' achievement of 85 percent or higher attendance rate to school by 2010 when the programme would have been phased out (WFP, 2007a). Before the phasing out of the WFP's food rationing programme, there was a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the WFP and the Ghana government, represented by the GSFP in 2006 which outlined collaboration in the following areas:

- i. providing a fortified food basket to complement GSFP menus;
- ii. supporting district-level planning and implementing school feeding; harmonizing planning and managing cash and food inputs at the district level;
- iii. testing procurement processes;
- iv. building capacity of PTAs, SMCs and other stakeholders;
- v. testing models for sustainable funding;
- vi. developing systems for monitoring and evaluation.



Critically assessing the MOU between the WFP and the Ghana government, one can deduce that there was the desire on the part of the government of Ghana to continue feeding school pupils on a larger scale to achieve same results of improving school attendance and retention, improving the nutrition of pupils and attracting children of school going age from poor homes to attend school. This study would evaluate the relative success or otherwise of the Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP) in achieving improved enrolment and attendance in the study areas. The MOU also presented very strong issues on the building of structures and systems to ensure the sustainability of the Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP). This study would investigate how sustainable the GSFP has been since its implementation in the study areas.

## **2.5 The Ghana School Feeding Programme**

The impact that the Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP) was intended to make ultimately, included the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals, especially for rural communities facing the dual challenge of high chronic malnutrition and low agricultural productivity. It was estimated that, at least, 80% of the value of the feeding cost would be spent in the local economy, thereby creating ready markets for the produce of local farmers. The cardinal pillars of the GSFP were identified to be

- i. reducing hunger and malnutrition,
- ii. increasing school enrolment, attendance and retention and
- iii. boosting domestic food production (WFP, 2007).

The institutions responsible for the implementation of the Ghana school feeding programme are the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development (The Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development has the oversight responsibility over the GSFP) in collaboration with the Ministries of Finance, Food and Agriculture, Health, Education, Women and Children Affairs (now Ministry of Gender and Social Protection) and the Ghana Education Service with the Ghana School Feeding Programme Secretariat being the implementing agency. The GSFP Secretariat is directly responsible for the coordination and management of the GSFP. The secretariat is at the national and regional levels and has the responsibility of supporting the implementing agencies at the district level, ensure accountability and effective reporting on the programme.

At the district level, the District Assemblies are to set up District Implementation Committees (DICs) and School Implementation Committees (SICs) to run the school feeding programme. At the district level, the DIC has to provide the needed infrastructure, mobilize community support and distribute funds to the SICs who in turn, execute the programme in their schools. This study has as part of its objectives, the assessment of the GSFP in relation to the success or failure in the achievement of its objectives as stated above. This study would assess the effectiveness of the DICs and SICs in the implementation of the GSFP.

The Ghana School Feeding Programme was born out of the initiative of the New Partnership for African Development/Hunger Task Force Initiative (NEPAD/HTFI) under the Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP) of the African Union (AU). Ghana was selected as one of the initial nine focus countries in

sub-Saharan Africa to pilot the school feeding programme. The responsibility of funding for the school feeding programme was to be between Government of Ghana and NEPAD. Expected funds from NEPAD delayed in coming and the government of Ghana went ahead to implement the school feeding programme without the initial donor support promised. It started on a pilot basis from September to December in 2005 in ten districts, one from each of the ten regions, and was intended to last for five years (WFP, 2007).

The Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP) provides one hot and nutritionally balanced meal for the children on site each school day, using locally produced and procured food items. There was a comprehensive programme of related activities which included provision of de-worming tablets, water and sanitation in schools, micronutrient supplementation, health and hygiene education, HIV/AIDS prevention, creation of school gardens and malaria prevention for school pupils (WFP, 2007).

The GSFP and its programme objectives are also in tune with the first seven MDGs and it is therefore, meant to accelerate Ghana's efforts toward meeting these goals. The seven MDGs include: eradicating extreme poverty and hunger, achieving universal primary education, promoting gender equality and empowering women, reducing child mortality, improving maternal health, combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases and ensuring environmental sustainability (WFP, 2007).

A review of the GSFP in 2006 (just a year after implementation) outlined a number of achievements as well as budding challenges. As part of the achievements, school enrolment increased by 20.3 percent in the pilot beneficiary schools, compared to

just 2.8 percent in non-beneficiary schools. School retention went up by an average of 10 percent in the beneficiary schools while declines were observed in non-beneficiary schools. There was a general acceptance of the programme as non-beneficiary communities bought into the programme and, on their own initiative, started constructing functional kitchens and feeding sheds in anticipation of the programme reaching their communities. Farmers in some beneficiary communities had also started to produce crops in response to the programme's needs. Among the challenges identified were delayed releases of central government budgetary allocations, inadequate infrastructure to support the effective delivery of the programme, abandoned governance structure and procurement systems as well as weak monitoring and evaluation systems (WFP, 2007).

Targeting for the GSFP came by meeting laid down criteria which included: willingness of a community to provide basic infrastructure (e.g. kitchen, store, dining room); commitment of the District Assembly, demonstrated by its interest to sustain the programme; poverty status of the district and community; low school enrolment and/or attendance and gender parity index; high drop-out rates; low literacy levels; presence of planned health and nutritional interventions or expansion of existing ones; no participation in an already existing SFP; poor access to potable water; high community spirit and management capability (WFP, 2007).

This study seeks to establish whether these targeting criteria were used in the selection of communities and schools to benefit from the Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP) in the selected districts of Ga West Municipal Assembly and the

Effutu Municipal Assembly. The schools selected would be assessed per the criteria set out by the Ghana School Feeding Secretariat.

Two models were identified to have been applied by the GSFP in the execution of the programme. These models are the supplier model and the caterer model (WFP, 2007). The supplier model entails the contracting of suppliers to procure and supply beneficiary schools with the foodstuffs needed on weekly basis depending on the menu of the schools. Cooking is done by cooks employed by the GSFP in the school. At the end of the week, the suppliers are paid.

The caterer model has been employed by the Metropolitan Assemblies. In this case, caterers are employed who buy foodstuff and cook at central kitchens (away from the school premises). At appointed times in the school day, the caterers bring the cooked food and dish them out to pupils. At the end of the week, the caterers, based on the number of pupils served, send the bill to the DIC for payment.

There is the school-based model which entails the direct procurement of foodstuffs and cooking of the food by the school. With this model, there is no middleman and is community/grassroots based. The GSFP has adopted a hybrid model which blends of aspects of the school-based and caterer models. Under the hybrid model, the caterers are required to procure their own foodstuffs and cook for the pupils from kitchens provided by the schools. On the field however, the situations have not made it easy for the caterers to cook in the schools because there are no kitchens on the school premises. They have been cooking from private kitchens that are situated outside the school premises.

## **2.6 Governance Structure for the Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP)**

The governance structure was part of the programme design of the GSFP. It has well defined structures at the national, regional, district, community and school levels. The structures for the implementation of the GSFP according to the WFP, seem not to be working effectively. Cabinet formed a Ministerial Oversight Committee to oversee the implementation of the programme. The stakeholder ministries were the Ministry of Health (MOH), the Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MOFA), the Ministry of Education, Science and Sports (MOESS), the Ministry of Women and Children Affairs (MOWAC) (now Ministry of Gender and Social Protection) and the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Environment (MLGRDE).

The WFP in its study on the School Feeding Programme in Ghana indicated that there “was a power struggle among the ministries, with each of them fighting to take control of the programme. Ministerial responsibility moved from the MOESS to the MOWAC and finally to the MLGRDE” (WFP, 2007, p. 40). Presently, the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development (MLGRD) has ministerial oversight responsibility for the programme. The WFP was silent on the impact of this conflict on the effective implementation of the GSFP. One comes to the conclusion that, whenever there is the presence of multiple actors in the implementation of a public policy, there is inefficiency. Such inefficiencies do not come as a result of the lack of capacity, but largely as a result of inter-organizational politics. Such inter-organizational conflicts are manifested in the forms of conflicts, inactivity on the part of some stakeholders and overlapping of responsibilities to mention a few. Winter (2002) argues that the presence of multiple actors in the implementation process creates a complex web of activity and

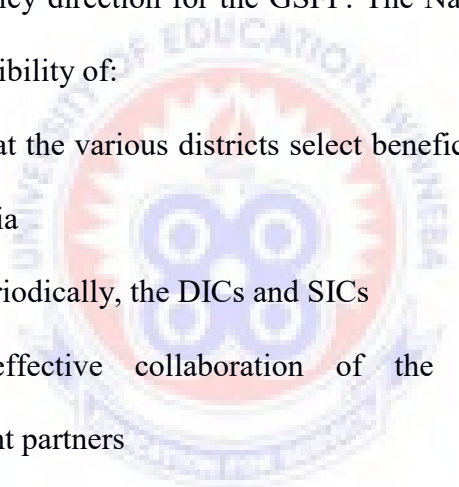
inactivity which has the potential of delaying, distorting and even causing total failure of well-intended public policies. This was the case that confronted the GSFP.

This power struggle that emerged among the stakeholder ministries in the view of the WFP (WFP, 2007), “was perhaps a result of the fact that all the ministries have significant roles to play in achieving the policy objectives that underlie the design and implementation of the programme” (p. 40). For instance, the immediate policy objectives of the GSFP are to achieve increased enrolment, retention and attendance at schools in poor rural communities (this falls under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education), improve nutrition, improve the health status of school children (Ministry of Health) and increase local food production (Ministry of Food and Agriculture). The long-term development goal of the GSFP is to contribute to poverty reduction (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning) and food security (MOFA), especially among women and children (then, MOWAC), as outlined in the GPRS document. This study would therefore bring out the politics that affect the implementation of the GSFP.

In line with Ghana’s decentralization programme, the implementation of the GSFP has been decentralized from the national to the district level. Such conflicts within the implementing agencies have the tendency to weaken the programme, affecting its outcome in the long run. A Programme Steering Committee (PSC) which is an inter-ministerial committee that is chaired by the Minister for LGRD was set up to bring together all the stakeholder ministries. It provides policy guidance to the Programme. The Ministries involved are Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning and Ministry of Women and Children’s Affairs (GSFP, 2011).

Available literature (WFP, 2007) only mentioned the politics (conflict) that manifested at the national level at the initial stages of the implementation of the GSFP. Such an issue as conflict between stakeholder institutions at the lower levels are not available. This study seeks to investigate the extent of the effects of such stakeholder conflicts at the district, community and school levels on the successful implementation of the GSFP.

The Ghana government established the National Secretariat at the Presidency with an Executive Director working with the supervising ministry (i.e. the MLGRDE), and providing the policy direction for the GSFP. The National secretariat among other things has the responsibility of:

- 
- i ensuring that the various districts select beneficiary schools based on the laid down criteria
  - ii auditing periodically, the DICs and SICs
  - iii ensuring effective collaboration of the stakeholder ministries and development partners
  - iv providing sensitization, training and capacity building to implementers
  - v monitoring and evaluating the SFP (District Operations Manual, 2008)

With the initiative of the Secretariat, there was the establishment of a Technical Advisory Body, with membership from all the stakeholder/collaborating ministries. It had the responsibility of advising the government on the technical details for successful implementation of the programme. The WFP (2007) on its part, concluded that it was not functioning with several of its members no longer attending meetings (WFP, 2007).



One of the challenges of public policy implementation has been the inactivity on the part of public institutions and their representatives.

The National Secretariat appointed Regional Coordinators with the responsibility of coordinating the programmes and activities of the SFP. Regional Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) officers were also recruited to support the Regional Coordinators in the discharge of their duties. The roles of the regional offices of the GSFP were to coordinate, supervise and monitor the implementation of the programme (WFP, 2007).

From the regional office, the next level in the decentralization process is the district level. The roles of the District Assemblies in the school feeding programme include;

- i. Selection of beneficiary schools of the program based on the stipulated criteria
- ii. Selection and appointment of caterers with the requisite qualification and experience
- iii. Ensuring that basic infrastructure such as kitchens, store rooms, canteens are available in schools where the SFP is to be rolled out
- iv. Report on the program in the district to the relevant authorities.
- v. Disbursement of GSFP funds for the programme including payment of caterers
- vi. Accounting and retirement of GSFP funds etc. (GSFP, District Operations Manual, 2008).

At the district level, the District Chief Executives (DCEs), facilitated the formation of District Implementation Committees (DICs). The role of the DICs is to oversee the implementation of the programme at the district level, including funds disbursements. Other roles assigned to the SICs include the following:

- i. Ensuring that schools selected meet the eligibility criteria.
- ii. Ensuring that SICs are formed and provide them with the required assistance.
- iii. Monitoring the GSFP activities in the district.
- iv. Preparation of termly and annual reports on GSFP activities in the district.

The DICs are chaired by the Metropolitan/Municipal/District Chief Executive (MMDCEs). The membership of the DICs include the DCEs as chairpersons, other members are representatives from collaborating ministries and technical staff at the District Assemblies (DAs) including the District Directors of Education, Health and Agriculture, the District Coordinating Director, the Programme Desk Officer, two (2) representatives of the Social services sub-committee, one traditional ruler and one opinion leader (GSFP, 2011; GSFP, District Operation Manual, 2008; WFP, 2007).

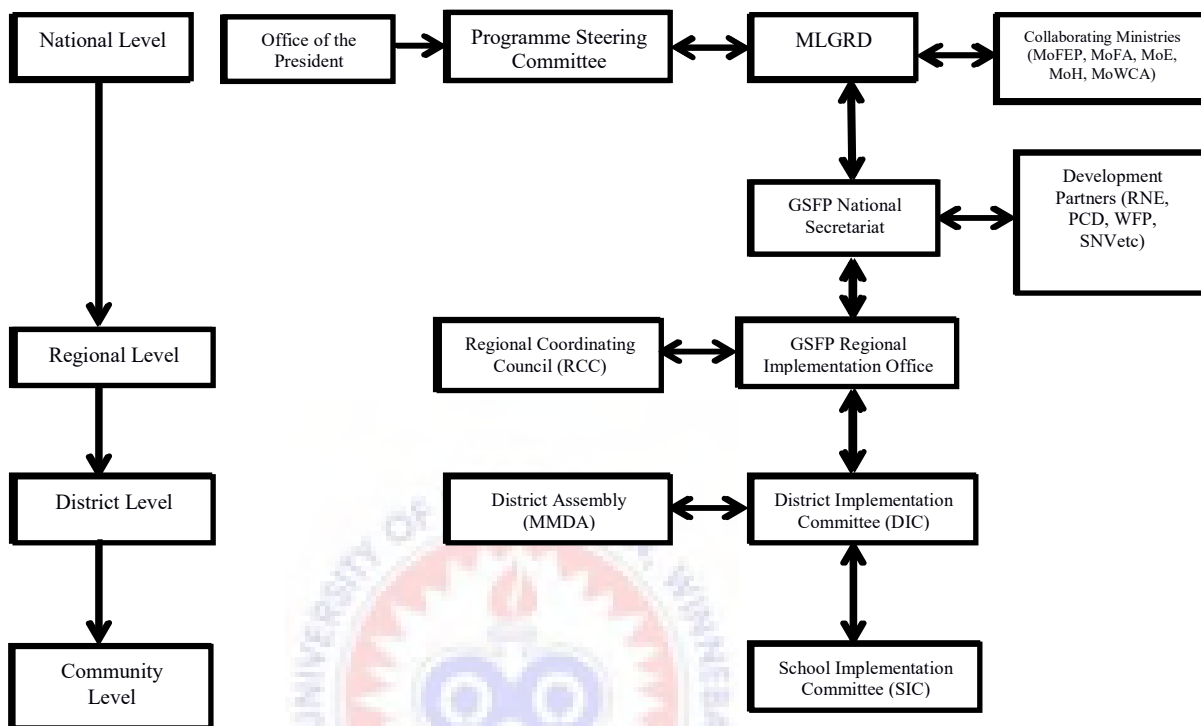
The last level in the structure of the GSFP is the School Implementation Committee (SIC). The SICs are at the level of each beneficiary school. The SICs have the responsibility of

- i. Determining the menu, procurement of foodstuff from local farmers
- ii. Overseeing the cooking,
- iii. Overseeing the feeding of the school pupils,

- iv. Identifying and discussing any problems that arise in the process of the programme implementation and finding solutions to them.

The membership of the SIC are the representative of the Parent Teacher Association (PTA) as the Chairman, the Head Teacher (Secretary), 1 Representative of the School Management Committee (SMC), 1 Traditional Ruler, 1 Assembly Member and School Prefects (Male and Female) (WFP, 2007). Much of the literature read have very little on the SICs and their collaboration with the DICs and Desk Officers responsible for the GSFP. The politics at the grassroots level is very crucial to the success or otherwise of any decentralized programme of the government. This study would have benefitted a lot if there were literature on the nature of politics at the grassroots level in relation to the implementation of the GSFP. This study seeks to fill this gap (in literature available) by identifying and assessing the various forms of politics at the grassroots level affecting policy implementation.

**Figure 1: Structure and stakeholder relationship in the Ghana School Feeding Programme**



(Source: Ghana School Feeding Programme Annual Operating Plan 2011)

## 2.7 Politics and Social Protection

According to Barrientos and Hulme (2008), social protection in developing countries requires a political environment in which demand for social protection can translate into appropriate government responses. It is therefore important to note that, there are political conditions that are necessary for the adoption of social protection programmes as well as conditions that are required to sustain such social protection programmes.

The politicization of public policies in Africa has led to the formulation of overambitious policies by governments and political parties to gain political capital.

Decisions about and the implementation of social protection are deeply political. There is a link between a government's social protection responses and its legitimacy and stability in power. The success of social protection is derived from the political commitment for creating and sustaining such social protection systems. There is a two-way streak as to the role of politics in the policy environment. Politics affect the design of policies and the choice of policies also affects the associated politics.

The political environment for policy implementation according to May (2003), is a malleable landscape that can affect policy content. Political strategies, ideologies and politics greatly exert influences on tools that are brought together to make a policy. Policies provide choices which are made based on the political ideology of the government and the interests of the institutions of state. Policy regimes are shaped by political ideas, interests and institutions. It is therefore expected that any public policy that is implemented by any government would have political undertones. The question that this study seeks to investigate is the extent to which politics is present and the extent of the role of politics in the successful implementation of such public policies as the Ghana School Feeding Programme.

The linkages between politics and social protection are multi-dimensional in the sense that, different forms of politics at different levels, shape different dimensions of social protection programmes. Hickey (2007) identified three types of politics-social protection relationships. The first is, the forms of politics that lead to the conception and implementation of social protection policies. This may be different from those required to sustain such policies; and also different from the politics of identifying beneficiary groups. The second type of relationship concerns the political impact of social

protection itself on the political situation of a system. Some social protection programmes may be implemented with the view to retaining regime legitimacy or might be associated with increased levels of social solidarity. Thirdly, Hickey (2007) identified that, the nature of social protection itself shapes the politics of social protection. The policy design, for instance, whether it is universal or targeted, and its perceived success might influence the level of political support for the policy itself (Hickey, 2007). These forms of politics associated with social protection in general also affect the GSFP as a specific social protection programme. These forms of politics are central to this study and would be brought to light.

The Ghana School Feeding Programme as a social protection policy, was crafted within such a political context. The government of the day sought to implement a social intervention programme to alleviate poverty. The task of this study is to analyse the politics that surrounds the GSFP in its implementation at the District level. As identified by Hickey (2007), social protection policies in Africa are framed within a milieu of factors which points to the fact that there are different forms of politics that have direct and indirect impact on social protection.

The formal process of elections in Africa, have been exploited by governments to entrench their stay in power. Elections have been a strong incentive for social intervention programmes in Africa. Democracies with stable party systems and elected authoritarian systems are most progressive in the field of social protection. In cases of non-elected systems and democracies with fragmented party systems, social protection suffers (Niles, 1999, cited in Hickey, 2007). Autocratic and semi-democratic

governments employ social protection programmes to retain power and to legitimize their rule.

According to Lwanga-Ntale (2008),

There is a kind of politics to social protection which cuts across the predominant political (or socio-economic) paradigms, elite attitudes, and organisation, management and systems. We further argue that the extent to which social protection programmes are defined to reach the poorest will primarily depend on the “political contract” which the sitting government is able to make with the people. By implication key political factors need to be identified ... and their importance assessed with a view to influencing social protection policy-making in favour of the poorest. Regrettably, however, “neo-patrimonialism” still plays a large part in this “politics” thus making it difficult for institutions to establish, hold, or influence change (p. 297).

It is identified here that, the socio-political context, leadership attitudes and administrative capacity are crucial to the success or otherwise of social protection policies. The GSFP is envisaged to be manipulated by political elite at the various levels of implementation. Some incidences of manipulation have been reported in the media where after a change in government, caterers were sacked and party supporters recruited to cook for school pupils. The extent to which this has affected the implementation of the GSFP is of paramount interest to this study.

On social protection in Ghana, Sultan and Schrofer (2008) found out that, the bi-monthly cash transfer referred to as LEAP, had been fully funded by the Ghana government from her HIPC fund. The government of Ghana’s budget made provision for an amount of \$ 4.2 million. Social Protection experts claim that Ghana, with the then budget, and expected revenue (with oil revenues coming on stream in the following 4 to

5 years) could afford social cash transfers for the bottom 20% of the extreme poor. The total cost of LEAP over the following 5 years (2008-2012) was to lie between 0.1% and 0.2% of total government expenditure (Sultan and Schrofer, 2008). Their argument for Ghana's ability to pay for its social protection programmes was premised on the government's ability to provide subsidies in many other sectors including health, electricity, fuel and education. They concluded that, in Ghana, the problem was not whether social protection was affordable, but whether the Government of Ghana wanted to spend its money on such programmes. Whether to start a social protection programme or not, and the type of programme that is selected, are all deeply political decisions (Sultan and Schrofer, 2008). The NHIS, for instance, can be considered a main outcome of political will and commitment of the government. According to Giovannetti et al. (2011), the establishment of the National Health Insurance Scheme was situated within the political environment of the day. Social protection in Africa in general, was argued to be embedded in a milieu of the socio-economic and especially, political context.

Political economy influences the design, implementation, and outcome of social protection programmes across countries over the world, both the developed and the developing. According to Graham (2002), developing countries can finance temporal programmes with support from external funds, particularly in times of crisis and that developing countries usually do not require the kinds of political economy choices that are necessary for longer-term programmes. To establish a permanent social protection or assistance system therefore requires prioritization on the part of the government and the people.



According to Giovannetti et al. (2011), the decisions and implementation of social protection are deeply political. Social protection has to be an integral part of broader political agendas and contexts. They concluded that crises often lead to perceived needs to expand social protection, and force political leaders to use a crisis as an opportunity. Many social protection and other public policies have emerged during times of crisis.

One issue that has become very complex in the implementation of public policies especially in the developing world has been the multiplicity of stakeholders/actors. In some cases, different ministries or levels of government are involved in the implementation of specific forms of social protection programmes. These different institutions often opt for different approaches which have the potential for distorting the programme. Another challenge could also arise from duplication and overlapping of functions which can result in gaps in coverage and poor institutional coordination (Giovannetti et al., 2011). In the case of the Ghana School Feeding Programmes (GSFP), the Ministries of Agriculture, Education, Gender and Social Protection, Finance and Economic Planning and Local Government and Rural Development are involved. The test to this study is to find out how these stakeholder Ministries have created any problem for the success of the GSFP.

Though there are some challenges with the multiplicity of actors, Giovannetti et al. (2011) argue that the:

core functions of social protection such as design and financing should remain at the central government level, where it is easier to exploit economies of scale, and ensure (in principle) equitable access. The decentralisation of these core activities could in fact undermine redistributive functions that provide assistance

to poor households, given that sub-national entities may lack the political commitment or the financial capacity to carry through redistribution. In addition, decentralisation of financing may create spatial differences in affordability within a country, given that some sub national entities will find it more difficult to finance social protection for the poorest (p. 444).

Giovanetti (2011), however, presented another argument on the benefits that decentralization of social protection could offer. They realized that, decentralization of social protection improves targeting of clients, giving better access to information while also promoting participation at the local level. The effectiveness of targeting of social protection programmes is better realised when selection of beneficiaries is decentralised (Giovanetti, 2011).

The successful implementation of social protection programmes to meet the desired objectives, rely on governmental institutions and structures and the implementation capacity at the various levels in the implementation process. Most successful governmental programmes according to Giovanetti et al. (2011), have strong political leadership and are supported by citizens and the government. In the case of the GSFP, these parameters of political leadership and general support for the programme were present at the initial stages of the programme. The question then is whether this commitment by leadership is still present and its impact on the scheme.

The debates on social protection policies have not just been on the kind of programmes alone, but attention has shifted to financing. The sources of financing for social protection from literature and records have been identified to include support from donor agencies, government revenue from natural resources or general taxation on trade and consumption (Ulriksen, 2013; Giovanetti, 2011). According to Ulriksen

(2013) it is in very few cases that funds for social protection come from direct taxation of the citizens. Financing of social protection has to be considered as an integral part of the social protection agenda, if such programmes are to succeed instead of the practice where social protection has been regarded as a residual measure to compensate for the failure of the market (Ulriksen, 2013). In most cases, social protection programmes are determined by who benefit and most especially, who pays for the programmes.

Giovannetti, et al. (2011) explained that the domestic sources of financing social protection is derived from national government revenues, including revenues gained from natural resource exploitation, direct taxes, social security contributions, taxes on goods and services and trade taxes. Domestic financing of social protection goes a long way in creating responsibility and accountability as well as contributing to building social consensus. The challenge that is presented to less developed states is their inability to raise the needed funds locally to finance their social protection programmes.

The GSFP as stated earlier, was supposed to be jointly sponsored by the government of Ghana and NEPAD. With the delay in the release of funds on the part of NEPAD, the Ghana government decided to finance the scheme alone from its own resources.

## 2.8 Conceptual Framework

This study investigated the politics of policy implementation with regards to the Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP). The study was conducted based on the integrated implementation model and the Conceptual framework of Saints, Wizards and Demons. The integrated implementation model is a combination of the top-down and the bottom-up approaches to policy implementation analysis. The framework of Saints, Wizards and Demons is also a synthesis of the concepts of saints, wizards, demons and systems (Peterson, 1994; Peterson, 1998; and Ayee, 2000). A revised model is developed to analyse the implementation of the school feeding programme.

### 2.8.1 Policy Implementation Approaches

Policy implementation studies have gone through phases. There have been the first, the second and the third generation implementation studies. The first generation implementation study was set in motion by Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) with their ground-breaking publication titled *Implementation*. At the heart of their work was the concept of „complexity of joint action“ which was identified as the key challenge to public policy implementation. Winter (2002) explains that, there are several actors, decision points and interest groups in the policy implementation process. Such multiple and complex web of actors in the implementation process have the potential of delaying, distorting and even causing absolute failure to public policies. Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) also identified that the failure of public policies could also be blamed on poor policy instruments. In the case of the GSFP, there are equally, many actors in the policy formulation through to the implementation stage. These multiple actors are all involved

in one way or the other in the school feeding programme of the government of Ghana. How successful has the GSFP been in the light of Winter's (2002) argument with multiple actors? This study will put this argument to test in order to affirm or debunk it in relation to the Ghana School Feeding Programme.

The first generation implementation studies concentrated on the failures of public policies and the causes of the failures. They were identified to be more inclined towards the explorative and inductive case studies with the aim of generating theories of implementation (Winter, 2002). Winter pointed out that Bardach (1977 cited in Winter, 2002) was among the first generation implementation scholars who emphasised conflict in the implementation process. The presence of the multiple actors and interests in the implementation process employ several strategies aimed at outwitting opponents in the pursuance of their own agenda and goals. Such strategies distort the implementation process.

The second generation implementation studies started with the scholars who had the aim of developing theories through the construction of theoretical models or frameworks of analysis thereby coming up with such approaches as the „Top-Down“, „Bottom-Up“, Policy Action Model, Managerialist Approaches, Inter-organizational approach, etc. (Winter, 2002). The dominant approaches for the second generation studies were the „Top-Down“ and „Bottom-Up“. The major proponents of the Top-Down approach to policy implementation were Pressman and Wildavsky (1973). The top-down approach relies on two assumptions. First, policies are made by top level politicians and senior bureaucrats. Second, policies are carried out by officials at lower level. Effective implementation therefore, requires a top-down system of control,

communication and resources. The top-down approach to policy implementation is based on the „command and control“ orientation. Accordingly, the top-down approach is:

laden with the ideas that implementation is about getting people to do what they are asked, and keeping control over a sequence of stages in a system; and about the development of a programme of control and minimises conflict and deviation from the goals set by the initial „policy hypothesis“ (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973, p. xiii).

The essential features of the top-down approach to policy implementation as identified by Sabatier (1986) start with a policy decision by governmental (often central government) officials and then ask the following questions:

- i. To what extent were the actions of implementing officials and target groups consistent with the objectives and procedures outlined in that policy decision?
- ii. To what extent were the objectives attained over time, i.e. to what extent were the impacts consistent with the objectives?
- iii. What were the principal factors affecting policy outputs and impacts, both those relevant to the official policy as well as other politically significant ones?
- iv. How was the policy reformulated over time on the basis of experience?  
(Sabatier, 1986, pp. 22-23)

Analysing the top-down approach, it is evident that the policy making and implementation process is embedded within a variety of legal, political, social and economic variables which go a long way to affect the different stages in the policy implementation process. The top-down approach reflects the perspective of

governmental decision-makers and thus tends to neglect other very important actors who surface in the policy implementation process.

The top-down approach is very effective in cases where there is a dominant public program/project in a policy area where an analyst is solely interested in the effectiveness of a program or in situations where a single public agency dominates (Sabatier, 1986). A group of scholars later came up with an alternative school of thought (Berman & McLaughlin 1976; Hanf & Scharpf, 1978; Elmore, 1979; Browning et al. 1981; Barrett & Fudge, 1981; Hjern & Hull, 1982; Hanf, 1982 cited in Sabatier, 1986) known as the „bottom-up approach“ of implementation.

The bottom-up approach on the other hand, proposes a system of implementation where „street- level bureaucrats“ are important to the successful implementation of public policies. The bottom-up approach is also relevant in situations where there is no identifiable dominant government actor but rather large numbers of actors without power dependency (Sabatier, 1986). It stresses the discretion of „street-level bureaucrats“ in applying policies to achieve the objectives of public policies. From their stand point, „bottom-uppers“ consider implementation to have occurred only when those who are affected by a public policy are actively involved in the planning and execution of programmes intended to mitigate their situations. This is the point of departure of the bottom-up approach from the top-down approach. The top-down approach has an inherent weakness of neglecting strategic initiatives coming from the private sector, from „street-level bureaucrats“ or local implementing officials, and from other policy sub-systems.

**Table 1: Comparative Analysis of Top-Down and Bottom-Up**

	<b>Top-Down</b>	<b>Bottom-Up</b>
<b>Initial focus</b>	Central government decision	Local implementation structure (network) involved in a policy area
<b>Identification of major actors in the Process</b>	From top-down and from government out to private sector	From bottom (government and private) up
<b>Evaluation criteria</b>	Focus on extent of attainment of formal objectives	Much less clear. Basically anything the analyst chooses which is somehow relevant to the policy issue or problem.
<b>Overall focus</b>	How does one steer system to achieve (top) policy-makers' intended policy results?	Strategic interaction among multiple actors in a policy network.

Source: Sabatier (1986, p. 33)

The contributions of the top-down and the bottom-up scholars to implementation studies have been varied. One of such is the mainstreaming of the roles that are played by both policy makers and policy implementers.

### **2.8.2 The Integrated Implementation Model**

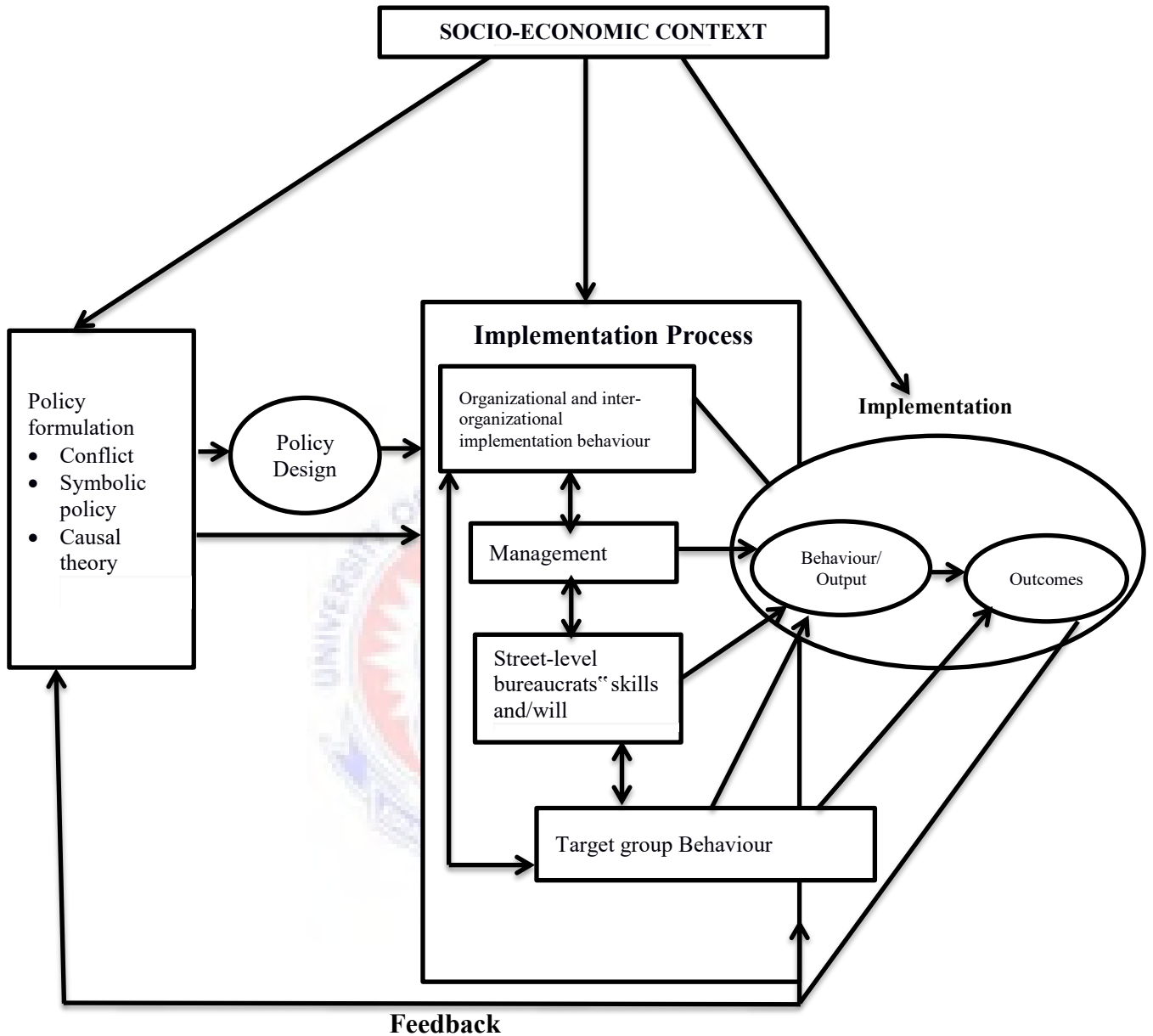
The world of policy implementation theories or approaches have been dominated by the „top-down“ and the „bottom-up“ approaches to policy implementation. Winter (1992, 1994 and 2002), one of such scholars who sought to synthesize the top-down and the bottom-up found that both the „bottom-up“ and a „top-down“ ignored very



important aspects of the policy „implementation reality“ which could leave out important parts in the process. He came up with an idea of combining the various elements from both approaches into an integrated model (Winter, 1990, Winter, 1994 cited in Winter 2002), hence the „integrated implementation model“.

The Integrated Implementation Model (Winter, 1990) is used as one of the theoretical foundations of analysis in this study. This model combines the most important frameworks for the analysis of policy implementation. It gives consideration to policy analysis by looking at policy implementation from the formulation stage to the evaluation stage. The Winter’s integrated implementation model is relevant to this study in the sense that, it factors in, the issues of politics right from the policy formulation stage. The street-level bureaucrat in the implementation process is also discussed. In the implementation of the GSFP, there are field agents (street-level bureaucrats) who play very crucial roles. This model will give this study the basis for the analysis of the politics involved in the implementation process through all the stages.

**Figure 2: Integrated Implementation Model**



Winter's (1990) Integrated Implementation Model

A critical analysis of Winter's integrated implementation model, reveals that it addresses both „bottom-up“ and „top-down“ concerns. Assessing the strengths of the integrated implementation model over the „top-down“ and „bottom-up“, it is identified

that the „top-down“ and „bottom-up“ frameworks omit some important issues which are addressed by Winter’s model. The dynamics of policy formulation provides an insight into the policy cycle including implementation. The formulation processes go a long way to determine the extent of harmonious relations that will exist at the implementation stage of a policy. Support for a policy is also determined when policy formulation is critically assessed and this also helps in determining whether implementation structures and policy instruments are likely to be successful. These strengths presented by the integrated implementation model makes it an appropriate theoretical framework for this study. This is justified in the following paragraphs with an analysis of the model and its application to the Ghana School Feeding Programme.

Winter’s integrated implementation model is structured around four important sets of socio-political processes or conditions which affect implementation outcomes. These are:

- (i) the character of the policy formation process prior to the law or decision to be implemented;
- (ii) the organizational and inter-organizational implementation behaviour;
- (iii) street-level bureaucratic behaviour; and
- (iv) response by target groups and other changes in society.

These four sets of socio-political processes or conditions are explained below.

### **2.8.3 Policy Formulation**

For a policy to be successfully implemented, policy formulation is the starting block. What really constitutes a well-designed policy has been a difficult enterprise for both academics and practitioners in the field of public policy. Some consider the assumptions and values that are put into the formulation process. Others also consider instruments that make up the elements of the policy whilst others also give consideration to how choices about policy targets and instruments shape the reactions to the policies and their eventual durability (May, 2003). All choices made concerning the relevant policy instruments, the policy implementing institutions, resource availability, the labelling of the policy and the language used to communicate policy goals are all embedded within the ambit of policy design.

In Winter's model, the implementation process and final outcome begin at the policy formulation stage. There is a direct correlation between conflict at the formulation stage and the degree of frustration that would be encountered during implementation and the outcome of the policy. The greater the degree of conflict at the formulation stage, the more likely the implementation would be frustrated into failure. The existence of conflict during programme formulation is useful in explaining implementation outcomes. In order to build consensus, there should be a conscious effort on both sides to convince the other to understand their position. Conflict at the policy formulation stage is able to „force“ out the expected outcomes of the policy in order to build consensus.

Choice of policy instrument to a large extent, influences the implementation and policy formulation as it addresses the issue of whether programmes were based on valid

assumptions of cause and effect. According to Winter (1990), there is the need for high levels of commitment of policy or programme proponents. Some factors that affect this commitment include the length of the decision-making process, the number of participants, and the number of competing issues on the agenda.

For a programme like the GSFP to fail or succeed, commitment was essential at the formulation stage. This commitment as an indicator of success was exhibited by the Ghana government in the case of the GSFP. The Ghana government was committed to supporting the programme with funds and personnel. It was even ready to solely roll out the programme when donor support delayed. After Ghana had been selected as one of the initial countries in sub-Saharan Africa to pilot the school feeding programme, funding for the programme was expected to be provided partly by NEPAD and the Ghana government. The Ghana government showed a lot of commitment and ended up providing the funds needed, with the help of the Dutch government when NEPAD was delaying in the release of funds for the programme.

The crafting of public policies involves a long process of analysis of problems and available options, give-and-take over politically acceptable courses of action, and an authoritative decision to enact a policy. Policy design should allow for relatively straightforward implementation and monitoring in order to yield positive results. Policy design is defined as “the process of inventing, developing and fine-tuning a course of action with the amelioration of a problem (in mind)” (Dryzek, 1983, p. 346 in May, 2003). Different policy designs either hinder or facilitate effective policy implementation. Policy implementation has, however, not been to its optimal success point yet due to limitations such as lack of goal clarity; inconsistency in goals;

multiplicity of actors, decision points and levels of action and by non-statutory factors such as problem intractability and unsupportive political environments. One thing that has been overlooked, yet very important has been the political context of public policies when they suggested that there should be „statutory coherence“ that comes as a result of clear goals and simple implementation structure (May, 2003).

May (2003) identified three provisions that can circumvent policy limitations. The first was capacity building. Capacity building for effective policy outcomes includes such measures as provision of funds for policy implementation, education and training of personnel in the policy making and implementation process as well as technical assistance for intermediaries in the implementation process to carry out the requisite actions. Secondly, there is the need for ensuring that there is commitment to the success of the policy. Commitment building actions include publicity of the policy goals, authorization for citizens to take action against implementation failure, failure on the part of stakeholders to act on policy objectives, cost-sharing requirements etc. The third is a set of policy provisions that signal desired policy outcomes such as publicity about successful policies. All these interventions are aimed at making policy implementation successful through intermediaries.

#### 2.8.4 Policy Design

Policy instruments and designs put emphasis on the workings and politics of the components of a policy. All policies incorporate various means or tools for accomplishing set objectives. Policy instruments are “direct government provision, governmental corporations and sponsored enterprises, economic regulation, social regulation, government insurance, public information, charges and special taxes, contracting, purchase-of-service contracting, grants, loans and loan guarantees, tax expenditures, vouchers, and tort liability” (May, 2003, p. 282). Tools that are taken into account or employed when coming up with a policy differ in relation to the political situation and the type of policy in question.

In relation to the political environment that affects policies, May (2003), identified a continuum with „policies with publics“ at one end and „policies without publics“ at the other end. Policies with publics are policies that are fashioned in a democratic environment where multiple actors with competing interest and different resources are brought to bear on the policy right from the formulation stage.

There is a multiplicity of „publics“ with competing interests and differential resources. The various publics with different interests all seek to dominate the process of policy problem definition, formulation, design and implementation. May (2003) argues that before consensus is built, there has to be the destruction of strongly held opposition coalitions, core beliefs etc.

Policy design for „policies with publics“ stresses structuring of relationships and coordination of behaviour of all relevant „publics“ that make up the intermediaries and target groups. For policies with publics, the design of a policy should seek to create a

new coalition to break the old resistant coalitions or create a crisis of an existing policy in order to make a case for a new policy without much opposition from the interested publics.

Policies without publics on the other hand, are free of the immense politics, conflicts of interest and desire for domination. There is a greater degree of implementation autonomy, though, the intermediaries and the target groups exist. The challenge then is that they seem uninterested in the policy hence are poorly delineated. Policy intentions establish the policy goals and programmes to be rolled out. The design of a policy by policy makers and the choices a policy churned out to policy implementers are greatly affected by politics. Different forms of politics are associated with different policies such as distributive, redistributive and regulatory policies.

The GSFP is a public policy with „publics“. The environment that surrounds the GSFP is full of the „publics“ that present different interests in the policy implementation process. This study would assess the roles, influences and challenges that the multiple „publics“(actors with interest) present in the implementation of the GSFP.

### **2.8.5 Implementation Process**

The second set of variables that Winter (1990) identified concerned the response of organizations to policies and programmes, and inter-organizational relationships. These are considered to influence implementation in several respects. “The degree of conflict between agencies during implementation is assumed to be the most important institutional/organizational issue” (Ryan 1996, p. 746). In the case of the GSFP, the government of the day with majority in parliament, enjoyed legislative support. As



required in any modern democracy like Ghana's, the legislature sanctioned the spending of the executive on the school feeding programme. Parliamentary support of the programme have proved very vital to the effective implementation of such social intervention programmes like the GSFP.

O'Toole (1996) elaborated on the inter-organizational relations in the policy implementation process. The inter-organizational context was explained to be the most complex environment within which any policy could be implemented. At the core of policy implementation is the requirement for various institutions to transform general policy intentions into rules, routines, and social processes that can convert policy intentions into actions. Coordination between different institutions implementing various social protection schemes and other social policies is crucial, in order to avoid wasting resources.

The need for cooperation and coordination of different but interdependent organizations with different outlooks and perspectives of a given policy poses the greatest task in the implementation process. One important factor that can generate successful implementation of a policy with inter-organizational collaboration is when all institutions in the policy process are interested in the objectives of the policy to be implemented. The shared interest in the outcome of the policy may be enough to generate effective implementation. In the implementation process, the organizational and inter-organizational behaviour play a critical role in the success or otherwise of public policies. These two variables refer to the reaction of organizations or inter-organizational relationships to programme directives. This includes the degree of

harmony between programme objectives and organizational interests, and the co-operation among institutional interests (Ryan, 1996).

Within the context of the organizational and inter-organizational behaviour, administrative capacity is needed for the coordination and balancing of power between various ministries involved in the management of a programme from the national to the decentralized levels of policy implementation. This allows for broader participation that is inclusive of people at the lowest levels of administration, leading to an improved ability to extract and utilize local information. This also contributes to an increase in ownership and accountability at the community level. In the case of the school feeding programmes, Giovannetti et al. (2012) argue that, the Ministries of Agriculture and Education often opt for different approaches. It then becomes the responsibility of the supervising institution to provide direction for the successful implementation of such social intervention schemes. This explains the Ghanaian case where there are multiple actors in the implementation of the school feeding programme but the GSFP Secretariat has oversight responsibility thereby whipping all other stakeholder institutions in line with the overall objectives of the scheme.

Winter's (1990) model presents some ambiguities in area of the relationship between the organizational and inter-organizational implementation behaviour and the implementation process. One is unable to establish the nature of the relationship as there is no clear definition of the linkage between the two. Where the influence comes from is unknown to the readers and it makes the model a little ambiguous. If there had been a clear definition of the nature of the relationship, it would have made the model a very comprehensive one for the study of policy implementation.

This study in applying Winter's (1990) integrated implementation model, would look into the inter-organizational dynamics at the district levels in the two municipalities chosen for the study. Such issues as the extent of collaboration, conflict and power relations would be brought to light and their net effect on the implementation of the GSFP would be analysed.

### **2.8.6 Street-Level Bureaucrats**

Lipsky (1980, p. 3) defines Street-Level Bureaucrats (SLBs) as “public service workers who interact directly with citizens in the course of their jobs, and who have substantial discretion in the execution of their work”. Street-level bureaucrats (SLBs) according to Winter (2003), are public field-workers who in the implementation process, interact directly with beneficiaries of public policies. SLBs are the government employees who meet citizens on „face-to-face“ encounters in the capacity of government representatives to the people. SLBs are very crucial in the policy implementation process. Due to their role in the policy implementation process, it is very important how the SLBs are managed in order to achieve the desired policy goals.

There is a paradigm shift from the concentration of attention on the institutional and organizational authority to the power of the individual. „Street-level“ bureaucrats have the capacity to systematically distort the implementation of projects and programmes. In the implementation of the GSFP, there are typical street-level bureaucrats who interact directly with the beneficiaries of the programme. The caterers and the school coordinators are categorized as street-level bureaucrats by this study.

Caterers are the frontline implementers of the feeding programme by cooking for the pupils who are the beneficiaries of the state policy of school feeding.

In the policy cycle, there is always a relationship between the policy formulation and the policy outcomes. In Winter's (1990) integrated implementation model, this relationship is not made clear to the reader. Some indications of the nature of the flow of information/feedback should have been made to make the model understandable in that direction. This deficiency in the model presents a little challenge to the holistic adoption of the model for this study. This study therefore, adopted another policy implementation model (saints, wizards and demons) to make up for this deficiency.

#### **2.8.7 Target Group Behaviour**

The final set of variables considered by Winter (1990) is target group behaviour and the impact of socio-economic conditions on outcomes of policies and programmes. Target group behaviour is the ultimate measure of whether a policy or programme implemented has been successful or not. In the Ghana School Feeding programme, the target groups are the public schools in deprived communities, the communities hosting the schools and the pupils that are to be fed by the scheme. The behaviour of target group in the policy implementation is viewed in relation to their reaction to the policy. In relation to the Ghana School Feeding Programme, the target group behaviour was viewed in terms of community participation. The success or failure of a public policy is to a large extent determined by the involvement of the beneficiaries of the public policy.

The integrated implementation model (Winter, 1990) provides ample basis for an analysis of the formulation and implementation of public policies. This model

combines the most important frameworks for the analysis of policy formulation and implementation. It gives consideration to policy analysis by looking at policy implementation from the formulation to the evaluation stage. This strength that the integrated implementation model presents, makes it an appropriate framework with which the implementation of the Ghana School Feeding Programme would be analysed.

## **2.9 Policy Success determinants of Saints, Wizards, Systems and Demons**

This study also used the concepts of *saints, wizards, demons and systems* as used by Peterson (1994), Peterson (1998) and Ayee (2000) to assess the roles of the various stakeholders in the implementation of the Ghana school Feeding Programme. Peterson (1998) assessed the factors that contribute to the success or failure of public bureaucracies and came up with four major variables that could determine the rate of success or failure. Peterson (1994) came up with *saints, wizards, demons and systems* as the determinants of how successful the public bureaucracy could be. Ayee (2000) also applied the concepts of *saints, wizards, demons and systems* to explain the success or failure of public policies and programmes. Peterson (1998) applied these *saints, wizards, demons and systems* variables to explain the failure of technology as a tool to reforming public bureaucracies but Ayee (2000) applied them to explain the failure of public policies and programmes.

„Saints“ are explained as government reformers (Peterson, 1998) who seek progress and success of public policies and programmes. They are the right, progressive and committed politicians and bureaucrats (Ayee, 2000). The saints are various public officers who wield some power in the policy cycle. Such public officers include

bureaucrats and politicians. The saints are the progressive officials who have the political will to work at getting public policies implemented to be successful. They have such attributes as ability to manage staff, skills in delegation, access to resources willingness to take risk and commitment to policy goals (Peterson, 1994; Peterson, 1998; Ayee, 2000).

„Wizards“ are regarded as the appropriate policy analysts with available and reliable information as well as the required professional integrity (Peterson, 1994; Peterson, 1998; Ayee, 2000). According to Peterson (1998), the appropriate wizards perform five roles.

First and most importantly, they provide a unity of design and implementation. Second, in the short to medium term they help in insulating the system. Third, they bring essential and appropriate resources. Fourth, they help the saint in management. Fifth, and second in importance to providing unity of design and implementation, the wizard improves the short-term productivity of the organization (p. 51).

Inappropriate wizards on the other hand, lack the needed skills and the expertise of the appropriate wizards. Inappropriate wizards have the skills but their skills are narrow, shallow and inappropriate to public policies.

„Demons“ are the antagonistic and lethargic group in the policy cycle. They are very destructive as they are involved in the public policy process. Usually, they form a very small part of the group of public officials and they engage in nefarious activities that could impede the successful policy implementation. The demons seek personal gains through foul means to the detriment of the public good. Their activities are summarily, corruption of all forms. Such forms of corruption include bribery, cronyism,

fraud, embezzlement, etc. Their activities undermine the effectiveness and success of public policy implementation.

The „systems“ is the total political, social and economic context within which the policy cycle is situated. The system defines how the policy is made, the influences and the expectations of the recipients or beneficiaries of the public policy. The system could be referred to as the overall environment within which the public policy is made and implemented.

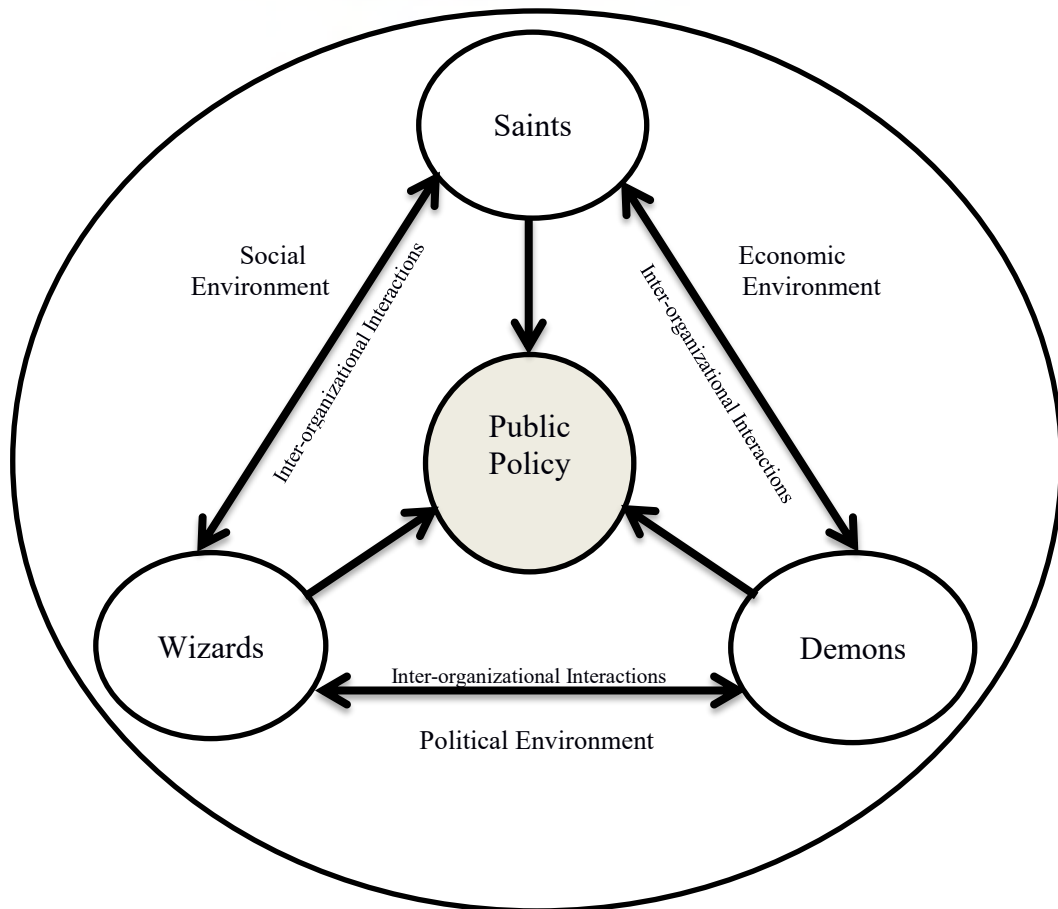
This study looked into the contribution of the saints involved in the implementation of the school feeding programme. Such saints include the Municipal Chief Executives and their representatives and their contribution to the success or failure of the school feeding programme. The Wizards in the school feeding programme were identified as the Municipal Officers responsible for the school feeding and the school coordinators. The demons in the school feeding programme were those who did not give their best to see the programme succeed.

## **2.10 Conceptual framework of Saints, Wizards, and Demons**

This study synthesizes these variables of saints, wizards, demons and systems and Winter's (1990) Integrated Implementation Model to develop a conceptual framework to analyse the factors that contribute to the effective implementation of public policies. This framework sought to simplify the variables that are considered as the factors that determine how successful a public policy would be. This study regarded the saints, wizards and demons as the main actors in the policy implementation process. The systems as explained by Peterson (1994) and Peterson (1998) are factors that are

within the bureaucracy itself that contribute to the policy success or failure. Ayee (2000) also explains the systems similarly to be made up of variables that are present in the public bureaucracy. This study departs from their position on the components of the system. To this study, there is an external environment which impinges some measure of influence on the major policy implementation actors of saints, wizards and demons as well as determines the form of inter-organizational interactions or relations within the bureaucratic set up.

**Figure 3: Conceptual Framework of Saints, Wizards and Demons.**



Source: Researcher's own construct



The framework of Saints, Wizards and Demons comes up with the idea that with the implementation of every public policy, there are different but interconnected sets of environments (with different elements) within which the process takes place. These environments comprise interconnected social, political and economic elements that shape public policy implementation. From the policy formulation stage through to the evaluation stage, these social, political and economic variables are ever present, and they exert some influence on the inter-organizational relations and on the actors that are involved in the policy implementation process. If there will be saints, wizards or demons, they are the creation of the interactions of other actors in the environment within which these actors (saints, wizards and demons) are also located. Winter (1990) in the integrated implementation model, called it the socio-economic context. This socio-economic context was explained to exert some influence on the policy formulation, implementation and evaluation processes. The environment in this model also admits the influences that the social, economic and political environments can bring to bear on the formulation, implementation and evaluation of a public policy.

At the heart of a policy implementation framework is the public policy itself. Embedded within the public policy are some important variables. For Winter (1990), they are the policy formulation, policy design, the implementation process and the implementation outcomes. The complex web of variables of Winter (1990) have been collapsed into „public policy“ in the conceptual framework of Saints, Wizards and Demons. Before a public policy goes through the full policy cycle, it is expected to have been formulated, designed, implemented and evaluated. Hence the need to develop a new framework (the Framework of Saints, Wizards and Demons) to reduce the

cumbersome nature of the Integrated Implementation Model of Winter (1990). To the Framework of Saints, Wizards and Demons, the critical roles of the agents called the Saints, the Wizards and the Demons, need to be projected beyond any other consideration in the policy process. Such agents determine whether the policy would succeed or fail.

Public policy according to Dye (1998), is what governments do, why they do it, and what difference it makes. He puts it in another way when he explained public policy as whatever governments decide to do or not to do. Jenkins (1978) also defined public policy as “a set of inter-related decisions taken by a political actor or group of actors concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specified situation where those decisions should, in principle, be within the power of those actors to achieve” (p. 3). Anderson (1977) on the other hand, defined public policy as “purposive course of action or inaction followed by an actor or set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern” (p. 5). From these definitions, it comes out clear that a public policy connotes the actions of state actors in response to a problem of public concern. The actions of the state actors are meant to solve the problem confronting the public in order to achieve a „public good“. The Framework of Saints, Wizards and Demons assumes a public policy to be a process or series of state actions (or inactions), decisions, activities that are put in place in the face of a public problem in order to remedy the situation.

Within the Framework of Saints, Wizards and Demons, there are three groups of public officials or agents who directly affect public policies. The first group is the saints. The saints are a group of government (political and bureaucratic) officials who

occupy superior offices within the public administrative system. Such officials include the top government officials who are political office holders as well as top bureaucratic officials. This category of officials include the sector Ministers, the Chief Directors of the Ministries, the Metropolitan/Municipal/District Chief Executives (MMCEs) and District Coordinating Directors. The saints are the public officials who are in supervisory positions in the policy making and implementation process. Not all political appointees of the government are qualified to be saints. The saints are the breed of public officials, who carry some attributes such as risk taking, initiation of innovation, professional commitment, ability to manage staff, skills in delegation, access to resources and right decision making abilities (Peterson, 1994; Peterson, 1998; Ayee, 2000).

The role that the saints play in the policy making and implementation process is mainly, one of supervision. The saints define the policy goals, mobilize resources needed for the effective implementation of the public policy and defend the policy. The saints manage and create the enabling environment for effective policy implementation. The saints provide a clear vision, direction and a sense of purpose for the other agents to follow. The saints rally the other agents around the policy goals for successful implementation.

The second group in the framework is the wizards. The wizards are the technical agents with the required expertise in the policy making and implementation process. They have the necessary skills and information to turn the policy objectives into workable programmes and projects for the achievement of public good. The roles of the wizards include the provision of support to the saints. The support is provided through

research and analysis of data for effective policy implementation. The wizards being the experts in their areas, provided the concrete strategies to the saints to be able to function efficiently. Some members of the wizardry group are the Departmental Heads, Technical Advisors, Special Assistants, Programme Officers and Desk Officers. The wizards should have some attributes such as professional integrity. The wizards, as the technical agents, should be able to professionally advise the saints on the feasibility of policy objectives based on facts.

The third group of agents is the demons. The demons are the hostile and apathetic, yet very destructive group in the policy cycle. They are not interested in the achievement of the policy goals to the benefit of the general public. Their interest in the policy process is self-centred. They seek their personal gains to the detriment of the public good. The demons are simply put, the corrupt public officials at all levels of the political and bureaucratic hierarchy. They could be high political office holder or technical staff. All that matter to such, are their personal benefits from public policies and programmes.

There are forms of relationships that exist among the saints, wizards and the demons. The saints in the first place, support other saints in creating a friendly atmosphere for effective policy making and implementation. The saints also supervise the wizards in order to give direction to their expertise. When the wizards are left without supervision, they end up becoming inappropriate wizards because their expertise would no more be beneficial to the policy making process. The saints also have the difficult task of identifying and whipping up the demons in line. If the demons are left, they could undermine the policy goals into failure. The saints have to be

uncompromising in their focus and whip the demons into following the policy goals or get punished.

The wizards in their relations with the saints, provide essential supports needed for policy survival. Because the wizards have the institutional memory and the needed technical expertise, they are better placed to offer pieces of timely advice to the saints to prevent mistakes. The wizards are able to also relate with other wizards within the environment by providing the needed support and by sharing experiences to insulate the policy process from failure. Among the wizards, networking for improvement becomes their basic mode of survival. This is achieved through workshops and training programmes. The wizards, due to their knowledge, relate to the demons in ways that seek to block their paths and loopholes through which the demons get corrupt. The wizards can create systems that can prevent the demons from operating to full capacity in order to make policy objectives achievable.

The demons are difficult to locate, yet they are everywhere and they wreak havoc anywhere they appear. The demons undermine the saints as well as the wizards. They always look for ways of reaping unmerited benefits from the policy. In situations where they sense some booty to be looted from the policy goals' achievement, they support the policy. Whenever their personal gains are not feasible, they fight the policy goals by undermining the saints leading the process. They raise blockades such as resistance to reforms and delaying in the performance of their duties. If the systems created by the wizards are also not favouring the wizards, they try to create other openings in the system in order to continue with their demonic and nefarious activities.

Mention must be made of the context of the environment within which these agents operate in getting (or not getting) policy objectives achieved. The environment (political, economic and social) could be tonic or toxic to the policy making and implementation process. The tonic environment is the environment that enables the effective performance of the duties of the saints and the wizards. A tonic environment deters the demons from engaging in corrupt acts as they are aware of the possibility of punitive actions that could be brought against them. The determinants of a tonic environment include the political will and commitment of political and administrative leadership at the national level to punish corrupt officials. Another is the eradication of patronage and partisan considerations in national policies. Other tonic ingredients include application of rules, reward for hard work, a sense of patriotism and nationalism and the building of systems for good governance.

The toxic environment on the other hand is created through a combination of various factors including poor national leadership, widespread corruption without punishment, poor conditions of service, recruitment of inappropriate staff, disregard for the rule of law and general social decadence among others. Toxic environments create good breeding grounds for the demons to increase in number and influence. Toxic environments clog the vessels of supply of incentives that keep the saints and wizards active. When the toxic environment is not dealt with, it eventually leads to discouragement of the saints and the wizards who may give up and either leave the system or get „demonized“ and then join in the demonic activities that make public policies fail.

## 2.11 Summary

This chapter provided a broad overview of issues and trends in school feeding. The purpose and focus of this chapter was on the examination of some literature relevant to this study.

School feeding which is simply, food-for-education has been implemented by advanced state for a very long time. In Ghana, there were evidence of school feeding being carried out by such organizations like the Catholic Relief Services (CRS), Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the World Food Programme and the World Vision. The Ghana government started the Ghana School Feeding Programme after NEPAD had chosen Ghana to be one of the pioneering countries to implement a school feeding programme under the Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP). The Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP) had the objective of reducing hunger and malnutrition, increasing school enrolment, attendance and retention as well as boosting domestic food production.

The theoretical foundation upon which this study was based is the „integrated implementation model“ of Winter (1990). The conceptual framework of saints, wizards and demons was the result of a synthesis of various theories of policy implementation. The framework encompass the most relevant issues that this study sought out to investigate. It touched on the policy making process. It also has the implementation process covered by addressing issues such as organizational and inter-organizational behaviour, street-level bureaucrat among others.

## CHAPTER THREE

### METHODOLOGY

#### 3.0 Introduction

This section of the study explains the methodological framework and research procedures that were adopted for data collection and analysis. This chapter is broken down into three sections. The first section contains an explanation of the ontological and epistemological basis for the strategies employed to undertake the study. The second section addresses the research design for the study. The third section also discusses the methods of data collection, analysis and the rationale for selecting study methods.

The selection of a particular research methodology depends on the paradigm that guides the research process. Embedded within the paradigm are “the following components: ontology, epistemology, methodology, and, methods” (Scotland, 2012, p. 10). These make up the general beliefs system of the researcher about the nature of reality (ontology), the particular theory of knowledge (epistemology) that informs the research, and how that knowledge may be gained (methodology) (Noonan, 2008; Fekede, 2010; Dieronitou, 2014). The ontological, epistemological and methodological considerations are central to the conduct of social science research. These three are the essential elements that give meaning, shape and definition to the conduct of any social science research. In the research process, the ontological and epistemological positions of the researcher inform the way the entire research is conducted, hence the methodology. An understanding of the ontological and epistemological grounds of this study is crucial in bringing out the methodology considered to be one of the most appropriate.



### **3.1 Ontological and Epistemological Basis for the Study**

According to Dieronitou (2014, p. 4), ontology in the social world is taken to mean the kinds of things or phenomena that exist. Ontology is a philosophical belief system about the nature of social reality (what can be known and how?). It is concerned with the very nature of reality and existence. Ontology is a belief system or theory about the nature of social phenomena as definite entities that could be admitted as a knowledge system. Ontology is the „philosophical science of being“ which aims at providing reasoned and deductive accounts of the fundamental sorts of things that are or that exist (Noonan, 2008). Ontological paradigms seek to investigate any form of knowledge, both natural and social phenomena.

Epistemology poses the following questions to a researcher: What is the relationship between the knower and what is known? How do we know what we know? What counts as knowledge? (Fekede, 2010). Epistemology is the theory of knowledge and is concerned with the question of what counts as knowledge that is valid. Epistemological debates in terms of conducting social science research is whether or not the social world can be studied according to the same principles as the natural sciences. Epistemology in research sense, means the „explanation of knowledge“. The epistemological foundation for any scientific knowledge seeks to find out what informed the knowledge arrived at. It refers to a theory of knowledge that informed the research findings. Researchers make claim about the reality or body of knowledge (ontology) they have identified. The question is, how we know it (epistemology). There are two major ontological positions in the social sciences. These are identified as

positivism and post-positivism (interpretivism/constructivism). These ontological positions come with their epistemological assumptions as well.

Positivism is a position in the philosophy of science that emphasizes the importance of observation for the generation and growth of knowledge. It considers the measurement of phenomena as central to the development of knowledge and understanding. It recognizes the need for a theoretical framework within which to structure data. In the positivist philosophy, theories are to be tested against the data generated with the intention of testing hypothesis to either confirm or debunk previously held knowledge. Positivism explains that social reality is independent and removed from the researcher's awareness. Positivism is the ontological belief that an objective reality exists which could be known and could be increasingly known through the accumulation and critical analysis of more information gathered from research. The positivist ontological assumptions are grounded on the premise that "scientific knowledge" can be achieved through thorough research.

The positivists' epistemological claim is that knowledge of reality is made up of only what is observable by our senses. Positivism establishes that there is a causal relationships in the natural world. To them, knowledge of social reality can only be achieved if there is the establishment of such a causal relationship. To the positivists, rigorous scientific methods should be applied in the study of social phenomena. The positivists' position is that, social scientists should be able to establish relationships that exist between social phenomena by the use of theory. Such theory is used to generate hypothesis which could be tested through the use of sense observation. Data collected in a positivist study by social scientists are hard data and are neutral. Such neutrality makes

the data insulated against the 'values' of interpretations of the social science researcher. Data generated is then reduced to numbers to describe social phenomena (Grix, 2004).

Post-positivism as an ontological position rejects the claims of the positivists. Post-positivism encapsulates a range of perspectives that reject the positivists' claim to be able to discern a single social reality and to observation as the sole technique for its discernment. Post-positivism describes an approach to the acquisition of knowledge, but it is also by extension, an assessment of how that knowledge of reality is arrived at. Thus, it is both an ontological and an epistemological position (Fox, 2008). At the heart of post-positivism "is the recognition that social realities need to be understood from the perspective of the subject rather than that of the observer and in totality rather than in isolation" (Fox, 2008, p. 660).

There are two contrasting perspectives within post-positivism which according to Fox (2008) can be broadly described as constructivism/interpretivism and realism. Constructivism/interpretivism contends that objective knowledge is impossible because of the issue of interpretation. Another argument of the constructivist is that, the world is constructed by human beings with their context and self-interest views of the world. This leads to the situation where knowledge or social reality itself is multiple (multifaceted), contingent, and value laden.

According to the interpretivists the world does not exist independently of our knowledge of it (Grix, 2004). Reality can be understood through a person's interpretation instead of observations and experiences of the world. The interpretivists' perspective seeks to attain knowledge through, the meaning provided by people in the study of social life. The interpretivists obtain data for their research through the

interpretations they are provided with, by people concerning their situation, actions and experiences concerning the phenomenon of interest to the researcher (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

Interpretivism explains that social entities can and should be regarded as social constructions that are built upon the perceptions and actions of social actors. Interpretivism argues against the existence of an external objective reality independent of an individual from which knowledge may be collected or gained as explained by the positivists. Interpretivism stresses the point that each individual or participant constructs knowledge through his or her experiences which come about as a result of social interactions. In conducting social science research, one engages in interviewing for data generation as the researcher aims to understand a social phenomenon from the perspective and interpretations of those experiencing it. Due to these conditions that churn out knowledge or reality, it reduces reality and makes it subjective. Constructivists conclude that realism cannot, therefore, be considered a post-positivist position.

The realists' perspective on the other hand, adheres to the notion that there is some objective reality to the social world. Post-positivist realists also agree that social science is interpretive hence ultimately subjective.

Although realism considers there is an objective social reality that could be discerned were social researchers to possess sufficiently sophisticated tools, realism recognizes that when it comes to studying the social world, our tools (human understanding and interpretation) are inevitably value laden, theory laden and context dependent. All that can be hoped for is that by continual efforts toward methodological rigor, triangulation from various data sources, and

meticulous analysis of data that an approximation to truth can be derived and generalized (Fox, 2008, pp. 662-663).

Their claim is that all that the social researcher can do is the aspiration to knowledge through rigor, multiple data and theory analyses, building and testing of hypothesis (Fox, 2008). If reality is subjective, then the realists are of the view that with the intersubjectivity of other people, social reality could be achieved objectively and independently over time, out of the subjective interpretations of human beings concerning social phenomenon.

This study is grounded in interpretivism/constructivism which is a post-positivism ontology. Interpretivist/constructivist ontology aims at “avoiding a naive (unreflective, uncritical) empiricism that would reduce the nature of social reality to that which is disclosed by statistical and empirical methods of research” (Nooman, 2008, p. 579). It is argued that:

Unlike the objects of natural science, which are not produced by human action and thus constitute a reality that truly is given to the mind to investigate, social reality is the result of complex forms of human action and interaction. That fact means that social reality is dynamic in a way that natural reality is not. The fundamental forms of social reality can change precisely because they are determined by forms of action and interaction that create a field of possibilities, but that simultaneously exclude the realization of most of them. Posing critical ontological questions thus opens up the field of social possibilities, whereas proceeding on the assumption that, that which is real in society is identical to the conclusions of statistical-empirical research keeps the field of possibilities hidden (Nooman, 2008, p. 579).

The assumption is that social reality is dynamic in a way that natural reality is not. Social reality changes as often as circumstances, environments and experiences change.

Social reality is therefore not a fixed reality that could be observed objectively and independently of the actors involved. Social reality is determined by forms of action and interaction that create a field of possibilities.

This study is purely a social science enquiry which cannot be reduced to statistical-empirical examination. There would therefore, be the need to indulge in critical discourse in order to unearth the realities that the respondents might not even be aware of as contributing to their reality in relation to the social phenomenon of interest to the study. Primary data collection techniques employed by the interpretive perspective of post-positivism include in-depth interviews, semi-structured interviews, participant observation, documents, audio-visual materials, photography and life history (Creswell, 2003).

### **3.2 Research Approach**

The approach is the link between the philosophical standpoint (ontology and epistemology) of the researcher and the method(s) (perspective and tools) to be used by the researcher in the conduct of social research. In conducting social research, the approach chosen is largely informed by the researcher's ontological and epistemological beliefs. Approach is a research strategy that seeks to aid the researcher to translate ontological and epistemological principles into guidelines that show the path through which the research is to be conducted (Sarantakos, 2005). An approach in the research process, is "the strategy, plan of action, process or design lying behind the choice and use of particular methods and linking the choice and use of the methods to the desired outcomes" (Crotty, 2003, p. 3).

The approach involves the way in which a researcher chooses the various tools and techniques in dealing with research questions. Research approach concerns itself with how research is to be conducted. It seeks to set out the „how“ in the research process. The „how“ of the research process serves as the basis for coming up with any body of knowledge. Different dispositions of researchers in their ontological and epistemological assumptions inform their approach to gathering and interpreting data and in the long run, the acquisition of knowledge.

Due to the epistemological perspective driving this study, the qualitative approach would be the most appropriate methodology for the study. In Social Science research, qualitative research is based on the post-positivist (interpretivists) school of thought. The qualitative research methodology attempts to gain an understanding of the underlying reasons responsible for a particular social phenomenon of interest and the motivations for actions and establish how people interpret their experiences of the world around them.

Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices ... turn the world into a series of representations including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzil and Lincoln, 2000: 3 in Snape and Spencer, 2003, pp. 2-3)

In conducting qualitative research, the researcher's perspective is to capture the meanings that participants attach to the phenomenon of interest to the research. The researcher then interprets the responses of the participants within the context of the environmental setting within which the participants are situated. Researchers using the qualitative methodology like this study, "immerse themselves in a culture or group by observing its people and their interactions, often participating in activities, interviewing key people, taking life histories, constructing case studies, and analysing existing documents or other cultural artefacts. The qualitative researcher's goal is to attain an insider's view of the group under study" (Fekede, 2010, p. 102).

The qualitative approach seeks the perspectives of the subjects under study and gives meanings to their responses in order to answer research questions. Social reality is regarded as involving processes instead of being regarded as static phenomena that could be objectively unearthed.

### **3.3 Research Design**

Research design explains the various ways or methods of scientific investigation. This includes methods of data collection and analysis that are employed in the research process. Research design according to Cheek (2008, p. 761) refers to "the way in which a research idea is transformed into a research project or plan that can then be carried out in practice by a researcher ...". It is further explained that, research design includes the decisions about the conceptualization of the research, the conduct of the research project, and the contribution the research is intended to make to the development of knowledge in a particular area within which the research is being



conducted. Methods are “the techniques or procedures used to gather and collect data related to some research question or hypothesis” (Crotty, 2003, p. 3). Research design, is not just about the identification of techniques to be used in data collection and analysis. It engulfs such important issues as the theoretical, methodological, and ethical considerations that go a long way to shape both the design and what the research is aiming to achieve.

A multiple case study approach was employed in the conduct of this study. A case study is a research approach in which one or a few instances of a phenomenon are studied in depth (Blatter, 2008). Creswell (2009) defines the case study approach as a “strategy of enquiry in which the researcher explores in depth a programme, event, activity, process, or one or more individuals” (p. 5). According to Yin (2003) a case study research design should be considered under the following circumstances in the research process: when the focus of the research is to answer a question relating to “how” and “why” of a social phenomenon; when the behaviour of the subjects in the research process cannot be manipulated; or when the researcher wants to cover contextual conditions that are relevant to the phenomenon of interest under study.

This study fundamentally sought to find answers to „how“ politics has been a factor in the implementation of the Ghana School Feeding Programme. This study also sought to find answers to the research questions in order to unearth the reasons for the role of politics (or otherwise) in the implementation of a public policy as important as the Ghana School Feeding Programme. This satisfies the „why“ question that according to Yin (2003) would necessitate the employment of the case study approach in a

qualitative study. The participants in this study are such that it would be extremely difficult to control them.

The study was a multiple case study. A Multiple case study affords the researcher the opportunity to explore in-depth the differences and similarities within and between cases. The goal of this research is to identify the similarities and difference in the forms and nature of politics in the implementation of the Ghana School Feeding Programme in the Ga West and Effutu Municipalities.

For the purpose of this study, information was obtained from both secondary and primary sources. The secondary sources of information for this study were mainly from journals. Other secondary sources included the use of published books and the internet. The secondary sources of data provided the basis for explaining the behaviour and perceptions of participants on the role of politics in the implementation of a public policy. The primary sources of data used for this study consisted of data obtained from respondents such as District Assembly officials, heads of schools, caterers and other stakeholders in the Ghana School Feeding Programme. Other sources of data were also obtained from government and official publications, including Acts of Parliament, legislative instruments and annual reports.

### **3.4 Study Areas**

The Ga West Municipality with Amasaman as its capital has rural and urban settlements with a total population of the 219,788. Government of Ghana has implemented numerous social intervention programmes including Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP), District Disability Fund and Ghana Youth in

Entrepreneurship and Employment Development Agency (GYEEDA) in the Municipality. In the Municipality, 6.9% of the population are engaged in Agriculture. The percentage of households engaged in agriculture is 77.6% out of which 23.5% are engaged in crop farming, 23.5% are engaged in livestock farming while only a few (0.8%) are engaged in fish farming. In both urban (80.0%) and rural (73.6%) areas, crop farming is the main agricultural activity (Ghana Statistical Service, 2010).

The Effutu Municipality is one of the Districts in the Central Region of Ghana. With a total population of 68,597 the municipality has fourteen settlements which are clustered around the Municipal capital, Winneba. Overall, there are 17,121 households in the municipality out of which two thousand one hundred and sixty-six (2,166) of the households representing 12.7 percent are engaged in agricultural activities. Majority of the households, 1302 representing 60.1 percent are involved in crop farming. More than one-half (52.2%) of households are rearing livestock while smaller percentages are involved in tree planting (1.6%) and fish farming (0.6%) activities (Ghana Statistical Service, 2010). There are 17 nurseries/crèche 19 primary schools Effutu Municipality (Government of Ghana, 2012). It was important to indicate the percentage of the population in Agriculture because the study sought to investigate the benefits that the agricultural sector had derived from the home grown school feeding programme being implemented in the municipalities.

### **3.5 Population for the Study**

The word „population“ is used to describe the target group for the purpose of the conduct of research. It refers to the broad collection of elements (people or things) within the target group from which a researcher selects his/her sample. It refers to all the possible cases of whatever or whoever is being studied in a research (McDougal, 2014, p. 145). Population as a research concept, refers to “every individual who fits the criteria (broad or narrow) that the researcher has laid out for research participants” (Saumure and Given, 2008, p. 644).

The population for this study included all the stakeholders in the Ghana School Feeding Programme in the study areas of Ga West and Effutu Municipal Assemblies. Within the population of study were such groups of interest to this study such as the District Chief Executives, the District Coordinating Directors, District Directors of Education, Members of the District and School Implementation committees within the two districts under study, Heads of beneficiary schools, teachers of beneficial schools, caterers, farmers and opinion leaders in the study areas.

### **3.6 Sample and Sampling Techniques**

A sample is the section of the wider population that will be engaged in the survey and sampling is the process of identifying who a researcher aims at contacting from the population. It is “the specific segment of cases or elements that is selected from a population of interest for the purpose of investigation” (McDougal, 2014. p. 146). Qualitative research focuses less on the representativeness of the sample. Instead, it focuses on how the sample could illuminate the phenomenon of interest to the

research being conducted (Neuman, 2007). Sampling is the process of selecting actual data sources from a larger set of possibilities or simply put, the population.

This study used purposive sampling techniques. Purposive sampling refers to the sampling process whereby participants are selected because they meet certain criteria that have been predetermined by the researcher as relevant to addressing the research question.

Such informants as the District/Municipal officers, coordinators for the beneficiary schools on the school feeding programme, matrons/caterers were purposively sampled. Such groups of people were among the major stakeholders in the implementation of the Ghana School Feeding Programme at the District level and have a store of information that was relevant in answering the research questions set out by this study.

In all, sixty three (63) respondents were interviewed for the study. The breakdown of respondents for the Effutu Municipality was as follows:

- i. One (1) School Feeding Desk officer
- ii. One (1) Municipal Education Officer
- iii. Four (4) head teachers
- iv. Four (4) school coordinators
- v. Four (4) caterers
- vi. Four focus groups (of four (4) school pupils) from four schools

In the Ga West Municipality, the breakdown of respondents used for the study was

- i. One (1) School Feeding Desk Officer
- ii. One (1) Municipal Education Officer
- iii. Five (5) head teachers
- iv. Five (5) school coordinators
- v. Five (5) caterers
- vi. Four focus groups (of four (4) school pupils) from four schools

In each of the Municipalities, the DCEs appointed their School Feeding Desk Officers to be interviewed. The Desk Officers are the Municipal Officers who are responsible for the implementation of the school feeding programme in each municipality. They were considered the most appropriate persons to be interviewed because they had first-hand information of the activities of the SFP. They coordinated the implementation process, wrote reports and were part of the monitoring team. They were considered as one of the key informants for the study. At the Municipal level, the Municipal Education directorate was also picked to represent the collaborating institutions. The two officers represented the School Implementation Committee (SIC).

At the school level, the Head teachers, School Feeding Coordinators and the pupils were interviewed. The Head teachers were selected because they were members of the School Implementation Committee. They also had first-hand information on the SF at the school level. They see the food, received complaints, taste and supervised the programme on a daily basis. At the school level, the next set of informants were the SF Coordinators. They are teachers who have been appointed by the school heads to help them in the supervision of the programme at the school level. For the focus group

discussion, five pupils were selected. They included the Head Prefect, the Girls' Prefect, one pupil from the upper primary randomly selected and one pupil from the lower primary also randomly selected.

Caterers were also included in the sample to solicit their responses on the SF programme. As the Street-Level Bureaucrats in the implementation process, their views on procurement, monitoring etc. were key to the study.

In the Ga West Municipality, selection of schools interviewed for the study was based on some considerations. Two schools from the Amasaman cluster of schools were selected. The ballot system was employed to select the two schools out of the six schools in the cluster. The two schools from the cluster of schools is just a walking distance from the offices of the Municipal Assembly, the Ghana Education Service and the Ghana Health Service. Their proximity to the offices was regarded as key because there was the likelihood of frequent monitoring. The rest of the schools picked for the study was from the remote areas of the Municipality. The three schools were randomly.

In the Effutu Municipality, the Presbyterian school was selected. It is the first school seen when one enters Winneba. It was reported to have most visits, hence it presented a case where monitoring was much, just like the Cluster of schools in the Ga West Municipality. The three other schools were picked from the villages around Winneba. They were randomly selected.

### **3.7 Research Instrument and procedure of data collection**

This study is a qualitative research and as such, there was the recognition of the fact that participants in the research in their response to questions, were viewed as active subjects who were productive of their social reality. The researcher sought to understand the intention and context within which responses of participants were provided. Per the assumptions of the interpretivist approach, the social researcher seeks to gain knowledge about actors in a field which requires that the meanings and interpretations of the participants are fully acknowledged and understood. To the interpretivists, understanding rather than causality is the key element to social research.

The most appropriate research instrument that would aid the researcher in seeking to understand in order to interpret the opinions of respondents would be the use of interview guides. An interview guide basically summarizes the content that a researcher seeks to cover during an interview. It provides directions to the researcher as to the questions to ask in answering research questions. It guides the researcher in a less structured interview situation where the questions to be asked are largely generated in the course of the interview. An interview guide in the qualitative research approach seeks to primarily explore the participant's own perspective on the research topic. It also contains a „checklist“ or relevant issues to be covered in an interview in order to answer research questions.

This study resorted to the use of a semi-structured interview guide which contained the general framework for the interviews conducted. With the semi-structured interview guide, a researcher has the luxury of asking questions in an order that he/she



deems appropriate at a particular time. The researcher can also probe further or allocate more time to some particular questions than to others.

Data for the study was collected through face-to-face interviews of respondents. Such interview were audio recorded with a field recorder. Notes were also taken in the course of the interviews. There was also focus group discussions where views were solicited from group members. Discussions were also recorded on an audio recording device.

### **3.8 Data Reliability and Validity**

Reliability in the qualitative research process involves processes that seek to examine the consistency of responses provided by respondents. This study made use of one of the recommendations of Creswell (2009) in ensuring reliability of the data: checking of the transcripts to make sure that they do not contain obvious mistake made through transcription. For validity checks, this study adopted the strategy of triangulation of different data sources (Creswell, 2009). Responses from different respondents were studied to establish a coherent justification of themes. The responses from the different data sources of information helped to check for how valid the responses from respondents were. Another strategy adopted to check the validity of the data was reflectivity. Through reflectivity, a researcher is able give an open and honest narrative of the accounts of respondents. Reflectivity according to Creswell (2009) is the core characteristic of qualitative research. It contains comments of the researcher about how their interpretation of finding is shaped by their background.

For the purpose of credibility and trustworthiness on the part of respondents, the study adopted the „member checking“ technique. It is when the final report is taken to the participant for accuracy checks. Data collected through recordings were played back to respondents after the interview sessions. This was to ensure that the respondents agreed to what they had said and recorded. After the recordings had been transcribed, portions were sent to the respondents for them to read through and validate the data as truly, the responses they had provided to questions asked.

### **3.9 Data Analysis**

In qualitative research, the analysis of data is interpretative (Silverman, 2010). The data collected is often soft data from multiple sources (different participants and different data collection methods). Meaning is ascribed to the responses provided by participants. The objective of my research was to look at the „politics“ in the implementation of the GSFP. To deconstruct the politics, I needed to look for an analytical approach that is able to organise the discussion to highlight organised arguments. The analysis was done by looking at various data sets as collected from the field.

As such, I employed thematic data analysis (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011). The thematic approach requires that responses are thoroughly read and the emerging major patterns of ideas and concepts appearing in the interviews are grouped under themes. In thematic analysis, similar patterns appearing across data sets in relation to specific research questions are put together for purposes of discussion to make meaning to readers (Schostack, 2002). The emerging common responses that are

derived from the interviews are grouped under the appropriate broad themes and sub-themes that ensure that the discussion is organised to present a narrative or dominant argument that explains the meanings that are drawn from the research data.

Following the tradition of Bauer (1996), I derived both exmanent and immanent themes. As Bauer argued, exmanent themes emerge based on the research questions that guided the research. The immanent themes emerged from the experiences of the fieldwork and the data that were collected. In employing this approach, the themes were generated after the data were read and re-read severally. The data were coded, organised and explained under various themes (Flick, 2006). I began the analysis by first ensuring that data obtained from the interview sessions were transcribed. The transcription was done manually. The transcribed data were coded and categorized under themes. Broad themes were developed and they were further divided into sub-themes. The sub-themes were made up of emergent and related trends or patterns that were realized from the transcribed data obtained from the interviews and the focus group discussions.

Given that my research employed case studies where the participants were few and I did not seek to present a monolithic universalising argument, thematic analysis was essential to ensure that the discussions are context specific and grounded in the research's experience (Yin, 2009; Creswell, 2009). Responses solicited for each question were put together and analysed around the central issue at the heart of the question. Responses that were found to have been provided for a different question, were transferred to the group of responses for the question it answers. Common phrases were identified and grouped under main themes.

To ensure the anonymity of the respondents, their names were omitted. They were identified by pseudonyms that would protect their identities. To ensure the trustworthiness of the data discussed, verbatim quotes were presented in some cases to ensure that I give voice to the participants (Bryman, 2008). In so doing, sentences and phrases were quoted directly in order to avoid misinterpretation of the information provided by respondents (Patton, 1990).

One difficult aspect of qualitative research is how to ensure that the position and orientation of the researcher did not influence the interpretation of the data in ways that de-privileges the views and experiences of the participants (Dunne, Pryor and Yates, 2005). This is significant as the researcher turns to be the measuring instrument in the research (Silverman, 2010; Cohen et al, 2011). Therefore, in my data analysis, I ensured that I gave voice to the participants by presenting their verbatim quotes and the contexts within which their views were expressed. However, being a political scientists, my interest in understanding the „politics“ meant that some important issues that did not tumble into my „political focus“ were not addressed. Although the issue of school feeding is an important development and educational issues, I neither looked at it as a human rights issues nor as an issue that understood from an educational management perspective. Rather, I looked at the institutional politics in the implementation of the school feeding programme, while being overtly aware that another research could have chosen a different way of analysing the same issue.

### **3.10 Ethical Considerations**

In the conduct of any research, the researcher has to bear in mind the need to “protect the research participants; develop a trust with them; promote the integrity of the research; guard against misconduct and impropriety that might reflect on their organizations or institutions; and cope with new, challenging problems” (Creswell, 2009).

The researcher has to bear in mind the sensitivities of the research participants. Their right, welfare, privacy and anonymity must be ensured in order to protect them after the research has been conducted and the results published. Research ethics concerns issues that seek to avoid or reduce systemic harm to individuals, communities, environments, informed consent, privacy and the confidentiality of data. The researcher has an ethical obligation to the population used for the study, the institutions that are involved in the conduct of the research and the wider society.

Research must be guided by three ethical considerations: Respect for persons, beneficence and justice (Belmont Report, 1979; Vanderstoep and Deirdre, 2009). Researchers must have respect for persons by seeing research participants as autonomous being (a person who can make a decision for him/herself). Those who are unable to take decisions for themselves (children, the sick or persons with mental disorders) must be protected from coercion by others or from any action that could put them in a position of danger or risk. Beneficence is also interpreted as an obligation on the part of the researcher to do no harm or reduce possible risk and to maximize the possible benefits to the research participant. Justice is the fair distribution of the possible risk and benefits to all research participants. A pool of participants should not

be disposed to higher risks or benefits than others (Belmont Report, 1979; Vanderstoep and Deirdre, 2009).

This study was conducted based on the established ethical standards required of researchers. Informed consent of participants was sought by a letter from the Department of Social Studies of the University of Education, Winneba (See Appendix 1). Information obtained from the participants was not based on any material inducements, deceit, fraud, coercion, intimidation or manipulation. It was as a result of the freewill of participants. Participants were assured of anonymity and the protection of their identities. The researcher booked appointments with each of the respondents at their own convenience. This study is the result of an independent study by the researcher and any other work cited in the course of the research has been duly acknowledged. The researcher is also not involved in the implementation of the Ghana School Feeding Programme, hence the results of the research will not affect any interest of the researcher.

Accessibility to the Municipal Officers was a major challenge to the study. The caterers were also evasive because they thought I had come from the Secretariat of the School Feeding Programme to audit their work. Some coordinators, who were teacher as well, were demanding authorization from the Municipal Education office before they could grant any interviews even though I had a letter of introduction from the University. The researcher was however, able to overcome these challenges through the adoption of diplomatic means to build trust among respondents. The district office of the GES also approved of the interviews.

### **3.11 Conclusion**

This chapter addressed the methodological considerations underpinning the study. The Ontological and the epistemological basis of the study were outlined. The interpretivist perspective was adopted as the epistemological basis for the study. Post-positivism believes that knowledge exist and is not independent of the participants involved in the study. Knowledge is therefore a construct of the participants that the researcher seeks to know. The ontological basis for the study is situated within the interpretivist tradition which seeks the subjective opinions of participants in the study in order to obtain an objective body of knowledge through the inter-subjectivity of subjective views.

The qualitative research approach is explained along with arguments that support why I chose the multiple case study. I argue that the multiple case study and its advantage of employing multiple methods and data collection sources is useful to provide the data needed for in-depth analysis of the politics around the school feeding programme. I explained that I am not in any way involved in the implementation of the school feeding programme nor affected by its implementation processes.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

#### 4.0 Introduction

This study was on the „politics“ in the implementation of the Ghana School Feeding Programme in the Ga West Municipal Assembly (GWMA) in the Greater Accra Region and the Effutu Municipal Assembly (EMA) of the Central Region in southern Ghana. The study was a qualitative study with data collected through face to face interviews of participants from the two districts under study with the aid of an interview guide.

The issues raised during the interview sessions were based on the research questions that guided this study. Three categories of respondents were interviewed for this study. The first category was the district officers or officials from the two districts. At the district level, officers have been appointed to serve on the District Implementation Committees (DICs) to oversee the effective implementation of the school feeding programme. These officers include the District/Municipal Chief Executives, as the chairperson, with the other members being drawn from the collaborating ministries and technical staff at the District Assemblies (DAs) as well as the District Directors of Education, Health, Agriculture, the District Coordinating Director, the Programme Desk Officer, two (2) representatives of the Social Services sub-committee of the Assembly, one traditional ruler and one opinion leader (SFP, 2014; District Operation Manual, 2008; WFP, 2007). There were interviews with some members of the DICs of the districts under study. The second category of respondents was at the school level. There has been the appointment of School Feeding Coordinators



for the school feeding in the sampled schools within the districts. The third category of respondents was the caterers. Caterers cooking for the Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP) were also contacted for information for the study.

Data sorting for this study was based on the thematic procedure with direct quotes of respondents being used to emphasize emerging trends. The identities of respondents were protected as well as the schools which were sampled in order to maintain anonymity in accordance with best practices in social science research of this nature. Data collected from the field survey were presented under thematic areas that were relevant and helped to answer the research questions posed in order to resolve the research problems.

#### **4.1 Research Question One (1): How is Politics a Factor in Social Protection in Ghana?**

The interview guide had questions on the influence of politics in all its forms on the school feeding programme. The District officials as well as the school coordinators of the school feeding programme had diverse thoughts on the issue of politics and social protection programmes.

##### **4.1.0 Conceptualization of Politics**

The District officers interviewed in the two districts had some insightful revelations of the subject of politics in the implementation of the school feeding programme. Politics was explained to be the activities of the government or state, its institutions and how they interact with each other in the achievement of government goals. Further explanations stressed that politics involves the activities of the

government in ensuring that there is development within the society at large. Politics therefore consists of the processes, interactions and relationships that exist between policy implementing agencies of the state in achieving stated policy goals of the government.

The general view of respondents on the concept of politics was a departure from what will ordinarily be ascribed to politics as involving partisan issues in the fight for the control of government. The definitions offered by respondents indicated a deeper understanding of the concept of politics. To this study, politics involves the interactions between institutions in the allocation of resources for the benefit of the society.

#### **4.1.1 Origin of the GSFP**

Giving the background to the implementation of the GSFP in their municipalities, the Municipal officials explained that the school feeding programme in the first place came as a result of a policy the then government rolled out in 2005. And so, it has been carried out by the successive government in place after the New Patriotic Party left office in 2008. It was further elaborated that the GSFP had been introduced as a social protection scheme aimed at ensuring continuity of social intervention policies for underprivileged schools and communities in the country. To them, the introduction of the GSFP in their Municipalities had come as a blessing to their poor communities and schools. The Desk Officer from the Effutu Municipal Assembly indicated that:

The School Feeding Programme is a government policy meant to cushion school pupils from situations of hunger and malnutrition. It is meant to encourage pupils to attend school in order to be served one hot meal per school day. The Effutu Municipality was chosen as one of the districts in the Central Region to benefit

from the school feeding programme. I have no idea how Effutu got to be on the SFP but it is good that the school feeding has come to stay. There are a lot of poor and deprived communities around Winneba. We needed such social welfare programmes and it came in handy.

#### **4.1.2 Stakeholders in the Implementation of the GSFP**

To fully appreciate the institutional politics in the implementation process, there was the need to identify the institutions involved in the GSFP at the Municipal levels. The responses from the respondents would either render support to the literature on the institutions involved or raise questions for further investigations if the Municipal level institutions differed from what was stipulated in the literature consulted. In identifying the institutions involved at the Municipal level, the respondents named such stakeholder institutions as consisting of the Municipal Assembly, the Health, Education and Agricultural Directorates. Upon further probe, the Municipal officer at the Ga West Municipality indicated that there is also room for the traditional authorities to get involved in the GSFP because it in their communities that the school on the SFO are situated.

Further questions soliciting information on the extent of collaboration between the state institutions in the SFP. The Desk Officer of the Ga West Municipal Assembly (GWMA) responded by saying that:

Yes there is collaboration. We don't conduct any meeting without the stakeholder departments like Health, Social Services, Education and Agriculture. They make up the MIC.

For instance, when we get the enrolment figures for the schools, the guideline stipulates that it should be authenticated from the Education Directorate. We do

this and it is a clear example of collaboration. Figures of pupils fed on the school feeding programme in each school must be endorsed by the Municipal Education Directorate.

The Effutu Municipal Desk Officer also elaborated on the collaboration between stakeholder institutions in the Effutu Municipality. Collaboration in the Effutu municipality involved such district level institutions as the Municipal Directorates of Health and Education were cited as the major collaborating institutions working together with the Municipal Assembly in the implementation of the GSFP.

She stated that:

There is quite an appreciable level of collaboration. There is a strong collaboration with stakeholder institutions like the Ghana Education service within the Municipality. The Municipal Directorate of the GES provides the data to validate enrolment figures from the school head teachers. There is also collaboration with the Municipal Health Directorate. They always give us nutritional officers who help in running workshops for the caterers and the school coordinators. The nutritional officers also help with supervision of the caterers and the food served to the pupils.

Elaborating the collaboration that exists among the institutions at the Municipal level, the Effutu Municipal officer gave accounts of a stakeholders' meeting that had taken place just a week before the interview was conducted. It was explained that:

Even last week when we called for a stakeholders' meeting, they all came on board and we were even surprised. The municipal office of the Ministry of Education and the Ghana Education Service, that is, the Education Directorate, do help us with accurate data to confirm the figures that are supplied by the schools concerning the number of pupils in each school on the school feeding

programme. But as I have already said, it is now that most of these things are being streamlined to get the programme implemented as it ought to be run.

#### **4.1.3 Role of Stakeholders in the Implementation of the GSFP**

The stakeholder institutions involved in the SFP are expected to implement and monitor the programme implementation at the district level. The accounts of the Municipal officers indicated diverse levels of monitoring of the SFP. In the Ga West Desk Officer stated that:

The SFP is supposed to be monitored and evaluated by the MIC, which is made up of representatives from the Health, Education and Agriculture directorates, as well as representatives from the social services committee of the Municipal Assembly. The representative from the Health directorate is there for the purposes of checking the nutritional value of the food that is served to the pupils. They bring their nutrition officers to some of these meetings to make an input into what goes into the feeding of the children.

When we run workshops for the schools, caterers, etc., the Health Directorate for instance, is involved to speak on the nutritional aspects of the food that is served. The education directorate for instance, provides the needed data and reports for validation by the regional and national offices to release funds for the programme.

Institutional collaboration I will say is very good in this municipality.

In the Effutu Municipality, on the other hand, there was some stakeholder institutional collaboration which was explained by the Desk Officer as follows:

Institutional collaboration is not that effective in this Municipality. The DIC is even not functioning very well. It is now that we are seeking to set it up and get it working as it ought to. There is, however, a very strong relationship between the education directorate and the assembly in relation to the school feeding

programme. They provide us with the necessary data when we are writing reports to the regional offices.

On stakeholder conflict in the SFP, the findings of the study showed that there were no recognizable conflict situations that could undermine the effective implementation of the SFP. In both municipalities of study, the reports from the respondents were that they could not identify any incidences where there had been conflicts between stakeholder institutions involved in the SFP.

#### **4.1.4 Empowerment of Stakeholders in the Implementation Process**

In relation to empowerment with regards to the school feeding at the district level, the respondents were asked if there were any workshops that were run for the purpose of building capacity of the personnel involved in the feeding programme. In the Ga West municipality, there were reports of some workshops that were run for the purpose of empowering the caterers and the schools on the effective management of the SFP. The Ga West Desk Officer gave an account of some workshops that have been run by the District Assembly and some partners for the school feeding programme. The Desk Officer said that:

Workshops are run for the caterers. SNV, which is a Dutch NGO, has been doing that. Even next week, they will run a workshop on procurement governance for the caterers and the DIC and the SIC. Even the Business Advisory Centre of the Assembly runs workshops for them on such important issues as bookkeeping (how to record finances, which was supported by Bill and Melinda Gates foundation) and procurement. There have been a lot of other workshops on other issues for them.

The respondents from the schools sampled affirmed attending workshops run by the Assembly in relation to the school feeding programme. The official from the Effutu Municipal Assembly also pointed out that they have been running some workshops for various groups of people engaged in the implementation of the GSFP in the Municipality. The Effutu Municipal Desk Officer indicated that:

Workshops are organized for the caterers. It is done from the regional level. They hold workshops for the caterers on many topics including bookkeeping, health and sanitation, etc.

#### **4.1.5 Influences in the Implementation of the Ghana School Feeding Programme**

This section solicited information on the perceptions of the respondents on the various forms of politics in the process of implementing the school feeding programme. The officers were asked if there were any forms of pressures on them from the Central Government, the MP, and the Chief or from anywhere in relation to the School Feeding Programme (SFP). The Ga West official responded with an example that, in the process of selecting new schools to be included in the school feeding programme, some unnecessary influence peddling is attempted. The respondents indicated that the pressure comes when the people who do not know the mode of appointment and selection of communities for the SFP try to influence the process.

It was generally reported that assembly members usually put pressure on the officials in charge of the SFP when they ask for extension of school feeding to their communities. In some instances, caterers also presented letters from the regional and national offices of the GSFP. The official indicated that they were not in any way

pressured into appointing the caterers when there were no vacancies. The assembly only suggests for the central government to decide. The Desk Officers indicated that there was no form of pressure on the officials working on the school feeding programme. One account from the Desk Officers was put this way:

In this municipality, I cannot tell whether there are some pressures on any officer working with the school feeding. At least, I do not have anybody coming to me to lobby or ask for anything that could be interpreted as putting pressure on me or on the programme. Everything is going on well without a hitch.

It was explained further that, the work that they do have been misconstrued by the caterers. In the work of the monitoring team, one major impediment was identified to come from the caterers. According to the respondents, the caterers attach political meanings to all that the team did. Some caterers, who had some relations with the powers that be, even threaten the staff of the assembly with removal from the GSFP, thinking it was the GSFP that brought them to the assembly. They also thought that they were political appointees who could be removed. The authority of the officials was affected adversely in ensuring that caterers did the right thing.



#### 4.1.6 District Implementation Committees

The District Implementation Committees (DICs) are the implementation agencies for the GSFP at the district level. In the study areas it was identified that the level at which the DICs worked varied. In the Ga West Municipality, it was identified through the fieldwork that the DIC was functional. In relation to the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the SFP, the DIC has been up to task in monitoring the caterers and the entire process of implementation.

In the Effutu Municipality, the interviews conducted revealed that the DIC was not operational. The Effutu Desk Officer indicated that:

This whole DIC is new to our district. To us it is new because we haven't reached there yet. It is not functioning fully yet. It is in place but yet to be fully operational.

The official from the Education Directorate also indicated that:

Apart from the data we send to the assembly to validate figures provided by the beneficiary schools, we scarcely are invited to attend any meeting.

The DIC was fully operational in the Ga West Municipality while it was now being reconstituted in the Effutu municipality. A phenomenon that should have a negative impact on the implementation of the SFP in the Effutu municipality. The school coordinators responded to questions about the effectiveness of the DICs in monitoring of the school feeding programme in their respective schools. In the Effutu Municipality, responses from respondents included views such as:

It is a problem. When the programme started, one lady from the regional office used to visit. Now, the coordinator is lazy and does not come to the school anymore (Effutu School Coordinator 1, 2016).

Another coordinator said:

There is a semblance of monitoring. The district officers come here only when there is a problem that must be resolved. They do not frequent this place at all.

Similar responses came out like this from another coordinator:

They use to monitor us and the programme very well. Now it is nothing to write home about. I know there has not been any DIC in this municipality. It is now that I am told the DCE has insisted that a DIC should be constituted (Effutu School Coordinator 2, 2016).

On the effectiveness of the DIC in the responses from the interviewees from the Ga West Municipality, the general views from respondents indicated that the DIC was working to their satisfaction. In a response from one of the SFP coordinators, it was stated that:

The DIC is working. The Desk Officer from the Municipal office for instance, comes here often. At times, he comes with some other officers from the district and the regional level. They ask us questions on the school feeding and they are very nice and appreciate our hard work as well.

In the Effutu Municipality, on the other hand, the DIC was virtually absent with regards to monitoring and supervision of the implementation of the GSFP. It was found that an official from the Municipal office only showed up when there was an issue they needed to be addressed. From the responses of the SFP coordinators, it came to light that the schools were hardly visited by the Municipal officers in charge of the SFP.

#### **4.1.7 School Implementation Committees**

From the literature review in Chapter Two on the structure of the GSFP implementation, the SICs are the basic implementation agents. The SICs are at the community level. Each beneficiary school ought to have an SIC for effective implementation of the GSFP. The state of the SICs is therefore very critical for effective implementation of the programme. In the Ga West Municipality, it was identified that the SICs had been put in place to take charge of SF in their respective schools. But due to some challenges as funding etc., some are unable to meet often. Some schools that are supposed to convene these meetings are unable to provide transportation allowances as well as refreshment to members of the committees, hence they exist by name but do not function as required in a few schools. The School Management Committees (SMCs) and the Parents-Teachers Associations (PTAs) had been tasked by the DIC to take charge of the SFP where the SICs were not functioning. The SMCs and SICs had been charged to have an oversight responsibility of the SFP in their respective schools.

In the Effutu Municipality, the study found that most of the schools had not formed their SICs yet. A Municipal Officer further confirmed this when the point was made to the effect that all schools had been directed at a stakeholders meeting to make sure that the SICs are established in their respective schools. In the absence of the SICs, the researcher probing further, found that, unlike what happened in the Ga West Municipality where the SMCs and the PTAs had taken charge, there was no such interim caretaker arrangement in place of the SICs. Out of the five schools in the Ga West Municipality interviewed for the study, four had functioning SICs with one struggling to get the SICs working as expected.

In the Effutu Municipality one school feeding coordinator commented on the SICs by saying that:

There is no SIC in this school. What we do is that, the head teacher and I are those who supervise the school feeding programme here. The community does not care to get involved at all. The head prefect and the girls' prefect keep records of the menu that they are served with and the caterer signs anytime she brings food. No other person is included in the implementation of the school feeding programme in this school (Effutu SFP Coordinator 3, 2016).

In the Effutu Municipality, this was the general trend of responses from the respondents on the SICs. None of the schools on the SFP had the SICs functioning. The head teachers, SFP coordinator and the prefects were the people who supervised the SFP in each beneficiary school.

#### **4.1.8 Selection of Caterers and Retargeting of the Schools on the GSFP**

The district operation manual of the GSFP clearly outlines the procedure and criteria for the selection of caterers for the GSFP. The study investigated the mode of recruitment of caterers in the Ga West and Effutu Municipalities to ascertain compliance with the regulations laid down for the effective implementation of the GSFP. The study found that the officials were aware of the regulations on recruitment of caterers. In the guidelines, it is stipulated that the DIC headed by the Municipal Chief Executive (MCE) has the responsibility of selecting caterers for the programme. The criteria for the selection of caterers included such factors as health clearance, experience in cooking for a large number of people, a registered company in good standing (with

paid up taxes) with the Registrar General's Department. These are some of the criteria that are considered before appointment is done.

The Desk Officers indicated that the Assembly also take into accounts, certain factors in the selection of the caterers. The caterers are supposed to cook in the schools even though most schools do not have the kitchens. In their appointments, they considered caterers who lived within the municipality. Caterers from the municipalities were preferred to those from outside the municipalities because of the fear that any delays could disrupt the timetable of the schools.

The data collected pointed to the fact that there were no interferences in the work of the Ga West and Effutu Municipalities in relation to the process of appointing caterers and selection of beneficiary schools. In the Municipalities used for the study, it was identified that the cases of changes or dismissals of caterers were necessitated by the ineffectiveness of the caterers involved. Some caterers failed to comply with directives from the municipal office. Others were also identified to have failed in cooking quality food for the pupils. Such caterers were dismissed and the change in government had nothing to do with it.

On the selection of beneficiary schools, the municipal officers indicated that when the request comes from the School Feeding secretariat, the Municipal Assembly during General Assembly meetings, discuss the issue of expansion of the SFP in the municipality. What the Assembly does is to list communities that are underprivileged and need the SFP for the consideration of the Ministry and the GSF Secretariat. The expansions that are done are done by the government because it goes with a lot of resources especially, funds. The government has the prerogative to extend the SFP to

the communities that the Assemblies propose. Some of the considerations put into account before the implementation of the GSFP include the poverty levels of the community in question. There are a lot of items that are considered as part of the criteria for the selection of communities and schools to benefit from the GSFP. The Assemblies propose the communities and prospective beneficiary schools that need such expansion in the school feeding programme.

Although a change in government affects some publicly funded programmes, the case of the GSFP in the study areas did not point to any adverse impact of changes in government on the implementation of the SFP. It was explained by the Ga West Desk Officer that:

The change in government did not bring any major changes that could be attributed to it. Not much changed from what had been happening under the previous government. There was a case where some beneficiary schools were changed. This was, however, purely a technical issue and not political at all. There was what we call retargeting with regards to the beneficiary schools. Some schools on the SFP did not need the feeding programme. They are classified as class „A“ residential areas. The SFP was moved from OLAS and Anglican schools and taken to other communities within the municipality. The school feeding cost for OLAS alone took care of four communities (Bodoma, Dedeman Okyirikomfo and Akyeoto) in very deprived areas. That caterer who was cooking for OLAS has been moved due to the retargeting and she is now cooking for the four communities. In this case, some observers may think that the caterer had been sacked and the school feeding programme stopped in OLAS but the truth is that there has been retargeting and it has served the municipality very well (Ga West Desk Officer, 2016).

In the effutu municipality as well, the Municipal officer explained that there had been some changes in the caterers assigned to cook for some schools. The changes were

reported to have come as a result of poor performance of the caterers on the programme. It was revealed that one caterer was a habitual late comer who always delayed in the delivery of food to the school. This disrupted the school timetable.

#### **4.2 Research Question Two (2): Has the GSFP as Implemented Achieved its Objectives?**

The second research question was on the achievement of the objectives of the School Feeding Programme in the municipalities under study. The short term objectives of the GSFP were identified to have been categorized into three main areas. These are:

- i. To reduce short term hunger and malnutrition among school children.
- ii. To increase enrollment, attendance and retention in schools at the basic level
- iii. To boost domestic food production and provide ready market for produce from farmers.

##### **4.2.1 Reduction of Short Term Hunger and Malnutrition among School Children**

Investigating the extent of achievement of the first objective of the GSFP, it was observed that in the municipalities of study, pupils in schools on the school feeding programme were served one hot meal per day on each school day. This is to ensure that children who are unable to attend school as a result of the inability of their parent provide food for them to go to school or provide them with money to buy food are assisted with lunch in school. This is done with the collaboration of the Ghana Health Service and the Ghana Education Service. The Ghana Health Service has nutritional officers who were supposed to check on the nutritional level of the food that is served to

the pupils. This is done in line with the nutritional department of the Ghana Health Service and the SHEP coordinating unit of the Ghana Education Service.

The GSFP has yielded positive results in the study areas. Children who would hitherto have gone to school and go back home on empty stomachs now have hope of eating one hot meal whenever they go to school. Pupils are quick to report to school and stay through because they have the expectation of being fed. It was discovered that some pupils went to school just because of the feeding. When they stay in the house, they will go hungry, so they go to school. And while in school, they learn something, at least. A respondent indicated that:

Some pupils report to school when food is about to be served. We cannot sack them when they come to school. The school feeding programme has been a life saver to a lot of the children in this school (Effutu SFP Coordinator).

It was discovered in both municipalities that, some pupils went to school just because of the feeding. In all the focus group discussions with pupils in the schools sampled, it was confirmed that some pupils are regular to schools because of the free lunch. Out of the focus group discussion, one pupil stated that:

Now, we come to school and stay until closing because we are given food to eat. When some of us are even not well, we come to school. Without pocket money, we don't bother too much because when we come to school, we will get food to eat (Ga West Pupil).

A school coordinator had this to say:

When they stay in the house, they will go hungry, so they come to school. And when in school, they learn something at least. When it comes down to reducing



hunger and malnutrition among school pupils, there is no question about it. The pupils look forward to being served (Ga West Coordinator 3).

Patronage of the food has been very high in the schools visited. Most of the pupils do not eat from home and they are not given any money to buy food when they go to school. The responses indicated that some pupils report to school just when food is about to be served and run back home just after eating. A school feeding coordinator further indicated that they have tried to prevent them from running away from school but to no avail. Despite this, the school feeding programme has been a life saver to a lot of school children.

#### **4.2.2 Increment in Enrolment, Attendance and Retention in School**

The second short term objective of the school feeding programme is to increase enrolment, increase attendance and improve retention of the pupils. On this particular objective of the SFP, the respondents were asked to give their views based on the evidence they have in the schools with the feeding programme. The school coordinators who are also teachers, gave their views on this particular objective. One of the school coordinators indicated that the effects of the SFP had been tremendous. It was indicated that enrolment has shot up significantly. It was reported that almost all through the term, there were children being brought for admission into school. The general conclusion was that enrolment had gone up very high since the inception of the school feeding programme.

On attendance, it was reported that the pupils were very regularly in school since the introduction of the SFP. Some who were truants were reported to have been attending school on regular basis with the introduction of the SFP. Some did run away

after the feeding but majority stayed through till closing time. School performance was also reported to be better than when there was no SFP. The general comments on the performance of pupils could be summed up in a comment of a respondent as follows:

The pupils are now performing quite well. I can directly link their improved performance to the school feeding. Now that they have food to eat, they have become active in class and you can see that it has reflected in their performance. Without being able to retain what you have learnt in your head, you cannot reproduce it. In all, there has been great improvement in the academics of the pupils as compared to when there was no school feeding (Ga West School Head).

This accounts from the school coordinator for the GSFP runs through all the schools in both municipalities where the study was conducted. In one school, the enrolment figure had increased by 45%. One other school coordinator also confirmed the opinions expressed by some other school coordinators. On the achievement of the objectives of the SFP, a coordinator said:

The school feeding programme has brought more pupils to this school. We even have cases of some pupils leaving other schools and joining us here just because in this school, there is the school feeding programme being implemented here. If for nothing at all, I will say that the school feeding programme has increased our enrolment at all levels. From Class One to Class Six (Effutu SFP Coordinator).

The general performance of the pupils has been reported to be better than when there was no school feeding programme. The pupils are now attentive and alert in class as compared to the years when there was no SFP. One school coordinator also commented by saying that:

I have taught in this school for the past eight years and I can say that since the introduction of the school feeding programme, our pupils have been performing better than when there was no school feeding (Ga West SFP coordinator).

The general rate of attendance had also improved in all the schools where the SFP had been implemented. In some cases, even when pupils are sick, they go to school. They are in school because they will have food for free. Their parents ask them to go to school „to eat“. At least, as they sit through the class they will learn one or two things. Some have to be sent home because the pupils were not fully recovered to attend school. The rate of truancy had dropped to very negligible levels. This, the respondents attributed to the SFP.

The respondents from the two districts all agreed that the school feeding programme had achieved its second objective of increasing enrolment and attendance, as well as improving retention.

They were of the view that the school feeding has improved student enrolment in the district per the reports that they get from the education directorate. The education directorate according to the Ga West Municipal officer, had been presenting enrolment figures which when compared with the periods prior to the implementation of the GSFP, one could find out that the enrolment figures for the schools on the SFP far outweigh the enrolment figures for previous years when there was no school feeding programme.

### **4.2.3. Boosting Domestic Food Production and Providing Ready Market for Produce from Farmers.**

The local economy of the communities with schools on the feeding programme is expected to be boosted, especially the agricultural sub-sector. Such ways through which the local economies are to be boosted include procurement of foodstuffs from the local farmers and other ingredients from the locality within which the schools on the feeding programme are located. On the sources of foodstuffs used in the preparation of food that is served to pupils in schools on the school feeding programme, it was found that different systems were employed in the two Municipalities. In the Ga West municipality, the Assembly was directly involved in getting locally produced foodstuffs for the caterers. Workshops had been organized to link the caterers to the Farm Based Organizations (FBOs) within the municipality. The FBOs were invited through the Department of Agriculture which has a database of FBOs in the municipality.

To facilitate the procurement process, the FBOs supplied foodstuffs on credit to the caterers with the assembly guaranteeing, against the release of funds from the national secretariat of the GSFP. When the caterers are paid, the Assembly deducted the cost of the supplied foodstuffs to pay off the debt. It was discovered that a recent development however, had undermined the agreement between the Assemblies, the FBOs and the caterers. The caterers are paid through the mobile money payment platform. The caterers are now paid directly without recourse to the Assemblies. Some caterers were reported to have failed to pay the farmers.

Now, the FBOs do not have that trust in the caterers to be able to deal with them on one-on-one basis so the Assembly had to come in to serve as the intermediary to resolve the situation of non-payment of debt owed to the farmers. In this arrangement, even without central government's release of funds, the caterers have access to foodstuffs to cook for the children.

In the Effutu Municipality on the other hand, the situation was such that there was no direct linkage between the school feeding programme and the local agricultural industry. In the account of the Municipal officer, it came out that the regional office of the GSFP in the Central Region procured foodstuffs for the caterers. It was indicated that, the caterers had to buy from the regional office. After some time, the regional office stopped this arrangement and the caterers are now left on their own to procure foodstuffs they use for the school feeding from the open market.

In the Effutu Municipality, the level of agriculture was identified to be very low. The caterers therefore had to resort to the open markets around for the source of foodstuffs they use for the SFP. A similar case also pertained in the Ga West where the arrangements with the FBOs have also ended. The caterers in the Ga West Municipality also resort to the open markets around for supplies of foodstuffs for the GSFP. Ga West caterers go the Nsawam market or to the major markets in Accra. In the Effutu Municipality, the caterers gave responses that pointed to Kasoa and Swedru as the main sources of foodstuffs for the school feeding programme. Upon further probe, it was realized that the caterers preferred buying from those markets mentioned above because their local markets were not big enough, hence their foodstuffs were expensive.

#### **4.3 Research Question Three (3): How is Community Participation Integrated into the Implementation of the School Feeding Programme?**

Community participation has been identified to be one of the key factors in the implementation of public policies, projects and programmes. To ascertain the consideration of best practices in the implementation of public social policies (the school feeding programme) some broad questions were asked in order to solicit information on the level of community involvement in the implementation of the GSFP.

##### **4.3.1 Community Participation in the Implementation of the GSFP**

Concerning the contribution of the beneficiary communities to the GSFP, the officials as well as school coordinators gave their responses. The Ga West Desk Officer indicated that there was a validation workshop in some selected communities where the community (Mayera) at times assisted the caterers with firewood and foodstuffs. In the Ga West municipality, it was revealed that

There was not much community participation of the GSFP in the municipality. There was so much apathy so we embarked on the validation workshops for some communities (Effutu Municipal Officer).

It was quite revealing when the Ga West Desk Officer indicated that

Things are improving now as a result of the education and sensitization programmes we have rolled out for the communities. Now, there have been reports of some few people coming around during the cooking and serving periods to check on the food being prepared and served to the children (Ga West Desk Officer).

Some school coordinators in the Ga West Municipality affirmed the position of the Desk Officer. Some had views as indicated below:

The community formerly, did not bother to check on the progress of the GSFP in the school. But after the Assembly organized some community sensitization programmes, they are now showing interest. Some parents even pass by to check on the food (Ga West Head teacher 2).

Another school head said that:

The community has been very helpful in the school. They willingly contribute firewood and water. The Assemblyman also frequents this place to help monitor the activities involved in the SFP. It is quite encouraging (Ga West School head 3).

In the Effutu municipality, it was reported that community involvement was virtually non-existent. Responses from the study indicate that the communities seem not to care about what goes on with SFP. The extent of apathy towards the SFP in the Effutu municipality is reflected in the absence of support for the scheme. An official from the Municipality lamented that:

Some communities in other districts are reported to support the scheme with foodstuffs, firewood, fetching water for the cooks among others. In this municipality, there is nothing like this going on (Effutu Municipal Desk Officer).

The school coordinators also gave responses that affirmed the position of the municipal officer. The responses are summed up in the view expressed by one school coordinator from the Effutu Municipality who stated that:

The entire community is so apathetic towards what goes on in the school. If you are told by your ward that he/she is fed in school, the most reasonable thing to do is to walk to the school and find out what food your ward is being fed with. In our case, there is no community involvement at all.

The case of community involvement in the Ga West Municipality appeared better. It was found that some communities were actively involved in the implementation of the programme.

#### **4.4 Conclusion**

These views expressed by the Municipal officers, school Coordinators and the caterers threw more light on „politics“ in the implementation of the school feeding programme in the two municipalities under study. The discussions of these views were presented in chapter five (5).

This chapter brought together data and put them under themes. The themes were broadly pivoted to the research questions guiding the study. The argument emanating from the analysis in this chapter indicated that institutional politics has influenced the implementation of the GSFP. It also pointed out the fact that the achievement of the objectives of the GSFP has been appreciable. The first and second objectives had been met in both municipalities. The third has however not been achieved as expected.

The next chapter discusses the analysis with reference to literature and theory. It looks at the implementation of the GSFP at the district level.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### DISCUSSION

#### 5.0 Introduction

The chapter is devoted to discussing the interpretation of the findings of the research. The issues discussed in this chapter were in line with the research questions. The discussion is broken down into broad sections that are based on the research questions this study set out to find answers to. Each research question was further broken down with some questions on the interview guide upon which interviews were conducted.

#### 5.1 Politics in the Implementation of the GSFP?

This section of the discussion of findings was based on the first research question guiding this study. This section discussed the views of respondents on the influences of politics in all its forms and appearances in the implementation of the school feeding programme.

##### 5.1.1 Conceptualization of Politics

On the issue of politics in the implementation of the Ghana School Feeding Programme (social protection), there was the need to gain insights into the understanding of the respondents into the key issue at the heart of the study. The two Desk officers from the Ga West and Effutu gave definitions that were similar in substance. Their definitions gave indications that, the nature and interactions within the environment within which they worked, they had come to understand politics not just as the activities that relate to partisan issues, but as the interactions between state (and non-

state) institutions aimed at achieving the common good for society. Their definitions alluded to the fact that, for politics to exist, there is the premise of the existence of a set of institutions or structures through which governance (decision making and policy implementation) could take place. Any activity that takes place within the institutional environment is „politics“.

Lasswell (1936) defined politics as who gets what, when and how. Politics then is concerned with decision making in the allocation of resources to serve public interest. Politics is all about the authoritative allocation of resources or values as pointed out by Easton (1953). Politics is therefore reducible to involve the interactions between institutions within a given society in order to allocate resources to meet societal needs.

The definitions offered by the Municipal Officers gave a lot of credence to the operationalized definition of politics for this study. This study operationalizes politics as all forms of interactions between the Institutions (structure and agencies) that have the aim of allocating resources to meet the needs of society. In the case of the Ghana school Feeding Programme, there are a number of agencies (stakeholders) that are involved.

### **5.1.2 Stakeholders in the Implementation of the GSFP**

At the national level, there are mainline actors and collaborating actors. The mainline stakeholders are the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development (MLGRD) and the Ghana School Feeding Programme National Secretariat (Head Quarters). The collaborating ministries at the National level are the Ministries of Education, Food and Agriculture, Finance and Economic Planning, Gender, Children and Social Protection (used to be the Ministry for Women and Children Affairs), Health

and others. At the regional level, there are the Regional Coordinating Councils (RCC) and the GSFP Regional Coordinating Office (RCO).

At the district level, there is the District Assembly (DA) which is the main state agency in charge of the School Feeding Programme. The collaborating ministries at the national level are also present at the district level through the decentralized nature of government ministries. These District Directorates are to collaborate with the District Assemblies in the implementation of the programme within the district. At the district level, there has been the creation of the District Implementation Committee (DIC) as the coordinating unit for the GSFP. Beneath the DIC is the School Implementation Committee (SIC). The SIC is a community level set-up that oversees the School Feeding Programme (SFP) in the schools where the GSFP is being implemented.

The focus of this study was on the implementation of the SFP at the district level. The institutions that are involved in the implementation of the GSFP at the District level, have been outlined in the provisions of the Operation Manual for the school feeding programme. This study grouped the collaborating institutions into two categories: state political institutions and the state non-political institutions. The state political institutions are the District (Municipal) Assemblies. For the purpose of this study, and the nature of politics being investigated, institutions such as the District Implementation Committees and the School Implementation Committees (SICs) are categorized as state political institutions. The District Directorates of Agriculture, Education and Health as well as beneficiary schools are also grouped under the state non-political institutions involved in the Ghana school Feeding Programme (GSFP) at the district level. Mention must also be made that there are some non-state non-political

organizations such as the Farm Based Organizations and Caterers' Associations that are involved in one way or the other in the implementation of the GSFP. In the two municipalities of the study, these three categories of institutions were identified to be present. What differed was the level of involvement in the implementation process in each of the Municipalities of study. Such differences arose because of the politics that is discussed later in the analysis.

### **5.1.3 Stakeholder Conflict/Collaboration**

The politics in the implementation process takes many forms. One of such is in relation to institutional collaboration (inter-organizational relations) at the district level. Unlike the conflict among stakeholder institutions that bedevilled the Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP) at the national level as reported by the World Food Programme (2007a), the districts under study did not show any signs of any conflict among stakeholder agencies.

In both Municipalities of study, there were no indications of any form of stakeholder conflicts. Reports from the field indicated that there was collaboration in the implementation process. From the accounts of the Municipal officer, it came out clear that there was a good working relation among stakeholder institutions. At the Municipal level, the environment within which policy implementation was conducted was much more friendly and one of collaboration. This was not the case at the national level where, there was power struggle among the stakeholder ministries, with each of them seeking to take charge of the programme (WFP, 2007a). There were no such conflicts at the district level because, all stakeholder agencies were aware that it was the District

Assembly that was in charge as stipulated in the District Operation Manual of the Ghana School Feeding Programme (District Operation Manual, 2008). At the District level, the District Operating Manual stipulates that, the District/Municipal Chief Executive is to be the head and at the same time, the Chairperson of the District Implementation Committee (DIC).

The Municipal Officers confirmed this during the interview, when they established that the respective Municipal Chief Executives (MCEs) had established the District Implementation Committee (DIC). The DIC was said to be chaired by the Municipal Chief Executive (MCE). The membership of the DIC, they confirmed, included the DCE as the chairperson, with the other members being representatives from collaborating ministries and technical staff at the District Assemblies (DAs) including the District Directors of Education, Health, Agriculture, the District Coordinating Director, the Programme Desk Officer, two (2) representatives of the Social Services sub-committee of the Assembly, one traditional ruler and one opinion leader. This was found to be in agreement with the provisions of the District Operation Manual (2008) and what was stated by the WFP (2007b).

In the policy implementation process as explained by Winter (1990), inter-organizational relations are very crucial to the success or failure of public policies. Ryan (1996) further explained that, “the degree of conflict between agencies during implementation is assumed to be the most important institutional/organizational issue” (p. 746). Conflict at the national level though would have some impact on the programme, it would not be as crucial as conflict at the district level, which is the real implementation level of the programme. In the case of the Ghana School Feeding

Programme (GSFP) at the District levels, there were no issues of conflict as the structures were clear in relation to the lead agency in the implementation process.

The District Chief Executives (DCEs) (Saints) took ownership of the programme implementation. Ryan (1996) laid much emphasis on the need for strong administrative capacity in managing organizational and inter-organizational behaviour of stakeholder agencies. At the District level, no other agency of state has the administrative „muscle“ that the District Assemblies have. In the implementation of the GSFP, the roles of the MCEs/DCEs in taking charge and steering the feeding programme makes them *saints*. The *saints* in the implementation process, are the officials (political and bureaucratic) who seek the success of the programme.

Apart from the superior administrative machinery (which is part of the environment within which policy implementation takes place), the District Assemblies also have logistics and resources at their disposal that the other decentralized units of stakeholder agencies do not have. This further explains why the District Assemblies were able to manage the other stakeholder agencies to prevent conflicts that would have stalled progress in the implementation process of the Ghana School Feeding Programme at the District levels. This phenomenon of having a strong institution taking charge was the major challenge that confronted the school feeding programme at the national level at the initial stages in the implementation of the GSFP as reported by the World Food Programme in 2007. The various ministries as explained earlier, wanted to take ownership of the School Feeding Programme.

#### **5.1.4 Role of Stakeholders in the Implementation of the GSFP**

On the role of stakeholder institutions in the implementation of the GSFP, the Municipal Officers confirmed the participation of these stakeholders in the school feeding programme. The study identified that there was the participation of the Municipal Offices of the Ghana Education Service, the Health Directorate and the Agricultural Directorate. It was revealed in this study that, the Health Directorate sends nutritional officers to workshops that were organised for the caterers as facilitators to educate them on current health and nutritional best practices. The nutrition officers also educated the caterers and gave them information on best practices in food preparation for children. The study came to the realization that the Education Directorate in line with the Operating Manual regulating and guiding the implementation of the SFP, provide vital information in line with the enrolment figures and changes in the numbers for purposes of validation.

There is the participation of the stakeholder institutions in building capacity and training of caterers. In the Ga West Municipality for instance, it came out clear that there was always the participation of the Health Directorate in assessing and declaring the caterers fit or otherwise to cook for the pupils. In the same Ga West Municipality, the Desk Officer reported that Farm-Based Organizations (FBOs) were co-opted by the Agricultural Directorate in collaboration with the Municipal Assembly to facilitate easy procurement of foodstuffs by the caterers. This was a clear case of institutional collaboration in the implementation process.

These accounts also bring up the role of the *wizards* in the implementation process. The *wizards* are the technical officials with expertise in their specialized fields. These officials such as the Nutritional Officers, the Education Officers and the Officers from the Agricultural Directorate come to the feeding programme with diverse expertise that are vital to the successful and effective implementation of the feeding programme. It had been these *wizards* who have given technical advice to the MCEs and lead the implementation process after they had been given political directives from the MCEs.

The level of stakeholder participation in the Ga West Municipality explains the relative success of the programme. This supports O'Toole (1996) who elaborating on Winter's (1990) *Integrated Implementation Model*, explained that the inter-organizational context and relations are crucial for the success or failure of the policy implementation process. The prerequisites for the successful implementation of a public policy were identified to be cooperation and coordination of the different but interdependent stakeholder institutions involved in the policy implementation process. In the process of implementing the GSFP, it came out that there was a lot of cooperation of the stakeholder institutions in the Ga West Municipality. All the stakeholder institutions had been actively involved in the policy implementation process. In the Effutu Municipality on the other hand, the extent of effectiveness of stakeholder collaboration was identified to be very low. The Assembly had started to bring the stakeholder institutions together to foster better cooperation and collaboration. When this is done through the Municipal Implementation Committee (MIC), monitoring and supervision would be better than its current state.



From the discussions, it can be argued that there was stakeholder participation in the implementation of the SFP. One area where broad-based decision making involving the stakeholders is necessary is in the area of selection of beneficiary schools. SEND Ghana (2008) reported that, that was one of the areas where stakeholder participation has been less over the years. It was stated that “decisions concerning the selection of beneficiary schools, purchase of foodstuffs and the planning and execution of actual feeding were not, by and large, broad-based” (SEND Ghana, 2008, p. 16). This conclusion by SEND Ghana was not confirmed entirely by this study. In the area of purchase of foodstuffs, the Ga West Municipality through the Agricultural Directorate, had organized the FBOs to supply foodstuffs to the caterers on credit. In the Effutu Municipality as well, there was a central procurement point (the Regional Secretariat) for the caterers. This study found that these procurement arrangements have however, collapsed in the study areas. The caterers are now left to procure foodstuffs on their own, as discussed later in this chapter.

#### **5.1.5 District/Municipal Implementation Committees (DICs/MICs)**

The Effutu Municipal Assembly presented a case in support of findings by the World Food programme (WFP) when it concluded that:

Most DICs do not function and hold no meetings, DCEs are under pressure to ensure that the children eat daily. Therefore, many of them are running a „one-person“ committee to make the relevant decisions on behalf of all the other committee members. To help them do this effectively, DCEs have appointed Desk Officers (WFP, 2007a, p. 40).

This was a study report by the World Food Programme in 2007. In another study by SEND Ghana (2008), it was reported that in districts with non-existent DICs, it was the

DCEs who took up the responsibility of managing the effective running of the SFP. This corroborated the findings of the WFP in 2007 as stated above. A decade after the release of the WFP report and the report by SEND Ghana, this study has confirmed their conclusions in their reports in one of the districts. What the non-existence of the DICs/MICs does to the effectiveness in the implementation of the SFP is that it robs the programme of the broad-based participation that is essential in the implementation of the programme.

It was discovered that in the Effutu Municipality, the Assembly had just started to put things in place to get the DIC working. There was however, a strong working relationship between the Assembly and the Education Directorate in relation to the school feeding programme. In the World Food Programme (WFP, 2007a) study, it reported that DCEs were using the Desk Officers in the absence of the DICs to get the SFP running in their districts. The Desk Officers work with some institutions such as the Health Directorate (Nutrition Officers) and the Education Directorate to help in the implementation process.

The case of the MICs was different in the Ga West Municipality. The MIC in the Ga West Municipality was fully functional. It had the full compliments of its members attending meetings regularly. One issue that came out of the research was that, even though, the MIC was duly constituted, it faced some challenges. The MIC had not been catered for in the budget of the Municipal Assembly. Logistics that are required for effective monitoring had been hard to come by over the years. Amidst these challenges, the commitment of the DIC to get the SFP properly running motivated them to keep monitoring the implementation of the SFP to the best of their abilities within the

prevailing circumstances. It had been the singular efforts of the MCE who was bent on getting the SFP working in the Municipality that had made some logistics like means of transportation available for monitoring.

#### **5.1.6 School Implementation Committees (SICs)**

Functional School Implementation Committees (SICs), are critical in ensuring that at the grassroots level, the programme runs according to plan. Findings from the Effutu Municipality indicated that there were some 10 schools in the Municipality on the school feeding programme. The state of the SICs, were however, not very good. None of the schools had a functioning SIC. All they could boast of was an internal arrangement where in each school, the head teacher, the SF coordinator, the Head Prefect (Boys" Prefect) and the Girls" Prefect served as a committee to oversee the implementation. The real work of this form of arrangement was identified to be one of recording the menu fed to the pupils on the part of the prefects, and the head teacher and the coordinator, tasting of sampled food served to the pupils. There were no effective monitoring powers in the hands of these arrangements made by the schools. Had the opinion leaders, traditional authorities and the assembly members been part of this monitoring arrangement, it could invoke some leverage in monitoring the work of the caterers.

Evidence from the field indicates that, the schools are largely left on their own to run the feeding programme without much monitoring in the Effutu Municipality. There is no functioning Municipal Implementation Committee (MIC) to monitor the implementation of the programme. The School Implementation Committees (SICs)

could have stepped in to salvage the situation by monitoring the feeding programme because there is a representative of the community in the person of the Assembly Man/Woman who is to be a member of the SIC. Since the Assembly Man/Woman is a member of the District Assembly, some form of monitoring would have been done. Since none of the four (4) schools involved in the study in the Effutu Municipality had the SIC coupled with the absence of monitoring from the Municipal level, one can conclude that the school feeding programme in the Effutu municipality was running on „auto-pilot“. In the Effutu Municipality, the lethargic and apathetic character of the *demons* was clearly exhibited. The members of the erstwhile committees (DIC and SICs) never attended any meetings and they did not show any commitment to the effective implementation of the programme. This study could however, not establish whether the „demons“ had any benefit accruing to them as a result of their inactivity, a typical motive of demons in the policy implementation process.

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The state of the School Implementation Committees (SIC) within the Ga West Municipality on the other hand, presented a better picture in comparison to the situation in the Effutu Municipality. The evidence from the field suggests that the SICs had been put in place in all the schools on the SFP in the Ga West Municipality. The SICs though on paper, had been put in place in all the schools with the SFP in the Municipality, had some challenges, just like the case of the Effutu Municipality. The level of commitment of the members of the SICs appeared very low in some schools. They did not attend meetings of the SICs regularly because the schools were unable to pay transportation allowances and were also unable to provide refreshment for the members of the committee. One would expect that the members of the SICs would willingly participate in the activities of the SICs because their own children were the beneficiaries of the SFP. This points to the tendency of the *demons*, who want to gain from every public policy implementation they get the opportunity to be part of.

This situation has made the schools together with the Municipal authorities to improvise in order to put in place some form of institutional arrangement to supervise the SFP internally. The study found that in the Ga West municipality, the School Management Committees and the PTAs had taken charge of the SFP where the SICs

were not functioning. The PTAs and SMCs have been charge to have an oversight responsibility of the SFP in their schools. This is what is missing in the implementation of the SFP in the Effutu Municipality. The Ga West Municipality uses already existing structures within the school system to step in when the SICs are encountering some challenges. The School Management Committees include people like the Chairperson of the Parents' Teachers' Association, the school management and some board members. Such a body when deployed to supervise the SFP, would be able to effectively monitor the programme. Unlike this arrangement in the Ga West Municipality, the Effutu Municipality did not make use of a more influential and an already existing structure for monitoring the SFP.

Out of the five (5) sampled school on the SFP in the Ga West Municipality, four had functioning SICs with one having it difficult to get the SICs working as expected. In the school that had its SIC not functioning very well, it was identified that their main challenge was the rate of attendance to meetings. In both Municipalities, the main challenge that the SICs faced was the attitude of members of the SIC who were not from the school community. In the Ga West municipality, the observation was that the schools were ready to hold meetings, with or without the „outsiders“. Once they had a handful of members, they went ahead with their meetings.

### 5.1.7 The Implementation Environment

What comes out from the analysis of the state of stakeholder collaboration points to the fact that the „municipal/district environment“ within which the GSFP was being implemented had either been conducive or not, for effective policy implementation. The two municipalities of study present varying environments within which the SFP had been implemented over time. In the Effutu municipality for instance, there were no SICs and the DIC was not functioning. The environment in the Ga West Municipality was better with the DIC working and the schools had SICs as well. The „municipal environment“ is what Peterson (1994) called the *system*.

The system is the overall environment within which policy implementation takes place. The better the system, the better the policy implementation process would be. In the Ga West Municipality, it was revealed that the system was a stimulating one with a lot of participation from the Municipal Assembly. The collaborating institutions had also been actively involved in the implementation process. Under the leadership of the Municipal Assembly, all other institutions had been brought on-board for effective implementation in the Ga West Municipality. There had been instances where workshops had been organized for the caterers and Farm based Organizations (FBOs) as well as sensitization workshops for communities with the school feeding programme in the Ga West Municipality. In the Effutu Municipality also, some workshops are organized for capacity building purposes for the stakeholders.

It is observed that the environment within which the implementation of the GSFP was taking place had had significant impact on the extent to which the implementation had been successful. In the Ga West Municipality, the environment had

been a tonic one which encouraged effective collaboration. The stakeholder institutions had been allowed to perform their roles effectively as well, and the structures like the DIC and the SICs had been established with community sensitization and validation workshops run. Community participation had been ignited in the municipality due to the creation of a conducive environment which had fostered effective implementation. The environment had also ensured effective delivery on the part of caterers because there is effective monitoring by the DIC and the SICs. These factors that are present in the Ga West municipality had created such an environment that had been suitable for effective policy implementation of the GSFP.

The environment within which policy implementation took place in the Effutu Municipality was identified to be toxic to effective policy implementation. The toxic environment creates a situation which frustrates the effective implementation of a policy. Such factors as non-existence of a DIC and SICs provide good breeding grounds for the growth of demons that undermine effective policy implementation. In the absence of the DIC and the SICs, it was realized that the caterers were left unchecked. Such situations did not help bring out the best in the programme for optimum benefit to the beneficiary schools and pupils.

In addition to properly organized stakeholder institutions, for effective policy implementation to take place, there was the need to create an environment which supports effective policy implementation. This was the situation that was present in the Ga West municipality but was lacking in the Effutu municipality.



### **5.1.8 Selection of Caterers**

Selection of caterers for the SFP has been one of the most contentious issues in the implementation of the programme at the district level. The Municipal officials, the school coordinators and the caterers all had divergent views on the selection process. The study found that some appointments were made without recourse to the provisions of the District Operating Manual for the SFP. It was identified that some caterers were appointed from higher offices (Regional or National offices) of the GSFP. These caterers appeared when there were new schools to be brought on-board the SFP. Such caterers went with endorsement from higher offices and with instructions to the Municipality to give the official letters of appointment.

The regulations of the SFP, provides for the Municipal Chief Executive (MCE) and the DIC to appoint caterers. It was brought to light that some of the caterers appointed did not even go through a rigorous selection process. Some of the factors that qualify someone to cook for the SFP were identified to include the caterers having: a registered company, experience in cooking for large numbers of people, a health clearance certificate, and tax clearance certificate among others. These criteria were not adhered to in relation to caterers who were appointed through the influence from higher offices.

The reported behaviour of the regional and national secretariats contravenes the provisions in the Operation Manual of the school feeding programme (see District Operations Manual, 2008: 17). The provisions of the Districts Operation Manual (2008) clearly mandate the District Assemblies (in this case the MICs) to appoint the caterers. Such appointments as explained by the Municipal Officer, takes into account some

considerations like the capability of the caterer and the proximity of the caterer to the school to ensure that the food is served on time and is always hot (for health and hygiene purposes).

The challenge that the „imposition“ of caterers had brought to the implementation process this study realized had been that it delayed the school schedule when caterers appointed from the national level are unable to meet the time schedules of the schools. This had come about as a result of some caterers who had been appointed from communities that are far from the beneficiary schools they cooked for. Another challenge that comes with the „imposed“ caterers is that they had become „untouchables“. Some of the caterers were untouchables because they are „connected“ to people in power at the national secretariat or the political party at the constituency level. Such interference in the implementation of the school feeding programme hampered effective policy implementation.

During the monitoring process, any acts of indiscipline that should be punished are left unpunished. The Municipal Official virtually has no way of bringing such appointees to order. The Desk Officer from the Ga West Municipality summed up the frustration of the school feeding officials when it was said that:

With the caterers themselves, we have some challenges. Some attach political meanings to everything that we do. Some who have relations to the powers that be, even threaten us with removal from the Ghana school Feeding Programme, thinking it is the Ghana School Feeding Programme that brought us to the Assembly. They think we are political appointees who can be removed just like that. This affects our authority in ensuring that caterers do the right thing” (Fieldwork, 2016).

The inter-organizational relations that have been built with this phenomenon of appointing caterers from the National Secretariat has not helped in improving relations that are necessary for an effective implementation of a public policy. The attitudes of the appointees from the national secretariat of not cooperating with the Municipal officers for the effective implementation of the programme do not help in effective policy implementation to achieve policy goals.

The discussion above proves that there were *demons* in the implementation process. The *demons* in this case, were the officials from the regional and national offices of the GSFP who engage in inappropriate acts of imposing caterers (the conspirators of the demons) on the Municipalities. Some of the caterers proved difficult to work with as indicated by the Municipal officer above. The *demons* seek to circumvent the due process for personal gains. This was the case of the GSFP officials imposing caterers on the municipalities.

### **5.2.0 Objectives of the GSFP**

The objectives that the Ghana government seeks to achieve with the Ghana School Feeding Programme are:

- i. To reduce short term hunger and malnutrition among school children.
- ii. To increase enrolment, attendance and retention in schools at the basic level
- iii. To boost domestic food production and provide ready market for produce from farmers.

These objectives outlined by the Ghana School Feeding Programme support the position of the World Food Programme that School feeding is a versatile safety net that can be used as a platform to support children and their families in a variety of contexts. It was proposed that at the onset of an emergency, school feeding could be used to get food to affected communities. During economic crisis and shocks, leading to rise in food prices, or during protracted crises such as drought, famine and civil war, school feeding could be used as an effective safety net tool to reinforce livelihoods and prevent those affected from adopting negative coping strategies. School feeding, the WFP proposed if linked to the local economy in terms of using home-grown foodstuffs could increase the incomes of small-scale farmers and stimulate local development (WFP, 2007a).

The history of school feeding programmes in Ghana indicates that as far back as in the 1950s, several Catholic primary and middle schools in the country were on a school feeding programme. The programme was in line with the newly independent Ghana government's policy of accelerating the education and training of Ghanaians to fill job vacancies to be created by expatriates who had to leave the country after gaining independence. It came in the form of take-home food aid rations. The objectives of the school feeding then, were to:

- i. Improve the nutritional status of school children.
- ii. Increase school enrolment.
- iii. Improve retention (WFP, 2007a).

In light of these objectives of school feeding programmes it could be said that the Ghana School Feeding Programme is perhaps not so much of a departure from former

school feeding programmes in the country. It is expected to be an improvement upon the successes attained by former school feeding programmes.

### **5.2.1 Impact on enrolment**

Abotsi (2013) in his study of the impact of the GSFP on enrolment in the Asikuma-Odobeng-Brakwa District concluded that the net primary school enrolment as well as the gross primary school enrolment increased dramatically after the introduction of the Ghana School Feeding Programme in the district of his study. His conclusion was that there was a positive impact of GSFP on pupil's enrolment. He also found out that, there was a steady increment in school attendance rates as well. SEND Ghana (2008) also, in their study of some 36 districts spanning 7 regions of Ghana, concluded that the SFP had had positive effects on enrolment. Abotsi's (2013) findings and the conclusions of SEND Ghana were confirmed by the results of this study which strongly supports the argument that the implementation of the GSFP had a positive impact on enrolment and attendance in beneficiary schools.

Data from the Municipal Offices indicated that schools on the feeding programme had experienced some rise in the enrolment figures over the years. On the average, schools on the GSFP had seen increments in enrolment up to between 10% and 15%. This is however, not the case with the data from the Ministry of Education data base.

**Table 2: Enrolment Figures for Ga West and Effutu Municipalities**

<b>Academic Year</b>	<b>Ga West Municipal Enrolment</b>	<b>Effutu Municipal Enrolment</b>
<b>2010/2011</b>	16,486	8,997
<b>2011/2012</b>	17,293	9,786
<b>2012/2013</b>	18,905	9,089
<b>2013/2014</b>	20,636	8,188
<b>2014/2015</b>	22,134	8,261

Source: Ministry of Education

In the Ga West municipality, the enrolment figures for the period indicate a steady increase since 2010/2011 academic year. In the Effutu municipality on the other hand, enrolment has not always been on the rise as presented in the table above. The data from the Ministry of Education for the Ga West municipality suggests that there have been a consistency with a rise in the enrolment figures each academic year, at an average of 7.7 percent whilst the Effutu municipality recorded a fall in enrolment by an average of 7.3 percent over the five year period for which data was available from the Ministry of Education.

**Table 3: Percentage Difference in Enrolment per Academic Year**

<b>Academic Year</b>	<b>Ga West Municipality</b>	<b>Effutu Municipality</b>
<b>2010/2011 to 2011/2012</b>	4.9	8.8
<b>2011/2012 to 2012/2013</b>	9.3	-7.1
<b>2012/2013 to 2013/2014</b>	9.2	-9.9
<b>2013/2014 to 2014/2015</b>	7.3	0.9

Source: Ministry of Education

Between 2010/2011 and 2011/2012 academic years, the Ga West Municipality recorded a 4.9 percent increase in enrolment whilst the Effutu Municipality also recorded an increase of 8.8 percent in enrolment. Between 2011/2012 academic year, the enrolment difference went up to 9.3 percent in the Ga West Municipality but dropped by 7.1 percent in the Effutu Municipality. Enrolment increased again in the Ga West Municipality by 9.2 percent and 7.3 percent from 2012/2013 to 2013/2014 and from 2013/2014 to 2014/2015 academic years respectively. In the Effutu Municipality on the other hand, an analysis of the 2012/2013 enrolment figure and the 2013/2014 figure shows a drop in enrolment by 9.9 percent. Between 2013/2014 and 2014/2015 there was, however, a 0.9 percentage increase in enrolment in the Effutu municipality.

The Ministry of Education presented enrolment figures for the entirety of the Municipalities including the schools that were not on the feeding programme. The field work indicated that the schools on the feeding programme saw steady increases in enrolment with the passage of each academic year and the introduction of another. Data from the Ministry of Education indicates that enrolment in the Effutu municipality dropped for two academic years (i.e. 2012/2013 and 2013/2014). Data from the Ministry of Education represents data from all public schools in the municipality. This study concentrated on enrolment figures for schools on the SFP. The phenomenon of inter-school transfers were not accounted for by the Ministry. From the study, it came out that inter-school transfers had taken place in the Effutu municipality and could accounts for increasing enrolment figures for schools on the SFP.

The study concluded that on the impact of the SFP on enrolment, the two municipalities of study had both experienced improvements in pupils' enrolment. New

entrants were admitted and inter-school transfers were also rampant as pupils moved from school without the SFP to schools on the SFP.

### **5.2.2 Boosting the Local Economy**

The school feeding programme had the objective of boosting the local economies of the municipalities and communities that host the schools that are on the SFP. When there is a home-grown approach to the implementation of a school feeding programme, there is a direct benefit that accrues to the local economy. Home-grown school feeding is a school feeding programme that depends on foodstuffs that are produced within the locality within which the programme is being run. In the plans of the government in rolling out the GSFP, procurement of foodstuffs and ingredients for preparing food for the schools was intended to be done from the communities that host the schools on the SFP.

The two municipalities of study presented different results on the level of patronage of locally produced foodstuffs by the caterers cooking for the Ghana School Feeding Programme. In the Ga West Municipality, the assembly had organized workshops for caterers and the Farm Based Organizations (FBOs) for purposes of creating the platform for networking and marketing among the caterers and the farmers. The Department of Agriculture in the municipality was very instrumental in getting the farm based organizations to supply foodstuffs to the caterers. This helped the FBOs and the farmers by providing a ready market which was also not far from their farms. It reduced their cost of transportation and improved their finances. The farmers in belonging to the „union“ saw drastic improvement in their profit margins as they could



save a lot of money because their farm produce were no more getting rotten even during the time of bumper harvest. For the caterers on the other hand, they had easy access to foodstuffs which had been freshly harvested from the farms and which had been supervised by the Department of Agriculture in the Municipality.

The Assembly had facilitated the process of getting the Farm Based Organizations (FBOs) to sell their foodstuffs to the caterers by serving as intermediaries and guaranteeing for the caterers as the farmers were not willing to deal with the caterers as individuals. Due to the presence of the Assembly in the process, the FBOs and the farmers even went ahead to give foodstuffs to the caterers on credit until the central government paid the caterers through the assembly who then deduct the farmers' monies for them and gives the balance to the caterers.

This arrangement, the study discovered, had collapsed due to a new mode of payment through which the government paid the caterers. The Assemblies were removed from the payment process and was not in a position to guarantee for the caterers anymore. The caterers were being paid directly through mobile money payment platform. With the abandonment of the FBO-caterer collaboration, the study came to the realization that the caterers were buying foodstuffs from the open markets around the municipality. Some caterers went to Accra and others, to Nsawam to procure foodstuffs for the SFP. Further probes brought to light that those areas presented cheaper options to the caterers. They had abandoned local products for products from other districts around them. This defeats the purpose of boosting the local economies of communities hosting beneficiary schools.

In the Effutu municipality, the local economy had not benefited in any significant ways from the SFP. Initially, procurement of foodstuffs was done from the regional office. This did not affect the local economy of the Effutu municipality at all. This deal also collapsed as well and the caterers have been left to procure their own foodstuffs from the open market. This study found that the caterers just like the Ga West case, travel to either Kasoa or Swedru to procure cheaper foodstuffs.

Unlike the case in the Ga West Municipality where there are farmers who could benefit from the SFP, the Effutu Municipality presented a contrasting case where there are few farms which are on very small scale and on subsistence basis. The major economic activity in the district is fishing. The fish is sold mostly to fish mongers from other towns and incidentally, the caterers even travel to those towns to buy fish. The caterers go to nearby towns to buy foodstuffs as well. Local agriculture in the Effutu Municipality, is not in any significant way, benefiting from the Ghana School Feeding Programme.

#### **5.2.2.1 Challenges to Effective Procurement of local products**

The major challenge that the Municipal arrangement by the Ga West Assembly had to grapple with has been how to deal with the situation that had arisen as a result of a change in the mode of payment of the caterers as explained above. The farmers were faced with the challenge of collecting their monies from the caterers after the central government decided to pay the caterers through mobile money platform. This payment mode reduced the control that the assembly had over the caterers in facilitating the process of paying the farmers even before the monies were paid to the caterers. This

study found that, the caterers had started to buy their foodstuffs and ingredients from the open market thereby, severing the relationship that had been created by the assembly to help improve the activities of the farmers in the district and thereby boosting local agriculture within the municipality.

One of the cardinal determinants of whether the local economy would benefit or not from the Ghana School Feeding Programme is the caterer. The caterers are the procurement agents in the school feeding programme since the feeding programme in the Municipalities where the study was conducted had adopted aspects of the caterer model and the school-based model. The caterer model is the form of school feeding where caterers are employed and they have to procure their own foodstuffs and cook at central kitchens (away from the school premises). At scheduled times in the school day, the caterers bring the cooked food and dish them out to pupils. At the end of the week, the caterers collate the figures of the number of pupils served and send the bill to the DIC for payment. The school-based model on the other hand, entails the direct procurement of foodstuffs and cooking of the food by the school on the school premises. The school-based model presents a case where there is no middleman and is community/grassroots based.

The school feeding programme as is being run in the Municipalities of study blended some aspects of the caterer model and the school-based model. From the caterer model, the GSFP had adopted the aspects that require that the caterers procure their own foodstuffs and cook for the pupils. At the end of the week, they put the figures together and send same to the DIC for validation before it is forwarded to the GSFP Secretariat for payment to be made. What has been left out from the caterer model is where the

cooking is to be done. By the caterer model, cooking is done outside the school premises in central kitchens. What was realized was that there were no kitchens in most of the schools so the caterers had to cook from outside the school premises but not from any central kitchen.

The only aspects of the school-based model that had been adopted by the GSFP is where the cooking is to be done. The GSFP has as one of its criteria for selection of school to be the availability of kitchens on the school premises from where the cooking of food is to take place. In most of the schools, the kitchens were not constructed so the caterers had resorted to cooking from private kitchens. Due to the conspicuous absence in most schools of the only aspect picked out of the school-based model adopted by the GSFP, the GSFP is in no doubt more inclined to the caterer model. Under the hybrid model adopted by the GSFP, the caterers procure their own foodstuffs and cook for the pupils from kitchens that are situated outside the school premises. The caterers being the procurement agents, have the freedom to procure foodstuffs from where they deemed cheaper and of a better quality.

This is the situation that had resulted in the abandonment of local municipal farm produce for cheaper foodstuffs from other markets located in other districts.

#### **5.2.2.2 Home Grown School Feeding**

The GSFP as it has been implemented in the two case study areas thus far, have largely not been home grown. Effective home grown school feeding is the one where the foodstuffs and ingredients used to prepare food for pupils are procured from the local communities where the schools on the school feeding are situated. The programme

ceases to be home grown even when all the foodstuffs used are wholly made in Ghana but not from the community where the SFP is taking place.

The caterers from both municipalities of study procured Ghanaian produced or grown foodstuffs. Locally grown foodstuffs used in food preparation for the GSFP include rice, yam, maize, beans, *kontonmire* (fresh cocoyam leaves), palm oil, „gari“, vegetables, salt among others. The home grown element in the GSFP has been defeated in both municipalities of study. The caterers from both municipalities were procuring their „made in Ghana“ foodstuffs from outside the municipalities where the SFP have been implemented. The local municipal economies are therefore not benefiting from the GSFP as intended by the government and as explained above. In the Effutu municipality for instance, the caterers have been procuring their foodstuffs from either Swedru or Kasoa. The general responses were that, the foodstuffs on the local market were very expensive. The caterers procured their foodstuffs from either Kasoa or Swedru. Kasoa and Swedru are two of the most vibrant trading hubs in the Central Region of Ghana. In the Ga West municipality as well, the caterers were attracted to the various markets outside the municipality. Such markets that are patronized in Accra include the Agboghloshie, Dome, Madina and Nsawam markets. These markets provide cheaper options for them as compared to the Amasaman market. At Agboghloshie, they get fresh foodstuffs from trucks coming from farms outside Accra. These markets were patronized by the caterers.

Since the foodstuffs used in the food preparation were procured from markets outside of the municipalities within which the school feeding programme is being implemented, the home grown aspect is defeated. The third objective of the Ghana

School Feeding Programme is aimed at growing the local economies of the municipalities with the GSFP. Even though the foodstuffs used for the cooking are made in Ghana, they are not from the local economy of the municipality within which the schools on the programme are located. This is where the need arises for *systems* to be put in place to get the local economy to produce for the school feeding programme and the school feeding programme also should support the local economy by procuring their ingredients and foodstuffs from the local farmers. There should be the intervention of the state in order to grow the local agricultural economy for eventual national development.

The successful implementation of social protection programmes to meet the desired objectives rely on governmental institutions and structures and the implementation capacity at the various levels in the implementation process. Most successful governmental programmes according to Giovannetti et al. (2011), have strong political leadership and are supported by citizens and the government. In the case of the GSFP, these parameters of political leadership and general support for the programme were present at the initial stages of implementation.

Again, the study found out that the implementation process had met the provisions that help to circumvent policy limitations as identified by May (2003). May (2003) identified three provisions that could circumvent policy limitations: capacity building, commitment and policy provisions that signal desired policy outcomes. Capacity building for effective policy outcomes include such measures as provision of funds for policy implementation, education and training of personnel in the policy making and implementation process as well as technical assistance for intermediaries in

the implementation process to carry out the requisite actions. It was found that capacity building and empowerment of personnel responsible for the school feeding programme had been undertaken in both municipalities under study.

Secondly, there is the need for ensuring that there is commitment to the success of the policy. Commitment building actions include publicity of the policy goals, initiative and hard work in policy implementation. In relation to the GSFP, commitment has not been lacking. The World Food Programme (2007a) had even reported of the commitment of the DCEs who without the DICs had appointed Desk Officers to them to implement the school feeding programme. From the study, it came to light that in both Ga West and Effutu Municipalities Desk Officers had been appointed and were at post to help the DCEs in the implementation process.

The third is a set of policy provisions that signal desired policy outcomes such as publicity about successful policies. All these interventions are aimed at making policy implementation successful through intermediaries. It is without doubt that the policy objectives of the SFP have been publicized well enough. The Municipal officers were aware of the objectives of the SFP. According to May (2003), these are necessary for policy success. Yet the evidence on the field indicated that after all these, the GSFP has a lot more to do in order to be successful in the Ga West and Effutu Municipalities.

### **5.3 Community Participation in the Implementation Process of the School Feeding Programme**

Research question three (3) focused on community participation in the implementation of the Ghana school feeding Programme (GSFP). Community participation is considered to be the process of creating opportunities that enable members of a beneficiary community to actively contribute to, influence and share equitably, the benefits of development (UN, 2002). Community participation refers to an active process whereby beneficiaries of public policies are involved in programmes aimed at helping them such that the beneficiary community is able to influence the direction and execution of development projects rather than merely receive a share of project benefits.

#### **5.3.1 Community Participation and Ownership**

The design of the Ghana school Feeding Programme has elements of community participation which aims at improving not only enrolment and attendance among other benefits directly related to pupils, but also intended to involve the whole community. The communities with the school feeding are expected to own the school feeding programme.

Community participation and ownership in the GSFP have been varied from the perspective of different communities having the SFP. In the Ga West Municipality there were some challenges at the initial stages of the implementation of the programme. The crucial element of community participation leading to ownership of social protection schemes was non-existent. After series of validation workshops for the beneficiary



communities, community participation had improved. It was realized that there was virtually no community involvement in the GSFP in the Effutu Municipality. It came to light that community participation was almost non-existent. Beneficiary communities are to help with the provision of kitchens but only one school had a kitchen in the Effutu municipality. Some communities are reported to support the scheme with foodstuffs, firewood, fetching water for the cooks among others.

The target group (community's) behaviour, as indicated by Winter (1990) in the integrated implementation model, is the ultimate measure of whether a public policy or programme implemented had been successful or failed. In the case of the GSFP, the apathetic responses from the beneficiary communities of the programme were message that were sent to the case study municipalities that they had failed to include the communities in the programme formulation and implementation. Asking them to be part of the SICs and attend meetings alone could not arouse much interest in the programme. They needed to have been consulted and brought into the scheme.

What the officials from both Municipalities did with the sounding of the „bells of failure“ has been very pivotal in how the programme have performed in both municipalities. In the Ga West Municipality, the Street-Level Bureaucrats quickly mobilized and started running validation workshops for beneficiary communities. These validation workshops whipped up a lot of interest in the GSFP in the municipality. At the workshops, they municipal officials educated and sensitized the community on a wide range of issues related to the SFP. When the communities bought into the programme, their attitudes changed from one of apathy to one of participation. The dominant political sub-culture prior to the validation workshop was one of subject

political culture where the citizens were passive and apathetic thinking that they had very limited role in the implementation process. After the validation workshops were run in the communities they got involved and they felt they had to contribute to the success of the scheme, thus, taking on a participant political culture.

In the Ga West Municipality, the current state of participation and contribution of the communities with schools on the GSFP, had changed. This is directly attributable to the number of validation workshops that the district organized to sensitize the communities with schools on the GSFP. It was revealed that some communities have taken ownership of the GSFP since the workshops were run for them and they have supported the programme in diverse ways. One of such communities (Mayera) that had participated in the implementation of the school feeding programme had been providing fuel wood (firewood) to the caterer. During the harvest season, some farmers also come together and present foodstuffs for the caterers to cook for the pupils

In the Effutu Municipality, with the exception of one community that had constructed a kitchen for their school, it was realized that there was no other case of community involvement. Unlike the Ga West Municipality where there was the active involvement of the field officials (street-level bureaucrats) to organize validation workshops, there have been no moves at getting the communities to get on board in the implementation process of the GSFP in the Effutu Municipality. This failure on the part of the Effutu Municipality did not come as a surprise, as there was no SIC. The SIC would have been instrumental in the organization of similar workshops in the communities. The work of overseeing the implementation was left to the DCE and the

Desk Officer to do. This had resulted in a situation where the host communities had continued to remain apathetic to the GSFP.

It was found that the caterers lived in the municipality but not all caterers lived in the communities where the schools they cook for are located. This was the case in the Effutu Municipality as well. This situation as identified early on, results in occasions where the food served to the pupils delay and thereby disrupt the timetable for the days of delay.

### **5.3.2 Targeting and Retargeting in the Ghana School Feeding Programme**

Targeting in the Ghana School Feeding Programme starts with the respective District Assemblies. They identify the needy communities and recommend such to the GSFP secretariat for consideration. Some of the suggested communities and schools that are deprived are unable to be put on the school feeding programme because the government has been unable to provide funds to cover all the needy schools and communities. What the study found was that in the communities and schools where the SFP is extended to, they did not meet the criteria set by the school feeding programme. Such criteria include the readiness of the community by the provision of a kitchen, store room and canteen (eating place) where the pupils will eat after they had been served.

Targeting for the GSFP came by meeting laid down criteria which included: willingness of a community to provide basic infrastructure (e.g. kitchen, store, dining room); commitment of the District Assembly, demonstrated by its interest to sustain the programme; poverty status of the district and community; low school enrolment and/or attendance and gender parity index; high drop-out rates; low literacy levels; presence of

planned health and nutritional interventions or expansion of existing ones; no participation in an already existing SFP; poor access to potable water; high community spirit and management capability (WFP, 2007b).

In the Effutu municipality, only one school had a kitchen on the school compound. There was however, no store room and no eating place. The other schools had no kitchens, no store rooms and no canteens or eating places. The Ga West Municipality presented a better picture of the readiness of the communities and schools for the school feeding programme. It was identified that there had been an improvement in community participation after the series of validation workshops were organized for the communities.

The study found that the GSFP had been disregarding its own criteria for the establishment/extension of the school feeding to any school. The evidence on the field indicated that the regional officers at times visited the schools where the feeding programmes were rolled out. One would expect that in their monitoring process, they would find out that there were no functional kitchens, no store rooms and no eating places (canteens) for the school pupils to eat. If such facilities were not present in the schools, how were they recommended by the Municipal Assemblies and endorsed by the School Feeding Secretariat and approved by the Ministry of Education? It was found that the caterers delayed in bringing the food to the schools. In such instances as was identified, the school timetable was disrupted and it reduced contact hours for the school day. If the kitchens were on the school compounds and cooking done in the schools, the school heads and the school feeding coordinators could better monitor the process in order for the cooking to be done on time. The systemic failure as a result of non-

conformity to laid down regulations showed that there was a weak and a toxic environment that helped the flouting of the regulations to flourish.

The study also came to the conclusion that there was so much apathy on the part of the beneficiary communities because there were limited avenues for participation. The beneficiary communities had been *„demonized‘*. This conclusion is premised on the fact that the members of the beneficiary communities could not go to the private houses or business premises of the caterers for purposes of supervision. If the kitchens were on the school compounds (which is a public space), any member of the community could pass by to ask questions and „supervise“ the cooking process. Only designated officials would be allowed into the „private“ homes or kitchens of the caterers. The officials were also unable to do frequent monitoring hence the caterers were on their own and the members of the community could also do nothing about the situation. One of the solutions to this challenge of community ownership and participation could be the provision of the kitchens on the school compounds.

When asked of the influence of a change in government on the appointment and dismissal of caterers, the officials from the two municipalities gave their observations for the periods they have been at post. It was realized that in the Ga West Municipality, there were some cases where some schools on the feeding programme were removed and others added. Retargeting was done with regards to some beneficiary schools on the SFP that did not need the feeding programme because they were in Class A residential areas. The SFP was moved from OLAS and Anglican Schools to some other deprived communities. The SFP in OLAS alone was enough to cater for four communities (Bodoma, Dedeman Okyirikomfo and Akyeoto) in very deprived areas. The caterers

cooking for OLAS and Anglican were sent to cook for some other schools after the retargeting was done. In this case, some observers may think that the caterer had been sacked and that the school feeding programme had been stopped in OLAS and Anglican but the truth is that there has been retargeting and it has served the municipality very well. This retargeting exercise in the Ga West Municipality was part of the GSFP's retargeting drive which was meant to correct the wrongfully targeted schools. The GSFP (2011) admitted that there had been some unfortunate situations that led to some „unqualified“ schools benefiting from the SFP as a result of poor targeting. The GSFP stated that:

Some of the schools did not qualify under the selection criteria, a situation which deviates from the goal of the programme. In the light of the above, it has become imperative to streamline the programme by correcting the deviation from the Programme goal. As a matter of urgency, the Programme, with support of the special committee to oversee the retargeting exercise shall wean off the „unqualified“ schools that are currently benefiting and retarget the deprived communities to enhance the achievement of the intended objectives of the programme (GSFP, 2011).

In the Effutu Municipality, there were changes in the caterers cooking for the GSFP. One came about as a result of poor performance in relation to the programme. It was reported that she was a habitual late comer. Always delaying with the delivery of food to the school which disrupted the timetable of the school. The removal had nothing to do with the change in government or a change in the DCE. It was purely on the grounds of the caterers' inability to meet the set targets satisfactorily.

The study found that even though there was a directive from the government to the effect that caterers were to reapply for consideration to be appointed as caterers for the school feeding programme, those who reapplied were reinstated. This study in its findings in the Ga West and the Effutu Municipalities, did not find any evidence of the dismissal of the caterers after there was a change in government as was reported by some media houses.

The study also found that some caterers were dismissed from the Ghana School Feeding Programme. The reasons given included lateness in presenting food to the schools for distribution. The lateness which was explained by the Municipal Officer was habitual and was disrupting the timetable for the school. After cautions without any change, she was dismissed and replaced by another caterer who met their expectations. This demonstrated that the Municipal Assembly was in control of the programme and was monitoring it.

Though the Assemblies appeared to be in charge of the school feeding programme in their municipalities, it was realized that they were not putting in place measures that would make the stakeholders (caterers) effectively deliver to the satisfaction of the Municipal authorities. In the interview sessions with the caterers, it came out that they were all living within the Municipalities within which the beneficiary communities and schools were. What came to light was that only few lived in the same vicinity or community where the beneficiary schools were located. Because there were no kitchens on the school compounds, they had to cook from their own kitchens and transport the cooked food to the schools for distribution. This was found to increase the cost on the caterers. The caterers wished that the schools they cook for would construct kitchens and storage houses to facilitate their easy operation.

#### **5.4 Conclusion**

This chapter focused on the discussion of the findings of the study. The findings were discussed based on the research questions. The findings revealed that there was stakeholder participation in both districts of the study with the Ga West Municipality harnessing the potential of community involvement more than the Effutu Municipality. In both Municipalities, the Ghana School Feeding Programme was rated as being successful in two areas (reducing short term hunger and malnutrition among school pupils and increasing enrolment, attendance and retention) but failed in the third objective (boosting domestic food production and providing ready markets for local farm produce).





## CHAPTER SIX

### SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 6.0 Introduction

This chapter is a presentation of the summary of the research, recommendations and conclusions. This chapter also presents the challenges and limitations of the study and it outlines the contribution of the research work to knowledge as well as suggestions of some areas for further research and studies. This study was conducted using the qualitative methodology. Purposive sampling was employed to get municipal officers, school coordinators and caterers involved in the school feeding programme in the two districts (Municipalities) of Ga West in the Greater Accra region and Effutu in the Central region to respond to interviews for the research. The study made use of an interview guide of unstructured questions that were developed in order to answer the research questions that guided the study.

#### 6.1 Summary of Findings

The study set out to investigate the role and nature of politics in all its forms in the process of implementing social protection policies in Ghana with reference to the Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP). This study was guided by four (4) research questions. These research questions were:

- i. How is institutional politics affecting the implementation of the School Feeding Programme in Ghana?
- ii. How has the GSFP as implemented achieved its objectives?

- iii. How is community participation integrated into the implementation process of the school feeding programme?
- iv. How are stakeholders participating in the implementation process of the feeding programme at the district level?

**Research Question One:** How is institutional politics affecting the implementation of the School Feeding Programme in Ghana?

With regards to this research question, the study found that the GSFP have not been implemented very well in the two municipalities of Ga West and Effutu. This is supported by the overwhelming evidence from the field that indicated that the School Feeding Programme had been implemented without the necessary structures at the district level in place. This was the case in the Effutu municipality. The District/Municipal Implementation Committee (DIC) had not been set up for a long time, yet the programme had been running. School Implementation Committees (SICs) were also non-existent in the schools in the Effutu Municipality. Without these structures in place, the effectiveness of the programme implementation would be adversely affected.

The study revealed that the role of the DCEs have significant impact on the implementation of the GSFP. The results from the interviews brought out the significant role of the Municipal offices of the GA West in ensuring the procurement of foodstuffs, organizing validation workshops and monitoring. This leadership provided by the Municipal offices was missing in the Effutu Municipality. This resulted in the relative success of the programme in the Ga West Municipality as compared to the Effutu Municipality.

**Research Question Two:** How has the GSFP as implemented achieved its objectives?

The study found that the objectives of the school feeding programmes since the 1950s have not been any different from the objectives of the Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP) as is being implemented now. The previous school feeding programmes run by some international NGOs when compared with the Ghana School Feeding Programme, the study found that the previous feeding schemes had elements that the current school feeding programme did not have. For these organizations that started the feeding programmes in schools in Ghana, they had concerns for reducing absolute poverty, curbing food insecurity and reducing gender inequality in education. The current school feeding programme run by the Government of Ghana does not have any element of bridging the gap between female and male enrolment. The GSFP has a target of reaching all children of school going age in deprived communities.

Another finding of the study indicated that there had been an increment in enrolment and attendance due to the Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP). Both Municipal Officers praised the GSFP for the impact it had had on the education in their districts in general in terms of increment in enrolment and improvement in school attendance, and on the pupils, for improving their health and nutritional status. There was a positive impact of the GSFP on pupils' enrolment and attendance. It was also identified that there was a steady increment in school attendance rates as well. Data from the Ministry of Education for the Ga West Municipality confirms this finding. According to the Ministry of Education, enrolment figures steadily increased since the 2010/2011 academic year. This finding reinforces the conclusions of Abotsi (2013) that

the net primary school enrolment as well as the gross primary school enrolment increased dramatically after the introduction of the Ghana School Feeding Programme.

The study also found that, the food served to pupils was not as nutritious as required. The school coordinators complained about the poor quality of food served to the pupils. When asked, the Municipal officers confirmed and the Ga West officer gave an instance when a teacher went to his office with a plate of food served to pupils by the caterer assigned to her school. This defeats the objective of service a nutritious meal to the pupils.

In connection to this, the study found that the cause of this was due to the practice where caterers were allowed to go to the open market to buy their own foodstuffs. It used to be the case that in the Ga West municipality for instance, the Farm Based Organizations (FBOs) under the supervision of the Agricultural Directorate were supplying quality foodstuffs to the caterers. The breakdown of this arrangement had resulted in the procurement of foodstuffs from the open market where supervision was difficult. The intention of supporting the local economy was therefore defeated in both municipalities. The study found out that the third goal of the Ghana School Feeding Programme had not been achieved in the Municipalities selected. It was estimated that, at least, 80% of the value of the feeding cost would be spent in the local economy, thereby creating ready markets for the produce of local farmers. It was intended that local agriculture would be boosted in places where the school feeding depended on locally produced foodstuffs. Reliance on locally produced foodstuffs would have created ready market for local farmers. The evidence from the research indicated that the caterers who were the procurement agents for the GSFP in the various

municipalities did not buy their foodstuffs from the farmers in the municipality; neither did they even patronize the local markets for their ingredients. They all went to nearby districts which have bigger and more vibrant markets. In the Ga West Municipality, the caterers went to either Dome market in the Ga East municipality or Nsawam in the Nsawam Adoagyiri Municipality. In the Effutu Municipality, the sources of foodstuffs for the scheme were procured by the caterers from Swedru in the Agona West Municipality and from Kasoa in the Awutu Senya East District. The programme had failed to make any significant impact in relation to the improvement and boosting of local agriculture of the beneficiary communities.

One similarity that this study identified was in line with community ownership. Previous feeding programmes run by organizations like the CRS, the beneficiary communities contributed storage facilities, kitchens and at times, foodstuffs. The GSFP sought to do same in order to foster community participation in the policy implementation. The MOU signed by the Ghana government and the Dutch government also presented very strong issues on the building of structures and systems to ensure the sustainability of the Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP). One of the criteria for the implementation of the school feeding in any community was the building or construction of kitchens, store rooms and canteens. The study sought to assess community participation through the provision of the basic infrastructure like kitchens and sheds. The study found a situation disturbing situations in the two municipalities. The DICs were to ensure that there was the construction of a kitchen, storage place and canteen before the commencement of cooking for the school. The study found that in the Effutu Municipality, with the exception of one school, there were no kitchens for

cooking and there were no sheds under which pupils could eat after they had been served. Storage facilities were not available hence the caterers had to prepare food to be served from their respective homes or workplaces.

The findings of the study could therefore not give credence nor confirm the report by the GSFP in 2006 that there was a general acceptance of the programme as non-beneficiary communities bought into the programme and, on their own initiative, started constructing functional kitchens and feeding sheds in anticipation of the programme reaching their communities. In the study conducted, it was identified that out of the ten (10) schools in the Effutu Municipality, only one (1) had a functioning kitchen with no feeding shed. All other schools in the municipality had neither kitchens nor sheds where pupils could sit to enjoy their meals. There were no storage facilities as well. In the Ga West Municipality, the research findings suggest that the same conditions prevailed: there were no kitchens and there were no feeding sheds in majority of the schools. When pupils were served their food some school pupils ate in their classrooms whilst others stood around to eat.

The study also confirmed the assertion by Devereux (2013) that social protection as a state policy in Sub-Saharan Africa, have not been planned very well but come about as an ad hoc measure by the government to solve a challenge and to score political points. This is supported by the evidence from the field that indicated that the SFP had been implemented without the necessary structures at the district level. This was the case in the Effutu municipality. The DIC had not been set up, yet the programme was running. The SICs were also not in place in the municipality. Without these structures in place, the effectiveness of the programme implementation have been adversely affected.

Another finding of the study indicated that there had been an increment in enrolment and attendance due to the Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP). Both Desk Officers interviewed affirmed the strides made in terms of enrolment as a result of the GSFP. It was identified that there had been a steady increment in school attendance rates. Data from the Ministry of Education showed that there had been positive enrolment figures since the 2010/11 academic year. This finding reinforces the conclusion of Abotsi (2013) that the net primary school enrolment as well as the gross primary school enrolment increased drastically after the introduction of the GSFP.

**Research Question Three:** How is community participation integrated into the implementation process of the school feeding programme?

The study argues that community participation in the implementation of the Ghana School Feeding Programme was very low. The host/beneficiary communities were not involved in the implementation of the programme. The Operation Manual has made provision for the representatives of the communities within which the basic schools are situated to be actively involved in the GSFP. Structures created to ensure this is the School Implementation Committee (SIC). The findings indicated that in the Effutu municipality, there was no school with a functioning SIC. In the Ga West Municipality, the findings indicated that some schools had the SICs and just a few did not have the SICs functioning. The Ga West Municipal official could not tell exactly how many schools did not have the SICs. In the Ga West municipality, five schools were chosen for the study and out of the five, one did not have a functioning SIC, even

though it had been formed. Community participation was therefore stronger in the Ga West Municipality as compared to the Effutu Municipality.

The study further establishes that there was very little domestic ownership of the Ghana School Feeding Programme in the communities with schools on the school feeding programme. The research conducted could not find any school that had the host community actively involved in the school feeding programme. In the Ga West Municipality, there were reports of some level of community involvement in some communities. In the Effutu municipality, there was no evidence from the research conducted that indicated that there was any school with community involvement.

**Research Question Four:** How are stakeholders participating in the implementation process of the feeding programme at the district level?

It has been established by this study that stakeholder participation in the GSFP was not at levels appreciated by the municipal offices. The stakeholder institutions even though were providing some support to the SFP, it could improve. The Desk officers in both Municipalities complained of failure of the stakeholder institutions to show up for meetings. They only responded to few invitations. The study found that this had been improving in the two municipalities.



## **6.2 The Study's Contribution to Knowledge**

This study argues that politics is a cardinal issue that determines the ways in which the GSFP is implemented. Politics affected the ways in which stakeholder collaboration happens in the implementation of the GSFP; the structures vital to the implementation of the school feeding programme at the District level; and the level of community participation in the two Municipalities studied. I brought to the fore the challenges that the effective implementation of the school feeding programme is facing at the district levels. Chief among the challenges was the failure of the Municipalities to establish the structures (DICs and SICs) necessary for the effective implementation of the school feeding programme at the grassroots levels. Literature available has laid much emphasis on the role of the central government in the implementation of public policies. What this study has highlighted had been the implementation of a public policy at the district level. This study touched on the role of stakeholders at the district level in the implementation of the school feeding programme.

The study has added to the store of researched literature on school feeding in general and the Ghana School Feeding Programme in particular. This study has added to knowledge by providing a researched work that will broaden our horizon on the implementation of the Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP) at the District level.

### **6.3 Conclusions**

Based on the findings of this research on the topic, „Politics and the Ghana school feeding programme in the Ga West and Effutu municipalities“, these conclusions are drawn, based on the research objectives set for the study.

The first research objective sought to explore the role of institutional politics in the implementation of the GSFP. This study operationalized politics to be the forms of interactions between the structure and agencies that have the aim of allocating resources to meet the needs of society. In the case of the Ghana School Feeding Programme, there are a number of agencies (stakeholders) that are involved. These agencies at the district level are the District Assemblies, the District Directorates of Agriculture, Education and Health.

In the interaction of the researcher which reflected in the research findings from both study areas, the evidence was that there were no incidences of stakeholder conflicts at the District levels as appeared at the national level at the initial stages in the implementation of the Ghana School Feeding Programme. There were responses that strongly gave the indication that there was a lot of stakeholder collaboration and support systems that helped in the implementation of the school feeding programme in the Ga West and the Effutu Municipalities.

The conclusion of this study as to the major factor contributing to the absence of stakeholder conflict was that, the Municipal Assemblies of Ga West and Effutu had taken full control and ownership of the school feeding programme. With the Municipal Assemblies taking charge, there were no issues of contestation amongst stakeholders to control the implementation of the school feeding programme.

This study also concluded that the District Implementation Committees (DICs) are very crucial to the effective implementation of the school feeding programme in the Ga West and Effutu Municipalities. Relatively, the GSFP in the Ga West Municipality was more coordinated and relatively successful as compared to the Effutu Municipality where the school feeding programme was less monitored. This study therefore concludes that the DICs and SICs are critical to the effective implementation of the Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP).

The second research objective was to establish whether the GSFP had been implemented to achieve its stated objectives. The conclusion of this research on the achievement of the objectives of the Ghana School Feeding Programme had been broken down into three, based on the three short-term objectives of the programme. The objectives were:

- i. To reduce short term hunger and malnutrition among school children.
- ii. To increase enrolment, attendance and retention in schools at the basic level
- iii. To boost domestic food production and provide ready market for produce from farmers.

In relation to reducing short term hunger and malnutrition among school pupils, this study concludes that, based on the research findings, this objective has been achieved. In both municipalities, it was found that, pupils were coming to school and some, the greatest motivation was the food they were going to be served. From the accounts of the school coordinators, it discovered that the incidences of reports of hunger and weakness had ceased after the introduction of the SFP.

Concerning the second short term objective of the GSFP, the study concludes that there had been increments in the enrolment figures of pupils in school with the school feeding programme in both municipalities. Enrolment had increased between 10 percent and 15 percent since the introduction of the SFP in both municipalities. The study also found that pupils were regular to school and stayed in class throughout the day. This study therefore concluded that the second objective of increasing enrolment, attendance and retention had been achieved.

On the third objective of the school feeding programme, this study concluded that it had not been achieved in both municipalities involved in the study. The findings of this study were that the caterers who procured foodstuffs went to markets in other municipalities. They did not procure foodstuffs from the local market and did not patronize farm produce of farmers in the municipalities in which the school feeding was implemented.

The third research objective was to ascertain how community participation was integrated into the implementation of the GSFP. The study found that community participation in the implementation of the school feeding programme was not as expected. There were findings to the effect that there was so much apathy of host communities in their support of the school feeding programme. It was only in few communities that after validation workshops, the communities had started to show up in schools to supervise the implementation of the school feeding programme. In most of the schools there were no SICs. The few schools that had the SICs also faced a challenge where the members were not regular at meetings. The study concluded that

there was a huge deficit in the community participation aspect in the implementation of the Ghana School Feeding Programme.

The fourth study objective was to examine the contribution of stakeholders to the feeding programme. The study concludes that, there has been stakeholder participation in the implementation of the GSFP. In both Municipalities, such agencies like the District Assemblies, the Health and Education Directorates have been active participants in the implementation process. Their contributions have helped the Desk Officers to run the SFP.

#### **6.4 Recommendations**

The study investigated the politics and the Ghana School Feeding Programme in the Ga West and Effutu Municipalities. On the basis of the research findings and the conclusions, the following suggestions have been made for policy makers, stakeholders and all parties involved in one way or the other in the implementation of the Ghana school Feeding Programme:

It is recommended that the Ghana School Feeding Programme must improve its governance system at the district level. The School Implementation Committees (SICs) that were to ensure effective policy implementation at the school level must be established and made to function effectively. This is going to ensure that there is enough community ownership and participation in the implementation of the school feeding programme. The District Implementation Committee (DIC/MIC) should also be established and given logistics necessary for effective supervision. When the DICs are functioning, they would bring on-board all the stakeholders at the district level and their

active involvement in the implementation of the GSFP would ensure that the programme succeeds.

Procurement of foodstuffs should be driven towards the local economic development of the municipalities within which the School Feeding Programmes are hosted. It is recommended that the component of the GSFP that encourages a home-grown programme should be enforced by the District Assemblies. The use of locally produced foodstuffs is meant to provide ready markets for local farmers within the municipalities hosting the school on the feeding programmes. There should be a conscious effort on the part of municipalities to link the feeding programme to local agriculture through the farm based organizations in order to boost local agriculture, thereby, improving the local economy as a whole. This study recommends that this could be achieved when the Municipal Assemblies through the District Implementation Committees (DICs) and in collaboration with the Municipal Directorate of Agriculture procure and create a central pool of foodstuffs from where the caterers could buy to cook for the GSFP. The Agricultural Directorate should be tasked with the responsibility of mobilizing the Farm Based Organizations (FBOs) to supply quality foodstuffs produced locally to the Ghana School Feeding Programme within the Municipality. This would create the ready market sought by the GSFP to boost local agriculture and the local economy. There would also be the availability of quality foodstuffs produced by the standards of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture. This will help meet the third objective of the Ghana School Feeding Programme in the country. In a predominantly fishing municipality like Effutu, there should be a conscious effort on the part of the Municipal authority to support other agricultural activities like food-crop

farming in order to gain from the SFP which will provide ready markets for farm produce. Diversification from fishing to food crop farming will also help in reducing the overdependence on fishing as the main economic activity for the citizens.

The study also recommends that beneficiary schools should be provided with functional kitchens, store rooms and canteens. When beneficial schools are provided with kitchens on their school premises, the incidences of late supply of food to the schools would be dealt with. With food being prepared on the school premises, there would be enough supervision by the SICs to ensure that food is prepared on time to prevent disruption of the timetable for the schools. Canteens would also ensure that pupils eat in a hygienic environment and could be effectively supervised by the school authorities. This would also contribute to the general discipline in schools. In instances where there are no kitchens and store rooms, the Municipal authorities should recruit caterers within the same vicinity of the beneficiary schools. As the major stakeholder, the Municipal Assemblies should help reduce the cost burden on the caterers in order for them to deliver on their end of the contract with the Ghana School Feeding Programme.

To improve community participation in the implementation of the GSFP, it is further recommended that the Municipal/District Assemblies should embark on validation and sensitization exercises in their districts. This will raise the awareness of the programme and encourage the beneficiary communities to get involved in the implementation of the school feeding programme. It was identified in the study that there was so much apathy on the part of members of the communities. Since community ownership is key to the success of social protection programmes, it is very important

that steps are taken by the Municipal/District Assemblies to get communities to embrace the school feeding programme as their own. This would ensure proper monitoring and they are likely to even contribute logistics and infrastructure to facilitate the effective implementation of the programme.

## **6.5 Methodological Challenges**

Just like all research works, this study also comes with some methodological challenges or limitations. The study was conducted using the qualitative research methodology. This study adopted the purposive sampling technique to select the sample for the study. In the conduct of qualitative research, the research seeks to capture the meanings that participants attach to the phenomenon of interest to the research. The researcher then interprets the responses of the participants within the context of the environmental setting within which the participants are situated. The study collected data from only two districts. Even though only two districts were involved in the research, there were in-depth interviews conducted to obtain data. Such in-depth data could not have been easily collected across too many districts if participants were to be drawn from all districts and schools. The findings of the study are therefore the situations that pertain in the study areas.

The phenomenon of interest to the study was the dynamics of politics in the implementation of the school feeding programme. The elements or variables embedded within politics are not constant. The elements were variables that could change within a very short time. They are time-specific and contextual, which reduces the generalizability of the research findings.



Another challenge that this study encountered was in getting the relevant informants for the interview sessions. It was very difficult getting the Municipal officers for the face-to-face interviews. It was after many efforts and visits that the researcher was able to get some time with the officers for the interviews. School coordinators were also a bit suspicious and the researcher had to go to the Municipal Education Office several times before the researcher could get clearance for interviews with the school coordinators.

It is however, unlikely that these limitations relating to data collection affected the conclusions of the study. The various sources of information complemented one another by explaining and confirming the responses of each other.

#### **6.6 Suggested Areas for further research**

This study investigated the politics involved in the implementation of the school feeding programme in the two municipalities of Ga West and Effutu. Further studies could be conducted in the area of the politics involved in the implementation of social protection programmes. These areas are suggested for consideration for further research into the area of politics and social protection:

- i. The study can be replicated in other districts in order to allow for safe generalization.
- ii. This study looked into the politics in the implementation of the GSFP. Further research could be conducted into the politics of implementing other social protection schemes. This will facilitate a comparative analysis of politics in social protection in Ghana.

- iii. Further research could be conducted into other social protection schemes and the role of politics in their implementation.



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## APPENDIX 1



## **APPENDIX 2**

### **INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR MUNICIPAL OFFICERS**

1. What are the perceptions of respondents on the meaning of politics?
2. How is politics a factor in social protection in Ghana?
3. Interviewer: How did the GSFP come to be introduced in your municipality?
4. What are the institutions that are involved in the school feeding programme in this district?
5. Are there any forms of conflicts between the stakeholder institutions involved in the implementation of the school feeding programme?
6. What is the extent of collaboration between the state institutions in the SFP?
7. Were any forms of pressures on you from the Central Government, the MP, and the Chief or from anywhere in relation to the School Feeding Programme (SFP)?
8. Are the District Implementation Committees (DICs) and the School Implementation Committees (SICs) functioning?
9. How do you select caterers?
10. Has the GSFP been implemented to achieve its objectives?
11. Can you outline the short term objectives of the school feeding programme
12. Have the objectives been met in this district?
13. How do the caterers procure the foodstuffs for the School Feeding in order to achieve the third objective that you mentioned i.e. boost local food production and provide ready markets for farmers?

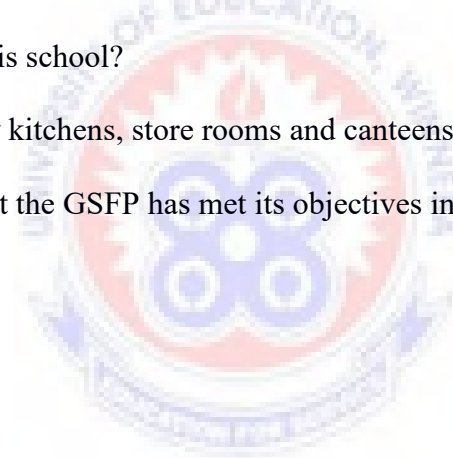
14. How is Community Participation integrated into the implementation process of the school feeding programme
15. Are community members part of the implementation process of the GSFP?
16. What is the contribution of the communities to the GSFP?



### **APPENDIX 3**

#### **INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SCHOOL COORDINATORS**

1. What is your understanding of the term politics?
2. Do you have an SIC in this school?
3. Is there effective supervision of your activities as the school coordinator for the GSFP by the DIC?
4. Are the caterers meeting your expectations in their work in this school?
5. Do the pupils patronize the food brought by the caterer?
6. Is there any form of involvement of the community in the school feeding programme in this school?
7. Do you have any kitchens, store rooms and canteens for the purpose of the GSFP?
8. Do you think that the GSFP has met its objectives in this school?



## **APPENDIX 4**

### **INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR CATERERS**

1. How were you appointed to be part of the school feeding programme in this school?
2. Do you think there is effective monitoring of your activities in relation to cooking for the school feeding programme?
3. Where do you procure your foodstuffs, in the preparation of food for the pupils?
4. Do the children patronize your food?
5. Is there any form of interference in your work from the school, district officers or any other external pressures?

