Addressing child labour through education: A study of alternative/complementary initiatives in quality education delivery and their suitability for cocoa-farming communities.

Submitted to ICI

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

AAG	Action Aid/Ghana
ADEOP	Annual District Education Operational Plans
AESOP	Annual Education Sector Operational Plan
BECE	Basic Education Certificate Examination
BECS	Basic Education and Civil Society Project
BED	Basic Education Division
BTE	Bridge to English
BTL	Breakthrough to Literacy
CAMFED	Campaign for Female Education
CAP	Community Action Plan
CEDEP	Centre for the Development of People
CBO	Community-based Organization
CPU	Community Participation Unit
CRDD	Curriculum Research and Development Division
CS	Circuit Supervisor
CSA	Community School Alliances
CST	Community Support Teacher
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DA	District Assembly
DCD	Department of Community Development
DDE	District Director of Education
DEFAT	District Education for All Team
DEO	District Education Office
DGEO	District Girls' Education Officer
DTST	District Teacher Support Team
EFA	Education for All
EQUALL	Education Quality for All
ESP	Education Strategic Plan
ESTAC	Education Sector Technical Advisory Committee
FCUBE	Free, Compulsory, Universal, Basic Education
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
FL	Forced Labour
GAIT II	Government Accountability Improves Trust
GAWU	Ghana Agricultural Workers' Union
GDCP	Ghana Danish Community Programme
GNAPS	Ghana National Association of Private Schools
GNAT	Ghana National Association of Teachers
GNECC	Ghana National Education Coalition Campaign
GOG	Government of Ghana
GPRS	Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy
GPRS II	Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy II
GTZ	*Geselschaft fuer Technisches Zusammenarbeit (German Techhnical Assitance)*
ICI	International Cocoa Initiative
IEC	Information, Education and Communication
IGO	Inter-Governmental Organisation
ILO	International Labour Organisation

ILP	Improving Learning Partnerships
IP	Implementing Partner
IPEC	International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour
ISODEC	Integrated Social Development Centre
JSS	Junior Secondary School
KNUST	Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology
LPT	Local Pupil Teacher
LUTRENA	*Lutte Contre le Trafic des Enfant en Afrique de l'Ouest et du Centre (Campaign against Child Trafficking in West and Central Africa)*
MA	Municipal or Metropolitan Assembly
MDAs	Ministries, Departments and Agencies
MDBS	Multi-Donor Budgetary Support
MDG	Millenium Development Goal
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MMYE	Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment
MOE	Ministry of Education
MOESS	Ministry of Education, Science and Sports
MOFA	Ministry of Food and Agriculture
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MOWAC	Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs
MVF	Mamidipudi Venkatarangaiya Foundation
NAWA	North American Women's Association
NCCE	National Commission for Civic Education
NHIS	National Health Insurance Scheme
NPECLC	National Programme for the Elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labour in Cocoa
NFED	Non-Formal Education Division
NSS	National Service Scheme
NTVP	National Teacher Volunteer Programme
NYEP	National Youth Employment Programme
OSH	Occupational Safety and Health
PAPADEV	Partners in Participatory Development
PLA	Participatory Learning in Action
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
PTA	Parent Teacher Association
RAINS	Regional Advisory and Information Network Systems
REV	Rural Education Volunteer
RIPE	Reading Improvement in Primary Education
SCORE	School and Community Oriented Education Project
SCREAM	Supporting Children's Rights through Education, the Arts and the Media
SMC	School Management Committee
SPIP	School Performance Improvement Plan
SSS	Senior Secondary School
SSCE	Senior Secondary School Certificate Examination
SWAp	Sector-Wide Approach
TED	Teacher Education Division
TLMs	Teaching/Learning Materials
TOT	Training of Trainers
TTC	Teacher Training College

TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
UTT/DBEP	Untrained Teacher's Diploma in Basic Education Programme
USDOL	US Department of Labour
VSOG	Voluntary Service Overseas, Ghana
WACAP	West Africa Cocoa Agriculture Project
WFCL/FL	Worst Forms of Child Labour/Forced Labour
YDK	*Yen Daakye* (Our future)
YES	Youth Education and Skills Project

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NOTE: The opinions expressed in this report are those of the consultant and not of ICI.

Executive Summary

1. Introduction

1.1. Purpose of the study

ICI, a foundation established in response to concerns about the use of child labour in cocoa production, commissioned this study in recognition of the fact that persistently low quality of basic education in cocoa-growing areas will hamper all other efforts to eliminate WFCL/FL. ICI wishes to design an intervention to address this problem, in collaboration with the Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment (MMYE), through its National Programme for the Elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labour in Cocoa (NPECLC). The study thus has a two-fold purpose: to examine the existing quality of education in a sample of cocoa-growing communities including ICI pilot communities, and to review existing quality education initiatives by other institutions and organizations, with a view to potential replication and/or adaptation in cocoa-growing communities. Based on a critical analysis of the quality problems and a matching up of the most appropriate aspects of existing initiatives, the study proposes relevant and realistic options for quality improvements in education.

1.2. Context of the study

There has been a steady decline in national education standards in Ghana over the past two decades which has been recognized as a serious hindrance to the country's development and the sector is now receiving significant government investment with a renewed focus on the importance of quality in education and on reaching remote rural areas. The very features which make cocoa flourish have the opposite effect on schooling. These include the geographical, climatic and demographic characteristics. Deficiency in management at both state and community levels has led to a virtual vacuum of ownership of schools, which critically undermines educational quality.

1.3. Relevance of the study to current government policy

As mentioned above, this study is intended to inform the MMYE's National Programme for the Elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labour in Cocoa (NPECLC), a comprehensive programme which recognizes quality education as a priority area in the fight against child labour. For the purposes of this programme, the MMYE will form collaborative links with the Ministry of Education (MOE[1]), which is in charge of implementing national education policy. It is currently doing this through the Education Strategic Plan (ESP) 2003-2015, which has many objectives of direct relevance to the needs of cocoa areas (see 7.3.1.) and clearly states that in allocating resources, particular emphasis will be given to poorer areas. The areas of overlap between the objectives of this study, of the ESP and of the NPECLC education objectives, indicate that in pursuing an initiative to improve quality education in cocoa-growing areas, ICI would be working directly towards major policy targets of the GOG.

1.4. Study methodology

This study was conducted using only qualitative research methods. Interviews and discussions were held with representatives of GOG, donors, NGOs, ICI Implementing Partners (IPs), as well as staff, schoolchildren, parents and leaders of eight cocoa farming communities in three districts in three different regions of Ghana namely Western, Ashanti and Eastern. The stages in which the study was conducted included the definition of criteria for 'quality education,' review and needs analysis of current quality in cocoa communities, review of existing initiatives to improve quality and the matching up of these with the needs analysis.

[1] Currently called the Ministry of Education, Science and Sports (MOESS), and subject to periodic name and portfolio changes, however this study will use the older, self-explanatory 'MOE' for the sake of simplicity.

2. The issue of quality

2. 1. Definition of quality in education

Quality in education is a positive measure of learning outcomes. People interviewed for this study gave their own definitions of it and these were collated into broad categories of key components which included: presence and quality of teachers, community involvement, educational resources/inputs, academic content, school environment, GES role, access and accountability. These answers shared common ground with globally accepted definitions, eg. by UNICEF (see 2.1.). The inter-connectedness of these various factors demonstrate the need for several variables to work together at the same time, in order to produce quality in education. Above all, the connection between educational quality and retention of pupils must be well understood if universal basic education is ever to become a reality.

2.2. The cost and opportunity cost of education

This study would like to suggest that poor educational quality in many rural areas is actually the biggest deterrent to children being enrolled in school. It identifies three different types of costs termed 'direct cost,' (the actual recurrent costs to parents such as uniforms and stationery), 'opportunity cost,' (children becoming 'misfits' by not learning any other livelihood but not acquiring a proper education either) and 'damage risk' (children being exploited and abused by teachers). In the light of such realities, the notion of rural parents "not understanding the 'value' of education" must be seriously reviewed because education simply *does not have value* unless it is of a good quality.

2.3. Implications of educational quality for child labour

Educational quality must be seen as a key determinant in the decisions parents make about whether to send children to school or to farm. Few, perhaps no school children in cocoa areas are completely exempt from farm labour, however the volume of labour decreases significantly for children attending quality schools. Thus, in addressing the child labour problem, it is important to see beyond the simplistic picture of poverty, ignorance and parental callousness, to the underlying dynamics of cause and effect. The simple and unpalatable truth is that given the quality of education available in many cocoa communities today, farming is a better livelihood option than schooling. While this factor is not an excuse for child labour, it is likely the most important promoter of it.

3. The current quality of education in cocoa communities

3.1. The context

Among the factors militating against quality in education in cocoa communities are the following:

- Ethnic heterogeneity due to high migrant levels leads to complications of leadership and low sense of common purpose, which undermine development.
- The relationship of farmers to the land they are farming is rarely one of ownership as most are tenant farmers or sharecroppers and lack pride in cocoa farming as a profession.
- Language is a problem for children in school especially children of minority migrant groups.
- Being a forest crop, cocoa by nature is farmed in areas of difficult access. Settlements are scattered and range from standard sized towns to tiny 'hamlets' consisting of a few households deep inside the forest, thus communities are poorly served with services and infrastructure.
- There are few role models for children especially girls, and women have a low social status.
- The seasonal nature of cocoa farming means that income streams are unsteady, undermining investment in children's education.

- Low education of parents hinders their engagement with their children's education and in school management.

3.2. Main effects of contextual problems on educational quality

These are mainly:

- High turnover, scarcity and gender imbalance of teachers, leading to instability of the academic environment.
- Absenteesim of both pupils and teachers.
- Inadequate supervision by both GES and communities undermining teacher performance and the effective transfer of teacher capacity to pupils. Data shows that poorly supervised qualified teachers perform worse than well supervised unqualified teachers.
- Resultant poor performance of school children.
- Low female enrolment and performance due to the intensive domestic role of girls and low social status of females. Low female morale, high rates of teenage pregnancy.

4. How to improve quality

On the basis of needs articulated by people in the research communities and of the analysis in the foregoing chapter, it can be concluded that interventions targeted at improving the quality of education in cocoa communities would need to address the following critical areas:

Critical objectives for quality education initiatives in cocoa-growing areas	
Socio-cultural	1. Addressing parental illiteracy, ignorance of civil rights, disengagement with education; 2. Promoting parental ownership of schools and involvement in school management and supervision, building their confidence as educational stakeholders; 3. Promoting parental responsibility for children's education; 4. Finding role models for children, preferably among their own communities; 5. Promoting cultural unity, sense of belonging, desire to invest in cocoa communities.
Political: issues of leadership and policy engagement	6. Addressing issues of governance and leadership in culturally heterogeneous communities; 7. Strengthening community capacity to participate in local governance structures; 8. Bringing about closer relations between communities and government authorities by strengthening CSOs, including PTAs and SMCs; 9. Strengthening government capacity to respond to needs of communities.
Economic	10. Addressing the poverty, unstable economics, money management of cocoa farmers; 11. Building community capacity to advocate for own resources; 12. Improving services/infrastructure in remote communities to reduce inaccessibility and the burden of domestic drudgery esp. 'girls' labour'; 13. Improving and increasing educational infrastructure and fulfilling basic quotas of educational resources.
Academic	14. Making education needs-based; 15. Giving children the building blocks of learning: language, literacy and numeracy; 16. Tackling linguistic barriers arising from illiterate background and multi-culturalism; 17. Providing adequate numbers of teaching staff and motivating teachers to stay at post; 18. Promoting child-centred teaching methodologies; 19. Streamlining the curriculum and making it more relevant; 20. Integrating out-of-school children into formal education.
Gender	21. Promoting gender balance among teaching staff; 22. Addressing gender disparities which put girls at a disadvantage; 23. Addressing the enabling gender environment - traditionally low status of women; 24. Finding role models for girls.
Geographic	25. Overcoming barriers of access for children - long distances, harsh terrain and climate; 26. Addressing the significant loss of instructional time caused by annual rainfall.

5. Review of parallel models for quality

5.1. Private Schools

The use of private schools as a model would not be considered appropriate for this study were it not for the fact that such establishments exist and were encountered at the same level of remote, rural

deprivation as the state schools within our sample. A case study is provided of a school which, despite very poor infrastructure and the complete absence of trained teachers, has achieved excellent standards of quality, due primarily to strong ownership.

5.2. Unit schools

These are schools originally founded by religious missions or other institutions such as the security services. Supervision of them is carried out by their Educational Units side by side with the GES inspection system. Although a far less dramatic contrast, unit schools also appear to have a slight advantage over state schools when it comes to ownership and supervision.

6. Review of donor and NGO initiatives in improving educational quality

6.1. Introduction

The review in this chapter looks at external initiatives targeted partly or fully at improving educational quality. The objective is to identify and analyse a *representative sample* of applicable approaches, rather than to compile an encyclopaedia of education initiatives in Ghana. The review is structured as a critical account of these programmes' activities, impact and challenges in the relevant areas of intervention, and arranged in same thematic order as the 'critical objectives' chart above. Initiatives reviewed are by Action Aid, CARE International (SCORE, BECS and YES), Ibis (EfE), ISODEC, ILO/IPEC (LUTRENA and WACAP), NNED, Olinga Foundation, RAINS/CAMFED, School for Life, USAID (QUIPS, EQUALL and GAIT II), VSO and WUSC. See 6.1.4. or Annex 3 for a summary chart of their activities relevant to this study. Initiatives by these organizations examined under each critical objective area (as listed below) are:

6.2. Socio-cultural

Addressing adult illiteracy; Enhancing civic awareness through IEC campaigns and PRA/PLA methodologies; Building community responsibility and planning capacity eg. through the drawing up of community action plans or school performance improvement plans.

6.3. Political: issues of leadership and policy engagement

Recognizing the importance of local leadership in education initiatives by mobilizing traditional leaders around education and by ensuring community leadership of academic programmes; Strengthening community capacity to participate in local governance structures; Strengthening government capacity to respond to needs of communities; Impacting government policy.

6.4. Economic

Provision of educational needs by supplying all outstanding items not covered by government; Provision of infrastructure; Credit and technical assistance programmes; Building community capacity to advocate for their own resources.

6.5. Academic

Improving teaching and learning in formal schools by giving children the building blocks of learning namely language, literacy and numeracy; Upgrading teaching methodologies and school management capacity; Providing learning reinforcement assistance to pupils; Targeting out-of-school children through Complementary Education Programmes (eg. shepherd schools); Filling teacher deficits through the deployment of local pupil teachers[2] and motivating them through the

[2] The term 'Local Pupil Teacher' (LPT) has been coined for the expediency of this study, in order to be able to denote this phenomenon without referring to any particular programme. This is because different programmes have their own particular terms for them, like 'REV' for Action Aid and Ibis and 'CEP' for EQUALL (USAID).

opportunity to upgrade their qualifications; Making education needs-based in order to respond to the precise needs of the people.

6.6. Gender

Overcoming socio-cultural, attitudinal, biological, economic and geographical barriers of access; Promoting and institutionalizing gender equity in education; Improving the enabling environment; Redressing gender balance in teaching staff; Providing role models; Promoting gender empowerment, civic awareness and equity in leadership; Acknowledging and utilizing women's role as education stakeholders.

6.7. Sustainability: A cross-cutting issue

Scope of initiatives in geographic, thematic, economic terms and in relation to mainstream realities and actor/ beneficiary levels; Collaboration with key partners for ownership and management; Internal project management.

7. Suitability of reviewed initiatives and current government programmes to the needs of cocoa growing areas

7.1. Parallel models

The importance of ownership as the source of management and supervision has been dramatically highlighted by the contrasts between these models (see Chapter 5) and state schools at their level, and must be critically examined if quality education is to be attained. Fortunately, this issue has been recognized by the ongoing education reform process.

7.2. NGO/donor programmes

On the basis of the review in Chapter 6, initiatives considered particularly suitable for cocoa communities are those that:

1. Are needs-based, rights-based and work within mainstream realities;
2. Respond well to the geographical and resource challenges of remote communities;
3. Build capacity for all three elements necessary for quality education - (1) teaching, (2) management and (3) resources – as much *at community level* as possible;
4. Build community capacity to advocate for quality education as a right and be well represented in local government;
5. Address leadership and governance challenges;
6. Strengthen CSOs (including SMC/PTAs) for community leadership and education advocacy;
7. Address the enabling environment through adult literacy programmes, advocacy empowerment and gender sensitization;
8. Place a high priority on gender and treat it as a cross-cutting issue in all programming;
9. Have a high use of PRA/PLA methodologies in all aspects of programming;
10. Make the relationship between government authorities and community representatives positive and functional in both directions;
11. Emphasize supervision above all other prerequisites for quality education.
12. Improve basic literacy and numeracy at primary level;
13. Provide complementary education programmes (CEPs) mainly in mother-tongue literacy;
14. Provide local pupil teachers (LPTs).

The programmes that respond best to these specifications are integrated ones with an education focus. This is because quality education in deprived areas is an issue that needs to be addressed from many angles at once. Given the extreme difficulty of the gender issue in remote cocoa areas however, specifically gender-targeted initiatives have additional best practices to offer. See 7.2.2. for a summary of most suitable initiatives.

7.3. Current government policy in the relevant sectors

Education

The thematic areas of the MOE's Education Strategic Plan (ESP) 2003-2015 are: 1. Equitable Access to Education; 2. Quality of Education; 3. Educational Management; 4. Science, Technology and TVET. Some of the ESP's policy objectives and matching strategies directly relevant to the needs of cocoa-growing areas are given below:

Equitable Access to Education (EA)

EA7 Provide equitable educational opportunities.
EA9 Prioritise the disadvantaged in society
EA13 Prioritise female education at all levels, including technical and vocational education.
EA14 Promote the recruitment and deployment of female teachers

Quality of Education (QE)

QE4 Develop a motivated teaching cadre for all levels with support from the Private sector, CBOs, NGOs, FBOs and Development Partners;
QE5 Improve the relevance of the curriculum at pre-tertiary levels.

Educational Management (EM)

EM5 Ensure effective decentralization and community ownership and participation;
EM6 Strengthen the involvement of civil society in education management;
EM9 Increase private sector participation in the education sector.

Labour

The Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment (MMYE) has designed a National Programme for the Elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labour in Cocoa 2006-2011 (NPECLC). This is a comprehensive programme targeting all angles of the child labour problem. Specifically, Objective 5 is the: "Promotion of universal basic education and human resource development among cocoa growing communities" and breaks down into ten objectives. Like the ESP and in line with current government strategy, the NPECLC is based on a multi-sectoral approach and its implementation will emphasize community ownership and participation. However, although the NPECLC has an in-built relevance to the needs identified through this study, it does not adequately recognize the poor quality of education as a cause of child labour in deprived areas.

8. Conclusions and Recommendations

8.1. The enabling environment: socio-cultural, political, economic

Being needs-and rights-based

This approach steers away from the over-simplicity of poverty as an explanation for child labour and promotes: Information and capacity-building; Formation of collaborative networks; (in particular through the strengthening of CSOs); Building communities' self-esteem; Designing initiatives with adequate input from communities and ensuring that they take ownership of and (at least partial) responsibility for them.

Addressing the socio-cultural complexities of cocoa farming communities

These have not been directly targeted by any of the quality initiatives examined and would involve designing activities to examine and address: The challenge of achieving representative leadership in ethnically diverse communities; The need to involve traditional leadership fully in education; The low sense of pride and common purpose in cocoa communities.

Having a cross-cutting gender focus
Gender is "a tough nut to crack" in these remote rural areas and must be made to cut across all aspects of programming. A clear gender policy is needed in ICI's YDK programme and in its projected education programme under the NPECLC. Important elements are: The need to recognize women's role as major education sponsors and stakeholders; The need for women to acquire the capacity to engage with their daughters' educational experience.

Attaining a high level of self-sufficiency at community level
This means building the capacity for all three elements necessary for quality education –
(1) teaching, (2) management and (3) resources – as much at community level as possible. Suggested approaches are: Giving communities an oversight role in projects; Clearing blockages in communication channels between community members and the bodies that are supposed to represent them at various levels; Strengthening communities to generate their own resources.

Material resources: infrastructure, services and educational facilities
Lack of these has direct and indirect impacts on the quality of education with particular gender implications. ICI/MMYE should: Advocate for the timely provision of government-obligated services and infrastructure to remote cocoa areas; Build community capacity for the necessary application procedures; Encourage industry partners to donate such infrastructure (eg. solar lighting and borehole pumps).

Advocacy and assistance to improve government response to educational needs
At district level this involves: Bringing together community members with representatives of DAs and DEOs for animation and capacity-building activities; Entering into cost-sharing agreements with DAs for complementary education programmes; Facilitating DA sponsorships of teachers; Facilitating information flows between district and policy levels to promote the implementation of *existing* policy provisions intended to make the state education system more flexible and responsive to the needs of cocoa areas. At the policy level this includes advocating for: Increased quotas for GES pupil teachers and the lowering of qualifying criteria for such teachers; Reduction in the number of subjects on the basic education curriculum; Making 'FCUBE' truly free.

8.2. Teaching and Learning

Complementary Education Programme
Academic interventions must place an overarching emphasis on supervision and be firmly embedded within integrated programmes which also feature community capacity-building. For this reason, School for Life's approach is highly recommended and ICI/MMYE should make use of the fact that SfL actively encourages other organizations to adopt it and provides guidelines to help set it up. ICI/MMYE should also investigate the possibility of adding a 'bridging' stage including some English teaching to SfL's mother tongue literacy programme.

Wing/feeder schools
ICI/MMYE should assist remote cocoa communities apply to the GES for wing schools (see 6.5.2 a). Such schools could potentially serve clusters of hamlets and will increase access for the younger children.

8.2.3. Deployment of local pupil teachers (LPTs)
ICI/MMYE should design a programme for the deployment of LPTs in cocoa communities, requiring a minimum 2-year service period while ensuring the furthering of their skills by sponsoring their re-sitting of SS exams and supporting them to take the UTT/DBEP modular course. ICI/MMYE should also consider assisting some of the JSS graduates from remote communities to further their education with a view to becoming pupils teachers, or sponsored

teacher trainees who will return and teach in their communities. ICI/MMYE should investigate the possibility of obtaining national service teachers for remote cocoa communities. A monitoring system should be put in place whereby a support officer visits LPTs on a regular basis.

Quality Interventions in GES schools

ICI/MMYE should design a programme to be run in partner communities concurrently with their CEP, which will improve conditions in state schools and create links between them and the CEP. Suggestions are: Create opportunities to bring GES teachers together with LPTs and CEP facilitators operating within the same communities in training activities and provide performance-based motivation to GES teachers also; Expose GES school heads also to some of the training activities so they can supervise teachers and LPTs effectively; Encourage a reciprocal collaboration between school management and community leadership structures.

Support to private schools

ICI/MMYE should support private education initiatives in cocoa communities and specifically: Provide support to cases where interest already exists to establish private schools; Take timely action to assist in the GES registration of genuine cases of unregistered private schools in remote areas, to avoid their closure as recently recommended by the Ghana National Association of Private Schools (GNAPS).

Promoting gender equity in education

Given the pronounced gender inequities and extreme shortage of female teachers in remote communities it is recommended to: Provide special incentives to attract female teachers to remote communities; Address problem of sexual harassment of female teachers through awareness raising activities; Incorporate gender approaches into institutional practices through teacher training and into educational materials for CEP; Tackle the issue of teenage pregnancy through PRA and IEC activities; Raise awareness on the issue of 'girls labour' and its negative impact on their education.

Out-of-school children

ICI should conduct data gathering exercises on numbers of out-of-school children and take steps to ensure they are enrolled either in formal school or in the CEP. Provide scholarships for children who complete the CEP but whose parents cannot afford to send them to formal schools; Target not only cocoa-growing areas but also areas identified as sending sources of trafficked cocoa child labourers, with quality education initiatives; Conduct PLA and IEC awareness-raising activities to get fostered children enrolled in school.

8.3. Collaboration with other education stakeholders in Ghana

The current favoring of a multi-sectoral approach by the GOG and its unprecedented willingness in recent years to adopt and mainstream NGO approaches in responding to grassroots-level needs, makes the timing ideal for ICI to begin an education programme in Ghana aimed at mitigating child labour, in partnership with government and other NGOs.

GOG: MMYE, MOE and District Assemblies

MMYE has invited ICI to be a partner in the implementation of the NPECLC. It has recommended the drawing up of an MOU and has suggested the integration of interventions designed in response to this study with the education objectives of the NPECLC. The process of official dialogue and collaboration between the MMYE and the MOE for the integration of their joint education objectives is imminent and ICI is advised to form the required links with the MOE within the framework of this impending ministry-to-ministry collaboration. The ten interventions under the NPECLC education objective will mostly be addressed through the types of activities already recommended in this chapter as well as by ICI's existing YDK programme. ICI should therefore

embrace them all with a few emphases and precautions as guidelines, including the need to give priority to the basic education level and to emphasize poor quality of education as a *cause* of child labour that takes precedence over poverty and ignorance. An additional guideline is for ICI to be circumspect about the various assumptions upon which the programme partially relies for its own success. In preparation for drawing up an MOU, a consultative exercise is recommended which would include other stakeholders, in order to avoid thematic and geographic duplication of existing or planned interventions. Additional recommendations on geographic scope are the inclusion of areas not involved in cocoa farming but known to be sources of trafficked cocoa child labourers and of YDK partner communities.

Once official MMYE/MOE links have been established for NPECLC purposes ICI should, within the partnership framework, initiate formal discussions with the MOE to share the findings of this study and to collaborate on the design of its education programme for cocoa growing areas. In the meantime however, ICI is advised to acquaint itself well with the various divisions and sub-divisions of MOE/GES that would be likely involved in the implementation of the NPECLC. With reference to the MOE's sector-wide approach (SWAp), ICI also needs to be aware of the systematic process spelled out in the ESP for the coordination of stakeholder activities and should, in line with this process,

1. Solicit membership of the 'Equitable Access' and 'Education Management' thematic group of the Education Sector Technical Advisory Committee (ESTAC).
2. Sponsor workshops for DEOs in partner districts to facilitate the process of drawing up their Annual District Education Operational Plans (ADEOPs) and incorporate ICI activities into them.
3. Set up functional communication links between its education programme and DEOs.

ICI/MMYE should aim for maximum collaboration with the District Assemblies in whose districts it will be working and to seek cost sharing arrangements with them as much as possible for its education programme. ICI should also inform itself as much as possible about the impending decentralization exercise that will bring DEO functions under the DAs, and the implications of its implementational process in ICI's actual and potential partner districts.

Donor and NGOs colleagues

A summary of initiatives with which ICI/MMYE should seek consultation, collaboration and/or replication is provided below:

School for Life	Replication of complementary education model in close consultation with SfL. Consultation on other relevant initiatives eg. Wing schools.
Action Aid	Replication of REFLECT adult literacy/advocacy empowerment programme. Consultation on other relevant initiatives.
EQUALL	Consultation on the RIPE (BTL/BTE) project for possible addition of a 'bridging' component to SfL CEP.
GAIT II	Linking up CSOs with Civic Unions established through GAIT II, in districts where GAIT II is active. Learning from GAIT II experiences in building capacity of CSOs and strengthening their links with DAs. Replicating 'town hall meeting' concept (see 6.3.4.1.a).
Ibis	Initiate dialogue about on-going design of a quality education initiative for cocoa-growing areas to be funded by TOMS, a Danish chocolate company and find out if there is any potential for collaboration and ensure the avoidance of duplication. Ibis is additionally recommended for potential collaboration because they have experience in several areas relevant to the needs analysis of this study and will be collaborating with SfL on a wing schools project.
CARE Int.	Initiate dialogue about 'Rural Education Project,' a pilot project begun in October 2006 and funded for a year by Cargill, to improve educational quality in 30 communities in the Brong-Ahafo Region. Find out if there is any potential for collaboration and ensure the avoidance of duplication.

CAMFED	Initiate dialogue on the possibility of CAMFED including cocoa-growing areas in its projected new Ghana programme and collaborating/ coordinating with ICI esp. on provision of female LPTs and other gender-specific areas.

Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT)

Collaborative links with GNAT are important for ICI/MMYE considering the proposed interventions with regard to teachers. GNAT is well decentralized and can therefore be an important ally in identifying retired teachers to serve as volunteer teachers in rural areas and providing support officers to monitor teachers and LPTs. ICI/MMYE should dialogue with GNAT on their resistance to the LPT concept and seek to make GNAT an ally in the implementation of the scheme.

Networking

ICI should join national education coalitions including GNECC. It is additionally recommended to set up a forum of NGOs collaborating on the NPECLC.

Further research, resource material

Suggestions for topics of additional research to inform ICI/MMYE's education programme and references to pertinent resource material for design and implementation, are given.

What next?

What happens once children acquire a quality education? Unpleasant as it is to acknowledge, there is a strong dependency between low quality education and the regeneration of the cocoa labour force, that is to say, the type of cocoa labour force we have in Ghana today. It is this link that makes poor quality education a cause and a perpetuator of child labour. For this reason, any genuine effort to improve the quality of education for children in cocoa areas will have to be matched by an effort to improve the conditions and image of the profession or to alter the nature of it such that a large human labour force will no longer be necessary.

1. Introduction

1.1. Purpose of the study

ICI is a foundation established in response to concerns about the use of child labour in cocoa production. In line with its mandate, it has begun a pilot programme in Ghana, designed to eliminate the worst forms of child labour (WFCL) and Forced Labour (FL) in the cocoa sector. This programme involves the raising of community awareness to the dangers of child labour, a dialogue with communities on their concerns and perceptions and the creation of community-designed action plans to drive change in current labour practices. ICI is entering into a new collaboration with the Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment (MMYE) to address jointly issues of child labour and education through the MMYE's National Programme for the Elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labour in Cocoa (NPECLC).

This study was proposed in recognition of the fact that persistently low quality of basic education in ICI's pilot communities and cocoa-growing areas in general, compounds the child labour problem and will hamper all other efforts to eliminate WFCL/FL. In the simplest terms, time spent in school automatically reduces the time children spend on agricultural and domestic labour.[3] Indeed it was noted with the introduction of the capitation grant[4] by the Government of Ghana (GOG) in 2004-5 that "Pupils were…regular at school with output of work increased and a decrease in child labour."[5] Thus, addressing poverty, a major barrier to education, had an immediate impact in reducing child labour by promoting enrolment.

However, increased enrolment is not enough on its own because parents will not keep their children in school if the education they receive there is not good enough to provide them with a viable livelihood. In some of the communities where research was conducted for this study, people said - *"Everyone in this community is capable of paying for children's education but many don't."*[6] Despite officially being compulsory, educating children is not an automatic decision but a strategic choice for people in deprived rural areas. Even after the introduction of the capitation grant, there are still significant outstanding educational expenses to be borne by parents and above all, there is the opportunity cost of children not learning any other livelihood, a dangerous risk if educational quality is low. Thus initiatives to reduce child labour through education must aim not only at increasing enrolment, but at achieving retention, and this can only be done by improving quality.

The connection between child labour and quality education is now being recognized on a global scale and there are various advocacy efforts to integrate it into child labour initiatives around the world, for example by the international campaign 'Stop Child Labour – School is the best place to work," and also by the ILO's International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC). IPEC's paper on 'Combating Child Labour through Education' holds that "The international community's efforts to achieve Education For All (EFA) and the progressive elimination of child

[3] In point of fact, several children interviewed for this study expressed a preference for school simply as a refuge from farming.

[4] The capitation grant aims to reduce the burden of educational expenses on parents. It consists of ¢30,000.00 (thirty thousand cedis) per pupil per year at the basic level and is paid according to each school's enrolment in three tranches for the three terms of the academic year. The grant is intended to defray costs of the following: administrative issues, minor repairs, sports, culture, health and sanitation, teaching/learning materials, support for identified needy pupils. It is also intended eventually to cover the cost of textbooks, exercise books and stationery however this was not yet the case at the time of research. Each school draws up a School Performance Improvement Plan (SPIP) to decide how the grant will be spent, before it is disbursed. Funds are limited and schools must therefore prioritize on their needs.

[5] Preliminary Education Sector Performance Report 2006, MOESS, June 2006. p.85

[6] Menang and Akotreso, Adansi South District, Ashanti Region.

labour are inextricably linked. On the one hand, education is a key tool in preventing child labour. Children with no access to quality education have little alternative but to enter the labour market …On the other hand, child labour is a major obstacle to the achievement of EFA, since children who are working full-time cannot go to school."[7] IPEC has also collated a study on good practices from all over the world, in the use of education as an intervention strategy against child Labour.[8]

The present study has a similar theme, but on a national scale, of identifying best practices towards the design of initiatives which promote the same goal of using quality education as a tool against child labour. The timing for such initiatives is propitious for Ghana because excitement over increased enrolment through the introduction of the capitation grant is likely to end in disappointment if nothing is done about educational quality. As stated in the Education For All (EFA) Global Monitoring Report, "…the achievement of universal participation in education will be fundamentally dependent upon the quality of education available. For example, how well pupils are taught and how much they learn, can have a crucial impact on how long they stay in school and how regularly they attend. Furthermore, whether parents send their children to school at all is likely to depend on judgements they make about the quality of teaching and learning provided – upon whether attending school is worth the time and cost for their children and for themselves."[9]

ICI would like to be able to respond to the expressed needs of cocoa communities in Ghana to improve their education options through working with MMYE, other relevant sector ministries and with communities themselves. In addition, ICI is aware that there are many successful non-formal education initiatives in Ghana and the sub-region which, with adaptation as necessary, may be appropriate for cocoa communities. By addressing the correlation between improved educational quality and reduced child labour, ICI will be taking an important step towards maximising the effects of its other interventions. Furthermore, by explicitly including education as part of its model and bringing it under the NPECLC, ICI is better preparing for a sustainable replicable approach.

This study thus has a two-fold purpose: to examine the existing quality of education in a sample of cocoa-growing communities including partner communities under ICI's YDK programme and ILO/IPEC/MMYE's WACAP programme, and to review existing quality education initiatives by other institutions and organizations, with a view to potential replication and/or adaptation in cocoa-growing communities. Based on a critical analysis of the quality problems and a matching up of the most appropriate aspects of existing initiatives, the study proposes relevant and realistic options for quality improvements in education. These will enrich the context of the education objectives articulated in the Community Action Plans of ICI's existing partner communities and constitute a basis for the design of an education programme by ICI/MMYE, aimed at making education a worthwhile investment for children's futures and thus tipping the balance against child labour in cocoa areas.

1.2. Context of the study

As pointed out in the EFA report, "The goal of achieving universal primary education (UPE) has been on the international agenda since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights affirmed in 1948, that elementary education was to be made freely and compulsorily available for all children in all nations. This objective was restated subsequently on many occasions, by international

[7] 'Combating Child Labour through Education, Time-bound programme manual for action planning,' ILO/IPEC Paper IV-5, 2003, p. 3.
[8] Education as an Intervention Strategy to eliminate and prevent Child Labour: Consolidated Good Practices of the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (ILO/IPEC), 2006.
[9] EFA Global Monitoring Report 2005, Chapter 1 – 'Understanding Educational Quality,' p.28.

treaties and in United Nations conference declarations. Most of these declarations and commitments are silent about the quality of education to be provided."[10]

Ghana is a signatory to all the major international conventions on universal basic education. The right to free, compulsory, universal, basic education is enshrined in its 1992 constitution and the importance of quality has been factored into its national education policy frameworks for over a decade. In spite of this however, there has been a steady decline in national education standards over the past two decades, reflected in worsening public examination results from year to year. As acknowledged in the government's Education Strategic Plan,[11] "Recent *Performance Monitoring and Criteria Reference tests* have confirmed that relatively few students in primary schools acquire the necessary knowledge and skills as identified in the curriculum. This poor elementary performance flows upward through the system, creating weak performance at higher levels. There are many causes of poor achievement: the poor learning environment; many overcrowded classrooms in urban areas; the great majority of schools lacking the necessary teaching facilities to assist the teaching of even the most basic of subjects."

This decline has been recognized as a serious hindrance to the country's development and the sector is now receiving significant government investment with a renewed focus on the importance of quality in education. Human Resource Development has been highlighted as a 'focal point of strategy' in the GOG's Poverty Reduction Strategic Plans of the past five years,[12] within which the objectives of many international conventions including the Millenium Development Goals (MDGs) are enshrined.[13]

In particular, the issue of quality in education has been pinpointed in the Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS II), which features a stepped up programme of government assistance to education on the premise that "Government has absorbed the most important lesson of contemporary economic history…that the single most crucial key to the attainment of economic success is the educational quality of a nation's workforce." It also promises that "government has undertaken not only to meet the numerical targets of the MDGs but also to put the lost quality back into the basic education that is offered to children in deprived and rural areas."

This acknowledgement of lost educational quality in rural areas is a candid reflection of the current situation on the ground. Delivering services and infrastructure to remote areas has always posed a wide range of problems which, in Ghana, are most commonly associated with the northern part of the country. However the forest areas in the central and southern parts of the country can be just as problematic and cocoa territory is no exception. Indeed in these areas are encountered some of the most severe problems of access faced by Ghanaian school children. This quote by teachers in a cocoa-farming community provides a glimpse into their world – *"Our infrastructure is poor and ruminants defecate in our classrooms. The community is not co-operative and supplies are lacking or delayed so we cannot do effective work."*[14]

Indeed, the very features which make cocoa flourish have the opposite effect on schooling. These include the geographical, climatic and demographic characteristics of cocoa-growing areas. Unforgiving forest terrain combined with torrential rainfall create a veritable obstacle course

[10] Ibid. p.27.
[11] MOESS Education Strategic Plan (ESP) 2003-2015 2.2.2. Quality of Education (p.17)
[12] 1. Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy 2003-2005: An Agenda for Growth and Prosperity. 2. Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS II), 2006-2009.
[13] Most relevant for the education sector are MDG 2: "Achieve universal primary education" and MDG 3: "Promote gender equality and empower women."
[14] Menang, Adansi South District, Ashanti Region.

between children and their schools and deter teachers from such postings, while the migrant-dominated cocoa labour force generates socially complex communities high in ethnic diversity and low in common purpose. Such communities are typically weak in co-operation, mobilization and governance and these deficiencies directly undermine the ownership of schools, a prerequisite for effective supervision and thus for quality.

This is particularly problematic because the management and supervision of schools by government in such areas also tends to be inadequate: "A weakness of the formal system of education is that it is a uniform model that is often incapable of the level of flexibility required to address the socio-economic and cultural survival needs of very deprived rural communities."[15] Although decentralization exercises have been undertaken several times by the government, the state education management system remains over-centralized and bureaucratic and has great difficulty managing schools in remote areas. This deficiency in management at both state and community levels has led to a virtual vacuum of ownership of schools in the remotest rural areas.

This study aims to show that this vacuum of ownership undermines educational quality more than any other factor, because it leads to the breakdown of school management and supervision and consequently, a climate in which all the other obstacles to quality education in remote communities cannot be properly addressed. Top of the list of these numerous other problems are the inadequate numbers and high turnover rates of teachers.

1.3. Relevance of the study to current government policy

Fortunately, the timing is good for tackling these problems because current government policies on education and labour show a growing awareness and willingness to address the problems specific to rural areas. As mentioned above, this study is intended to inform the MMYE's National Programme for the Elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labour in Cocoa (NPECLC), a comprehensive programme which recognizes quality education as a priority area in the fight against child labour. For the purposes of the NPECLC, the MMYE will form collaborative links with the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports (MOEYS), which is in charge of implementing national education policy. It is currently doing this through the Education Strategic Plan (ESP) 2003-2015, which has many objectives of direct relevance to the needs of cocoa areas (see 7.3.1.) and clearly states that in allocating resources, particular emphasis will be given to poorer areas, including the three northern regions and other deprived areas, in order to reduce inequities within the system. It further asserts that "those that are "out of school" and "hard to reach" are not forgotten. The Ministry realises that more support should be given to initiatives that are already under way to capture these groups."[16]

Government now also acknowledges the importance of private sector participation in quality education delivery and community involvement in the management of schools: "The strategy to improve the quality and efficiency in the delivery of education services will include: strengthen and improve educational planning and management; promote and support private sector participation in education….strengthen institutional arrangement for enhancing the role of CBO, CSO in advocacy, monitoring and evaluation."[17] The ESP articulates "a sector-wide approach (SWAp) with responsibility resting with government, supported by partnerships with the home, schools and local and wider communities." This approach allocates joint responsibility between government and

[15] "Reaching underserved populations with education in deprived areas of Ghana: Emerging good practices." L. Casely-Hayford et al., Care International 2003, p.18.
[16] ESP 2003-2015 p. 17
[17] GPRS II p.44

stakeholders during implementation and encourages the involvement of development partners and NGOs in a coordinated manner and in collaboration with the MOE.

The areas of overlap between the objectives of this study, of the ESP and of the NPECLC education objectives, indicate that in pursuing an initiative to improve quality education in cocoa-growing areas, ICI would be working directly towards major policy targets of the GOG. The relevance of current government policy to the needs of cocoa communities, is examined in more detail in Chapters 7 and 8.

1.4. Study methodology

This study was carried out by Martina Odonkor, an independent consultant who is also a member of ICI's Advisory Council. Assistance in field research was provided by Joseph Boamah and Kwesi Addae-Boahene. Only qualitative research methods were used for this study and it was conducted in the stages listed below:

1. Development of defining criteria for 'quality education' in consultation with stakeholders;
2. Review of current quality of education in cocoa communities;
3. Analysis of educational needs as perceived by communities;
4. Review of existing initiatives in quality education operating in rural areas. This consisted of both a desk review and fieldwork in selected areas;
5. Matching up cocoa-farming communities' needs with initiatives reviewed;
6. Investigating initiatives suitable for replication, and the potential for consultation and collaboration between ICI, MMYE and other initiatives.

Semi-structured data-gathering instruments were applied for interviews, discussions and FGDs. These included:

- Interviews with MMYE, MOE/GES, relevant donors and NGOs.
- In-depth discussions with ICI Implementing Partners (PDA, Codesult, Hope for Humanity and SCMPP.)
- Interviews and FGDs with community leaders, community members, school staff, pupils and PTA/SMC members.
- Informal, on-the-spot testing of upper primary children within the classroom, on basic literacy and numeracy, conducted randomly and in a relaxed and fun manner, using grade-appropriate, end of term examination papers prepared by the Accra Metropolitan Education Office for schools in the metropolis in 2004-5.
- Informal testing of teacher quality by asking teachers in sample communities to mark pre-filled examination papers (Accra Metropolitan Education Office exam papers for schools 2004-5).
- Interviews with DEO staff in Wassa Amenfi District.

Field research was carried out in eight communities in three cocoa-growing districts in three different regions as listed below:

Western Region:	Wassa Amenfi West District:	Woman-no-Good, Nkansah, Bisaaso #1.
Ashanti Region:	Adansi South District:	Menang, Akotreso.
Eastern Region:	Suhum-Kraboa-Coaltar District:	Obomofodensua, Otwebedidua, Abisim Adjatey.

The communities selected included two ICI pilot communities and two WACAP partner communities. Four additional communities were selected in the same districts to control for impact of these programmes and for comparative analysis. See 3.1.3. for further details.

1.5. Conclusion

Based on:

1. the needs analyses and matching recommendations of the review in this study,
2. their alignment with MMYE education objectives as informed by suggested guidelines,
3. the consultative process proposed,
4. the collaborative links suggested,

ICI in collaboration with MMYE, should be able to design a viable education programme capable of addressing the quality education needs of cocoa growing areas in Ghana.

2. The issue of quality

2. 1. Definition of quality in education

Quality in education is a positive measure of learning outcomes. Its test should simply be that it results in good performance by pupils. What it is that actually puts the quality into education however, is more complex to define. As pointed out in the EFA report, "Notwithstanding the growing consensus about the need to provide access to education of 'good quality,' there is much less agreement about what the term actually means in practice."[18] It further explains: "Education is a set of processes and outcomes that are *defined* qualitatively. The *quantity* of children who participate is by definition a secondary consideration: merely filling spaces called 'schools' with children would not address even quantitative objectives if no real education occurred. Thus, the number of years of school is a practically useful but conceptually dubious proxy for the processes that take place there and the outcomes that result. In that sense, it could be judged unfortunate that the quantitative aspects of education have become the main focus of attention in recent years for policymakers."[19]

A range of people interviewed for this study were asked to define quality education from their perspective, including officials from GES and MMYE, ICI Implementing Partners, staff from development agencies and NGOs, community leaders, members and teachers. There were numerous responses which encompass both the elements needed to achieve it and the outward signs of quality education. These have been collated below within broad categories.

- Teachers
    - adequate numbers of them;
    - quality of them, training received;
    - good accommodation for them;
    - good teacher-parent relationships;
    - teacher motivation, commitment, sense of belonging.

- Community involvement
    - the community as a nurturing base for the child;
    - involvement of proprietor and stakeholders;
    - good PTAs;
    - provision of basic educational needs by parents;
    - parents playing their part by sending children to school;
    - parents ensuring that negative labour practices are eliminated;
    - parental supervision for children to study;
    - parents visiting the school;
    - parents contributing resources, assisting in maintenance of school structures, giving time and commitment;
    - good nutrition of children;
    - parents relating to teachers, stepping up the quality of supervision, building community ownership;
    - communities having dynamic leaders and community leaders linking up with the district authorities for resources etc.

[18] EFA Global Monitoring Report 2005, Chapter 1 – 'Understanding Educational Quality,' p.29.
[19] Ibid, p.28.

- Educational Resources/Inputs
    - investment in infrastructure, quality of infrastructure;
    - logistics;
    - adequate space for numbers;
    - availability of TLMs;
    - library books;
    - recreational facilities;
    - uniforms to motivate children.

- Academic content
    - literacy;
    - effective teaching and learning;
    - appropriate curriculum;
    - a curriculum that enables children to think for themselves, not rote learning;
    - teaching according to the syllabus;
    - proper planning of lessons;
    - usefulness to children;
    - making school interesting, including co-curricular activities;
    - holistic development of the child;
    - successful imparting of knowledge;
    - quality of process – how is teaching taking place? Contact hours, lesson plans etc;
    - discipline.

- School environment
    - good school environment;
    - conducive atmosphere;
    - good moral environment.

- GES role
    - Effective supervision by GES.

- Access
    - Gender balance;
    - Gross enrolment ratio.

- Cross-cutting
    - Accountability of all players at all levels.

- Outcomes
    - good examination performance;
    - enlightenment;
    - ability to enlighten others;
    - ability to take decisions;
    - gaining of practical skills, eg. “ability to read signboards when travelling;”
    - having a good future;
    - good careers, doctors, lawyers etc.

These answers were spontaneously given, yet they contain many of the elements found in globally accepted definitions of quality education. One such definition is given below from a UNICEF

working paper. This definition draws on the philosophy of the Convention on the Rights of the Child and on the Dakar Framework for Action, both of which are given in full in Annex 1.

What does quality mean in the context of education? Many definitions of quality in education exist, testifying to the complexity and multifaceted nature of the concept. The terms efficiency, effectiveness, equity and quality have often been used synonymously (Adams, 1993). Considerable consensus exists around the basic dimensions of quality education today, however. Quality education includes:

- Learners who are healthy, well-nourished and ready to participate and learn, and supported in learning by their families and communities;
- Environments that are healthy, safe, protective and gender-sensitive, and provide adequate resources and facilities;
- Content that is reflected in relevant curricula and materials for the acquisition of basic skills, especially in the areas of literacy, numeracy and skills for life, and knowledge in such areas as gender, health, nutrition, HIV/AIDS prevention and peace;
- Processes through which trained teachers use child-centred teaching approaches in well-managed classrooms and schools and skilful assessment to facilitate learning and reduce disparities;
- Outcomes that encompass knowledge, skills and attitudes, and are linked to national goals for education and positive participation in society.

This definition allows for an understanding of education as a complex system embedded in a political, cultural and economic context.

Source: "Defining Quality in Education," A paper presented by UNICEF at the meeting of The International Working Group on Education Florence, Italy, June 2000.

The number of different factors identified as contributing to quality education both by interviewees for this study and by the UNICEF definition, and the inter-connectedness of these factors, demonstrate the need for several variables to work together at the same time, in order to produce quality in education. They also call into question the viability of viewing quality as a separate issue from access and management, as in the case of the ESP objectives.

Education is indeed a complex system embedded in a political, cultural and economic context and it cannot flourish if any elements of that context - its enabling environment - are weak. Thus, educational quality must no longer be seen as a purely classroom-based phenomenon but as an integrated process in which efficient management and the involvement of all stakeholders are just as important as teaching methodologies. Above all, the connection between educational quality and retention of pupils must be well understood if universal basic education is ever to become a reality. As stated in the EFA report, "The Jomtien Declaration in 1990 and, more particularly, the Dakar Framework for Action in 2000 recognized the quality of education as a prime determinant of whether Education for All is achieved."[20]

2.2. The cost and opportunity cost of education

Commonly held views are that children in rural areas of Ghana are not sent to school due to poverty, ignorance about the value of education and greed or desperation of parents who use them as a labour force at the expense of their education. This study would like to suggest, however, that poor educational quality in many rural areas is actually the biggest deterrent to children being

[20] Ibid.

enrolled in school. When the only schools parents can afford for their children produce as low as 0% pass rate in public examinations year after year, they are indeed, nothing but 'spaces called schools' to borrow EFA terminology.

When people talk about the cost of education they are thinking mainly about the immediate monetary expenses of schooling. However the cost of education goes beyond that. This study identifies three different types of costs which, for our purposes will be termed 'direct cost,' 'opportunity cost,' and 'damage risk.' These are analyzed below, beginning with the direct cost.

If education were truly 'free' in Ghana, the issue of quality might make less difference to enrolment. However, even after the introduction of the capitation grant,[21] the burden of recurrent costs directly related to children's schooling is still significant for many parents in relation to their income levels. As voiced by a community member[22] "*the most expensive part of education is the exercise books and uniform.*" Tables 1 and 2 demonstrate that the educational costs still being borne by parents are far higher than the 30,000 cedis per year per child paid under the capitation grant.

Table 1: Minimum outstanding educational costs borne by parents per year[23]

Uniform	47,000[24]
Second-hand sandals	18,000
Stationery (itemized estimation below)	41,000
2 pens @ 1,500/piece	*3,000*
4 pencils @ 1,000/piece	*4,000*
2 erasers @ 2,000/piece	*4,000*
9 exercise books[25] @ 3,000/piece	*27,000*
Total	**106,000**

[21] This is supposed to cover the cost of sporting and cultural activities, examination costs and various school equipment.

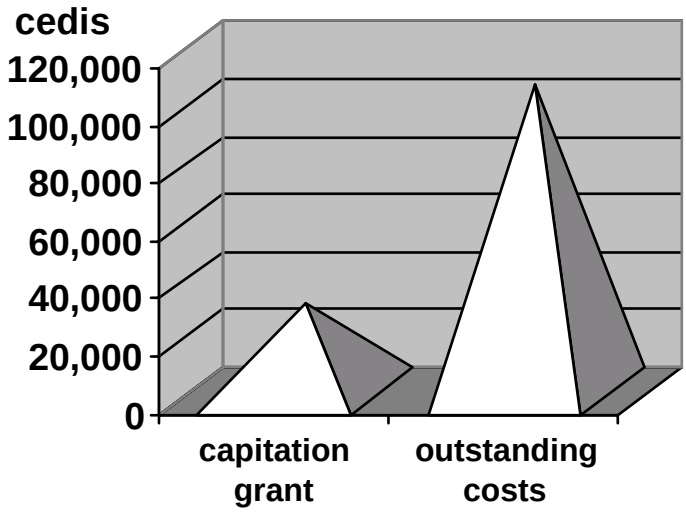
[22] Community member interviewed in Bisaaso #1 (Wassa Amenfi West district)

[23] It should be pointed out that the parents' expenses as presented above are a lowest-cost scenario of ready-made uniforms which are poorer in quality than those made to order, second hand shoes, minimum stationery for a year and one exercise book for each subject taught. Items like schoolbags and extra stationery like pencil sharpeners and rulers are completely excluded as they would raise costs significantly. For children who have to walk long distances, the extra wear and tear on uniforms and shoes and their extra feeding costs have not been taken into account either. Also excluded are PTA fees which vary from school to school and must be paid by parents.

[24] This is calculated by dividing the cost of two sets of uniforms by three, on the assumption that one child will wear two sets over three years. One uniform is calculated at C70,000.

[25] For 9 subjects at primary level.

Table 2: Capitation grant against outstanding costs borne by parents



The next category of costs associated with education is the opportunity cost. It is indisputable that a child who emerges illiterate or semi-illiterate from six or nine years of 'basic education' has wasted precious formative time while being a financial burden rather than a contributor to the household income. In addition, such a child holds no promise as a future insurance for the older generation, but on the contrary is a potential liability because he/she is fit neither for a rural agrarian livelihood nor for that of a white collar worker. This is the stark reality of the opportunity cost of a bad education. The President's Committee on Review of Education Reforms in Ghana acknowledges that the basic education system as it stands cannot even impart basic literacy and numeracy to pupils of average ability and is "pouring out every year hundreds of thousands of unskilled, unemployable and rather young Ghanaians."[26] From a rural farming perspective therefore, if educational quality is poor, a child's time is better spent generating income and learning a farming livelihood than on wasting time in "spaces called 'schools.' "

For uneducated girls in these areas the future holds mainly motherhood and domestic drudgery. There will also be farming and perhaps some petty trading, however these are secondary to the first two roles. Their high level of childhood participation in domestic chores represents their household contribution as well as their training for this future life which, although unglamorous and often unacknowledged, is an indispensable butress to the farming livelihood of the family. The volume and arduousness of domestic work women and girls do is greatest in areas of poor services and infrastructure. Moreover, it is not only in farming or in paid work that the concept of child labour and WFCL is applicable. The carrying of overly heavy loads,[27] use of dangerous tools like knives, the fire hazards involved in cooking,[28] and working during school hours are all features of domestic work also and are sometimes termed 'girls' labour.'[29] Like farming, domestic labour competes

[26] White Paper on the Report of the Education Reform Review Committee, pp. 4&5.
[27] Such as buckets of water, bundles of firewood and babies who are sometimes not much lighter than the little girls to whose backs they are tied.
[28] In such areas, this means lighting a wood fire or coal pot, both arduous and dangerous tasks, often involving the use of kerosene, a highly flammable (and toxic) substance. Another dangerous aspect of food preparation is the making of fufu, in which the person 'turning' it (usually a girl or woman), risks having his/her hand pounded if careless.
[29] Although of course the 'child labour' aspect of domestic work applies to boys also.

with education, for children's time. For girls however, it also makes more sense in the grand, socio-cultural scheme of things for them to learn their domestic roles properly than to waste time *not* getting educated in school. Their present and future value as the backbone of farming households operating in harsh rural environments is too high to sacrifice for a non-education. This is reinforced by the fact that culturally, there is little confidence in their academic capacities and a firm conviction that motherhood and domesticity is in any case their correct traditional role.

Another important opportunity cost as explained in a report on School for Life, a complementary education initiative operating in northern Ghana, is that "formal education alienates children from their original culture…This causes a reserved attitude to education from illiterate parents, who cannot easily appreciate the benefits of education and even sometimes experience that it makes their children lazy, complacent and non-productive."[30] It is undeniable that formal education is capable of eroding culture, a huge sacrifice in individual and ethnic terms and one that brings enormous ramifications in its wake. Parental frustration with children becoming 'lazy' and 'non-productive' however, would stem not only from the erosion of traditional structures of hierarchy and respect through education, but also from the poor learning outcomes of their children. It points again to the 'no man's land' of a poor education. School children are complacent and unproductive because they are bored and frustrated by the school environment but at the same time, have come to feel 'above' their humble farming homes and their illiterate parents. They no longer fit into their traditional backgrounds, but neither can they fit into a more modern, educated world. This is how poor quality education literally makes children 'misfits' and thus, liabilities to their parents. The sacrifice of culture is a huge one and should merit a rewarding payoff, but given the quality of education available to these people, it does not.

The third category of costs is 'damage risk' a term chosen because 'occupational hazards', although close in meaning, would be too flippant in this context. This refers to the often hidden and unacknowledged incidences of abusive and even criminal behaviour whereby school staff take advantage of their position to exploit children in different ways. One example of this is the use of school children as a free labour force. Apart from making them work on their own farms, cases were cited in the study areas in which teachers were actually hiring out the labour of their school children to farmers during school hours, and pocketing the money. Some children also mentioned that teachers ask them to bring plantain suckers and cassava sticks for planting on the school farm as well as on the teachers' own farms and that they are caned when they fail to bring them.

Abuse of curricular time by teachers was also found to be a huge problem in the communities where CARE Ghana's SCORE[31] programme operated between 1997-2000. These are similar cocoa communities located in the same district - Wassa Amenfi,[32] as some of the sample communities for this study. Teachers were found to be using children for farming, carrying farm produce home, weeding around their houses, fetching water and firewood, carrying building materials like stones, pebbles, sand and bamboo poles, cracking palm kernels (for making oil), going to buy food and even cooking and washing dishes for them in their homes, all during periods of time which included school hours.[33] Remarkably, teachers persisted in this behaviour even when parents were making an effort to stop due to the programme intervention. This type of exploitation of school children is apparently known in slang terms as 'teachers' incentive.' Ironically thus, there is a significant child labour issue also within schools when they are poorly supervised. Parents cannot be blamed for preferring their children's labour to be used towards supporting their own households

[30] School for Life report.
[31] SCORE – School and Community Oriented Education Project.
[32] Which at that time had not yet been divided into East and West.
[33] Source: SCORE Final Evaluation, 2000.

rather than as an exploited and uncompensated resource for teachers. Beyond the exploitative use of children's time for teachers' purposes, curricular time is also abused simply through mismanagement and poor prioritization. Some parents complained that on Fridays children are made to spend the entire day weeding and cleaning the school. Disproportionately large amounts of curricular time are also spent on sports activities and on practising marching for Independence Day and performances for other events.

Corporal punishment is still common despite the GES policy curtailing it[34] and in an environment of low supervision, teachers are sometimes brutal with children. Sexual abuse is a criminal form of teacher misconduct that also occurs in such areas and often results in teenage pregnancy for girls.[35] These are ugly but real symptoms of an educational system which is chronically lacking in supervision and does not adequately hold people accountable for such transgressions. It is also a result of the fact that teachers as civil servants are almost never sacked, but transferred instead, giving them the chance to repeat their abusive behaviour elsewhere. Such occurrences are almost impossible to track or quantify in any official way however it can be gathered from talking to people in rural communities that they happen often enough to deter many parents from sending their children to school.

In the case of teenage pregnancy, even if it is not perpetrated by school staff, the environment of poorly supervised schools is considered by many parents as a breeding ground for misconduct among children in general. Particularly in the case of girls, many parents feel that schooling actually promotes an earlier entry into sexual activity, undermines their morals and gives them more exposure to and freedom with the opposite sex than they would have under parental supervision at home. The end result of this can be teenage pregnancy with no paternal responsibility, a worst case scenario for parents. This fear keeps many girls out of school and is reinforced by the high pregnancy rates among JSS girls in rural areas.

The fact that sending one's children to school might directly or indirectly result in events so detrimental to them and to their future opportunities is inexcusable. When one considers further the difficulties of any legal recourse for parents or children in such cases, this becomes a perfectly justifiable reason to keep children away from school. Adding the sobering 'damage risk' of incidences mentioned above to the other costs of education in the most deprived areas is quite literally, adding insult to injury.

In the light of such realities, the notion of rural parents "not understanding the 'value' of education" must be seriously reviewed. It must be acknowledged that in the worst case scenarios as outlined above - which happen to apply in many cocoa areas - almost anything becomes a better option than school. USAID's GAIT II programme has an educational component precisely because it was discovered through the activities of the fore-going programme (GAIT I), that the first issue people in deprived areas advocated for when their capacity had been built, was the quality of education in their communities. The priority placed on education in the action plans of the communities in ICI's pilot programme, also reflect this preoccupation which essentially translates into a recognition that education simply *does not have value* unless it is of a good quality.

[34] Interestingly however, many parents are against the curtailment of corporal punishment and complained that it has led to much deterioration in school discipline. This is both a cultural phenomenon and a symptom of the deficiencies of a schooling system in which it is the most convenient way to control children who are bored and frustrated due to poor teaching or simple lack of teachers.

[35] Not to mention the risk of HIV/AIDS and other STDs.

2.3. Implications of educational quality for child labour

The full spectrum of direct cost, opportunity cost, and 'damage risk' of education as laid out above, must be taken into account when the quality issue is debated. In the poorest rural areas where these costs are greatest and schools may not just be 'spaces' but actually *harmful* spaces for children, parents need no prompting to find alternative uses for their children's time. Naturally, in cash-cropping areas, farm labour is top of the list.

Thus, educational quality must be seen as a key determinant in the decisions parents make about whether to send children to school or to farm. What makes sense in economic and cultural terms? In rural contexts children are seen as integral parts of the labour force (both domestic and agricultural) from an early age. The work they do contributes not only to the household upkeep and income but also trains them for their own future livelihood and simultaneously represents some degree of insurance for their parents' old age.

In a Western context, where incomes are high enough for children to be completely exempt from household labour forces, where state services cater for the welfare of the older generations, where basic literacy and numeracy are guaranteed in all schools and where there is more redress for criminal behaviour against children, the education vs. child labour issue is seen primarily in moral terms. In rural Ghana it is a survival issue and on that simple basis, a poor education is worse than no education at all. Therefore if, as stated above, poor educational quality is the biggest deterrent to children being enrolled and retained in school, then it is also one of the biggest spurs to child labour.

The child cocoa labour force covers a wide spectrum of children, at either end of which are two clear categories. The first is children who are not in school at all[36] and the other is children who are in school full-time. The completely out-of-school category includes trafficked children as well as local children. However the perception that these are the only children working on cocoa farms is wrong. Few, perhaps no school children in cocoa areas are completely exempt from farm labour. Within the totality of enrolled pupils are children whose time can be divided into widely varying ratios between school and farm. Some spend a certain amount of time in school, but their instructional time is encroached upon either by their parents or teachers or both, to engage in farm labour or domestic chores. Others are allowed to be at school full-time, but assist their parents with farm and domestic tasks after school, at weekends and during holidays.[37] In addition, as pointed out above, many engage in cocoa farming precisely during school hours, at the behest of their exploitative teachers.

This perception is reinforced by the findings of WACAP's 2005 Occupational Safety and Health (OSH) report as quoted below:

"Major findings were:
The identification of three groups of children who are involved at various levels of cocoa farm work, viz:

- Children who were out of school (or have never been to school) and engaged in cocoa (and other) farm work full time. These worked to support themselves and may thus be described as child labourers.

[36] It was not within the scope of this study to establish numbers of out of school children. This would require statistical surveys. Most communities estimated their out-of-school population at between 5-10%, however it might well be higher. What also complicates quantification in these communities is the outlying hamlets for which they serve as centres.

[37] Although these children do less farming than completely out-of-school children, they are also likely to be performing tasks classified as child labour.

- Children in school who work regularly or on a part-time basis on cocoa farms, as hired labourers. Some of this group of children also work to earn the support of their benefactors in the form of accommodation and food.
- Children who are in school fulltime and assist parents on their cocoa farms usually outside school hours. They sometimes forgo classes to enable them accompany their parents to the farm. This is especially so during the peak farming season. The majority of children encountered belonged to this third category."[38]

Even the design of the WACAP OSH study had to be changed because it was realized that common assumptions about children working on cocoa farms were misleading: "The study design presumed the existence of a large pool of 'out of school' children who would constitute the subjects of the study while controls would comprise children in school. The assumption turned out to be false as majority of children involved in farming were found to be in schools. As a result, the role of children in school had to change to constitute the majority of subjects of the study, thus leaving no control."[39] The report concludes further: "The findings of the study demonstrate amply that the majority of children are farming under hazardous circumstances which would constitute child labour."[40]

This study would like to suggest that the proportionality of school to farm time for such children is highly dependent on educational quality. In other words, as the quality of education improves in a given cocoa growing community, the balance of children's time will tip in favour of schooling. Within the sample studied it was found that during the week, children in the best schools only helped carry foodstuffs home from the farm after school and engaged in more diverse farming activities on Saturdays and during school holidays. Thus it is clear that the volume of labour decreases significantly for children attending quality schools.

2.4. The difference quality can make

Initial research suggested a marked contrast in school enrolment in areas of high versus low educational quality. For example, in Nkansah, a tiny and remote rural community in Wassa Amenfi West District, there is a private school with a remarkably high academic performance and 100% of school-age children in the community are enrolled in that school, with parents paying much more than they do for state schools. In contrast, neighbouring villages with state schools all have a certain proportion of school-age children out of school.

The fact that rural parents who patronize private schools are willing not only to bear the opportunity cost of their children's labour, but in addition, to spend their own scarce cash on those children's education, demonstrates that they see quality education as a high-yielding investment which, although long-term, is worth the sacrifice of resources in the present. This is reinforced by findings from the School for Life complementary education programme in northern Ghana: "When the interest in education is created, the priorities of parents have most often changed and they are more willing to direct resources into the formal education of their children."[41]

The parents in Nkansah are cocoa farmers with the same labour needs as those in surrounding villages. Yet they are not only managing to farm with less labour from their children, but also paying at least *four times* what people just like them spend on state schools, to send their children to the private school. In addition, some parents from neighboring communities such as Woman-no-

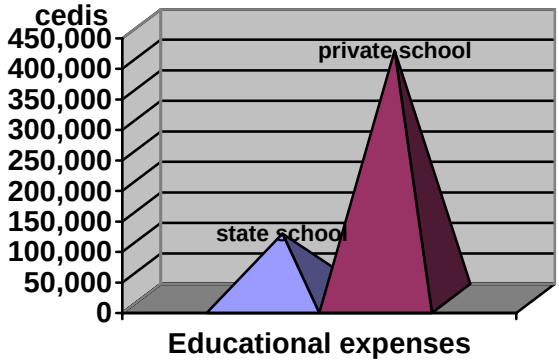
[38] "Health and safety risks of children involved in cocoa farming in Ghana: A study conducted in Ghana to understand hazardous child labour in cocoa/commercial agriculture." July 2005, px.
[39] Ibid, p.9
[40] Ibid, p.xi
[41] School for Life Functional Literacy Programme for Children: Components and Values. (Paper) p.9.

Good are also sending children to the private school in Nkansah. The table and graph below compare the cost of state and private education as encountered in the sample area.

Table 3: Direct educational costs to parents per year – state vs private school in a cocoa area.

Basic educational needs at primary level	***Yearly cost to parents in cedis***	
	State	**Private**
Fees	0	300,000[42]
Uniform	47,000[43]	47,000[44]
Second-hand sandals	18,000	18,000
Stationery (itemized estimation below)	41,000	41,000
2 pens @ 1,500/piece	*3,000*	*3,000*
4 pencils @ 1,000/piece	*4,000*	*4,000*
2 erasers @ 2,000/piece	*4,000*	*4,000*
9 exercise books[45] @ 3,000/piece	*27,000*	*27,000*
Total	**106,000**	**406,000**

Table 4: Difference in cost between state and private education in a cocoa area.



Interestingly, there were parents in Woman-no-Good who had some of their children in the local state school and some in the private school in Nkansah (2km away.) This is apparently not an unusual pattern in rural areas. Poverty necessitates tough, strategic choices which rural people have been making ever since formal education first became an option. As a parent said in one of the sample communities, "*In the old days people could select one child out of many to go to school. These days we are forced to send all of them and cannot afford inputs for all.*" In a given rural household it makes interesting research to find out what each child is doing. A typical pattern will be that some children are engaged in full-time farm and domestic labour while others are going to school, and indeed one may also find that of those attending school, some are going to state schools and others to much more expensive, private schools.

[42] School fees at the Nkansah private school are C100,000 per term at the primary level and C150,000 per term at the JSS level. This is standard for private schools in such areas.
[43] This is calculated by dividing the cost of two sets of uniforms by three, on the assumption that one child will wear two sets over three years. One uniform is calculated at C70,000.
[44] Although uniforms are different, the cost is almost the same for private schools.
[45] For 9 subjects at primary level

In a context of high fertility and low monetary resources, it can indeed be far more strategic to have a proportion of children properly educated instead of all of them poorly educated. The selection of children for better educational opportunities tends to be based on several deciding factors. Some of these are gender and academic ability. More complicated ones are underlying social and demographic patterns such as the precise relationship of a child to the adult responsible for making the decision. Kinship is a complex issue in rural Ghanaian communities. With a widespread tradition of fostering[46] children within the extended family, the ostensible 'children' of many households often include people who are not direct offspring but nephews, nieces and children of the cousins and more distant relatives of the household head.[47] Even in the case of direct offspring, polygamous unions lead to distinct sub-groups of siblings. Being the child of a first wife or a favourite wife may also put a child in a privileged position with reference to the household head's resources. Children at the top of the socio-demographic hierarchy are always more likely to receive a quality education.

2.5. Conclusion

The issue of quality in education is thus a complex one and a crucial part of the child labour equation. In addressing the child labour problem, it is important to see beyond the simplistic picture[48] of poverty, ignorance and parental callousness, to the underlying dynamics of cause and effect. The systematic patterns of quality assessment and survival choices made by the parents of these children must be acknowledged because for them education is ultimately an area of strategic choice driven by the search for quality. The simple and unpalatable truth is that given the quality of education available in many cocoa communities today, farming is a better livelihood option than schooling. While this factor is not an excuse for child labour, it is likely the most important promoter of it.[49]

This conclusion is reinforced by other research: "…poverty is not, as is often believed, the major cause of child labour nor is it the main obstacle to making full-time formal education accessible for every child. Child labour is in the vast majority of cases not necessary to 'help families survive'. Many studies show that children's wages only contribute in a meagre way to the family's income, whereas the cost of children missing out on education is much greater in both the individual development of the child as well as development of society as a whole. Several experiences in a country like India show us that existing social norms, tradition, exclusion and discrimination of certain groups as well as a badly or 'indifferently' functioning educational system are the most important reasons why children are working and not attending school. In Indian states with rather

[46] This tradition varies between ethnic groups and also according to how intact traditions are. In a broad sense however, it is still quite widespread. 'Fostering' does not necessarily imply a relationship in which the child's welfare is prioritized. Fostered children often play the role of helpers to their guardians, a situation which can naturally be exploited for child labour. They are less likely to be educated than direct offspring.

[47] Incidentally, trafficked children, who represent a proportion of children labouring on cocoa farms, are also likely to fall within the 'fostered' category in the areas from which they originate.

[48] This is reflected by a percentage allocation of the causes of child labour presented in WACAP's 2005 Occupational Safety and Health report (p.33) as 83.4%: poverty-related, 12.5%: shortage of mature labourers and 4%: low parental premium on education.

[49] This is at least the case for non-trafficked children. In the case of trafficked children, the factors which might make a difference such as the quality of schooling, would have to be tackled in their areas of origin as they are being by ILO's LUTRENA project. As stated by ILO/IPEC, "Education is a necessary, but not sufficient, intervention in the case of children working in hazardous and exploitative labour. In addition to receiving education of good quality and relevance, working children also need to benefit from a protective rights-based environment and access to legal, health and other services." Source: Education as an Intervention Strategy to eliminate and prevent Child Labour: Consolidated Good Practices of the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), 2006.

low per capita incomes like Kerala and Himachal Pradesh almost all the children are going to school because of the active approaches taken by their governments and civil society."[50]

[50] "Child labour, basic education and international donor policies: A challenge to conventional wisdom." Campaign 'Stop Child Labour – School is the best place to work,' October 2004.

3. The current quality of education in cocoa communities

3.1. The context

3.1.1. National level

A look at the sorts of problems generally faced by the state education system in this country will provide a context for the particular case of cocoa growing areas.

3.1.1.1. Illiteracy

High illiteracy rates mean that children are often the first generation in their families to be educated. Educating the first generation is always a difficult task because there is no precedent. It poses the following problems in particular:

- Many illiterate or semi-illiterate parents/guardians cannot identify with the educational process, do not properly understand the value of it so may not prioritize education for their children.
- They are not in a position to share the educational experience with the child or provide support in terms of assisting with homework, reading school reports etc.
- They do not feel comfortable visiting schools or motivated to become active members of PTAs/SMCs, thus they do not form a basis of community support and co-operation for the school.
- A background of illiteracy also presents a serious language barrier to children at the basic level. This is because English is the language of instruction but not a first language for the vast majority of Ghanaians.

3.1.1.2. Cultural diversity

Ghana is a country of high ethnic diversity. Different ethnic groups are thrown together in all parts of the country. This affects education in the following ways:

- Teachers are often posted to areas where they don't speak the local languages and the children of migrants often have initial problems with languages in their areas of residence.
- There is less cohesion and sense of common purpose between people of different ethnic groups than between people from the same ones. This undermines development efforts.
- Migrants often do not feel a true sense of belonging to their communities of residence and as a result, do not invest in them. This is not necessarily in monetary terms, it could be in terms of getting involved in PTAs, for example. This undermines community involvement in and support for education.

3.1.1.3. Complex governance systems

There is a duality of governance in Ghana which is most discernible at the level of small, rural communities. This is the co-existence of traditional and state governance systems side by side. Traditional systems are stronger in the rural areas than the urban ones, hence the duality at this level. The effectiveness of the local government representation (in the form of Unit Committees at community level) versus the traditional leadership, varies from community to community and may depend on the state of the relationship of community members with either of these bodies. The ability of the two systems to collaborate with each other also has implications for the development of the community. Generally speaking however, the existence of this duality can lead to conflict or a vacuum in which responsibility for community issues including education are tossed between the Unit Committee and the traditional leadership.

3.1.1.4. Problems of the current education system

Teaching methodologies are not child-centred and the curriculum is not always contextually relevant. It is also overloaded with subjects especially at junior secondary level, and there are in any case inadequate teachers for all of them. As stated in the White Paper on the report of the Education Reform Review Committee, "A fundamental weakness of the current basic education system is that too many subjects are taught at the primary and JSS levels, and poorly taught at that, owing to shortages of qualified teachers and materials. The result is that by the end of it pupils of average ability are unable to acquire sufficient grounding in basic literacy, numeracy and social studies."[51] Teacher motivation is low. Unsatisfactory conditions of service lead to frustration and there is inadequate supervision in place to curb the resultant lapses in performance. The system is chronically under-resourced and children all over the country do not have enough textbooks and other materials necessary for effective learning to take place. There are serious problems with supervision of schools, again due to lack of resources and also to the bureaucracy of the system.

3.1.1.5. Poverty

Poverty makes it difficult for parents to shoulder their part of the burden of educational costs. It also fosters the use of children's labour to boost the family income, keeping children out of school. Lack of infrastructure and services means a heavy and time-consuming load of domestic duties which affects mainly women and girls and militates against female education. High fertility rates have the same effect, with teenage pregnancy a common problem in poor areas.

3.1.2. Rural level

The problems listed above affect all parts of the country, both urban and rural, but worsen in accordance with levels of poverty. The main feature of rural areas which exacerbates all these problems further still, is inaccessibility. In many such areas, difficulties of terrain, long distances and severe climatic conditions reduce school attendance. They also cause such communities to be poorly served with infrastructure and services. This deters teachers from staying when posted there. Even those who stay will often want to live in nearby towns instead of in the actual communities where their schools are located and this leads to teacher absenteeism and lateness. It also undermines the efficiency of the government education management system which finds it difficult to serve such areas properly. Thus both educational infrastructure and school supervision are poor in such areas.

3.1.3. Cocoa-growing areas

Cocoa growing areas suffer from all the problems listed above. Below is a profile of the sample communities visited for this study, followed by an analysis of how the problems listed above are exacerbated by the particular nature of cocoa farming communities.

Community profiles.

The eight communities visited for this study were in three cocoa-growing districts in three different regions as listed below:

Western Region

Wassa Amenfi West District

1. Woman-no-good
2. Nkansah
3. Bisaaso #1

[51] White Paper on the report of the Education Reform Review Committee, p.4

Ashanti Region
Adansi South District
4. Menang
5. Akotreso

Eastern Region
Suhum-Kraboa-Coaltar District
6. Obomofodensua
7. Otwebedidua
8. Abisim Adjatey

The most remote of these were the communities in the Wassa West District which were in forest areas of very poor access. Communities in the Suhum District, being close to Accra, are less remote and generally better off in terms of infrastructure and services. This district is also home to numerous development projects and thus many of its communities have already been impacted by one or more of such projects. The data reflects this disparity in conditions.

Woman-no-Good and Menang were selected because they are ICI pilot communities. Bisaaso#1 and Akotreso were selected as nearby, non-ICI pilot communities in order to control for impact by ICI's YDK programme. Nkansah was spontaneously selected during fieldwork because it became clear that some children from Woman-no-Good were attending the private school there and being only 2km from Woman-no-Good, it was a good opportunity to observe the difference in the functioning of state and private schools under similar conditions. Obomofodensua and Otwebedidua were selected because they received assistance under the WACAP programme. Abisim Adjatey in the same district was selected as a non-WACAP community.

The overall populations of most communities visited were between 300 and 1000. The smallest were Nkansah (Wassa Amenfi West district) and Obomofodensua (Suhum district) with under 300 and the largest were Woman-no-Good (Wassa Amenfi West district) and Menang (Adansi South district) with over 1000. In all cases these villages also served as centres for outlying 'hamlets' with collective populations varying from 200 to over 1000 people.

Woman-No-Good JSS classroom block *Kindergarten block*

Woman-No-Good Primary block

Primary pupils

3.1.3.1. High migrant levels: ethnic heterogeneity

All cash crops attract migrant farmers and cocoa, Ghana's number one cash crop, is no exception. Like communities in northern Ghana which are highly diverse for cultural historical reasons, cocoa farming communities must be some of the most ethnically heterogeneous in the country.

None of the communities from the study sample had native residents in the majority. The typical pattern was to have one migrant ethnic group dominating, often constituting between 50-80% of the community. The rest would be made up of a variety of culturally distinct minority groups often including natives of the areas, but native groups rarely amounted to more than 20% of a community's total population. There was often a proportion of northerners mainly from the Upper East and Upper West regions, making up roughly 10-20% of community populations. In the Wassa Amenfi East and Adansi South districts, it was typical to have communities composed of six and sometimes up to eight distinct ethnic groups.

In the communities visited in the Wassa Amenfi East district, the majority migrant populations were Fantis and Asantes, with Wassas, the natives of the area very much in the minority and in some cases completely absent. In the communities visited in the Adansi South district the majority migrant groups were Ewes and Akwapims. Native Adansis were 20% or less. In the communities visited in the Suhum-Kraboa-Coaltar district the majority migrant groups were Ga-Dangbes. Native Akuapems were 30% or less.

The migrant/indigene profile and high levels of ethnic diversity in cocoa communities pose a number of challenges:

1. Sense of communal purpose low or absent.
   Cultural identities are still very strong in Ghana and it is an unavoidable fact that it is much harder to generate solidarity and mutual purpose between ethnic groups than within them. Even differences in languages and cultural practices make for logistical problems in cooperation. With some cocoa communities of a few hundred people comprising six or more ethnic groups, this is clearly a significant challenge. To complicate matters further still, there is anecdotal evidence to suggest that ethnic groups vary in the premium they place upon education. This can lead to different patterns of community support for education depending on ethnic composition.

2. Migrant loyalties split between communities of residence and communities of origin
   Migrants[52] lack commitment to their communities of residence because their primary ethnic loyalties are elsewhere. Significant amounts of their money revert to their hometowns for investment in buildings, as remittances to relatives and dependants resident there, and as contributions to funerals and other social events during festivals. Teachers in Wassa Amenfi communities complained in frustration that *"Most of their income in a year is used on festivals back home especially 'Gomoa 2 weeks'."* [53] In their actual cocoa farming communities of residence, many migrants feel a sense of dispossession even into the next generations because they are living on the land of others, away from their own original hometowns.

3. Low image of communities of residence
   Migrants often have a low opinion of their communities of residence, a sense that they live there because they have to (in order to make a living), not because they want to. Meanwhile, their image of their hometowns may well be tinted by nostalgia. Many community members interviewed expressed the conviction that education and living standards in general are better in their home communities. Some comments from community members on this issue were:
   - *"Children outside the community (ie back home) are doing better in school than the ones here." (Menang)*
   - *"Our money and our children's time are not well spent in schools here because the failure rate is high." (Menang)*
   - *"Schools back home are better than the ones here. Infrastructure and the quality of teaching are better. When we transfer our children to schools there they are made to repeat classes on order to catch up." (Menang)*
   - *"Schools back home are better. In Volta Region the use of English in schools is widespread and helps with education." (Akotreso)*

   This lack of faith in education in their communities of residence is problematic and has the following effects.
   - Children who perform well are often withdrawn from schools in communities of residence and sent to schools in communities of origin. As sardonically expressed by a school head in one of the sample communities, *"When they see that children are bright they take them to their hometowns so we are just left with the chaff."*
   - Parents put little investment in schools in terms of both money and personal effort eg. in getting involved in schools and holding education staff accountable for their performance. Thus mediocrity is accepted all round and is actually a two-way problem.

   There is also frequent movement of large numbers of people back to their hometowns for festivals, which disrupts children's schooling. Again, "Gomoa 2 weeks" was mentioned several times in this connection. For this festival and for others, migrant farmers sometimes stay in their hometowns for a month or more, making their children miss significant chunks of the new school term – *"Often at the beginning of term children are still at their hometowns"* – (teacher in Bisaaso #1). Also mentioned in this connection were yam festivals and the '*Dipo'* festival of the Krobos:[54] *"Girls are sent back to their home communities for several weeks. It makes them*

[52] It must be understood that the term 'migrant' is valid even after a few generations because loyalties to 'hometowns' are tenacious and enduring due to the extended family network.

[53] This is a popular name for the *Ahobaa/Akwambo* festival which was mentioned several times with reference to cocoa farming Fanti migrants in the Wassa Amenfi West District. They move back in great numbers to their hometowns in the Gomoa area for this festival in the second week of January, taking their entire households with them. It is a time of family reunions and apparently, many of them postpone their family funerals to be held there during the festival period. Communal labour and fundraising for community development activities take place however none of these things benefit the cocoa communities where these migrants actually live for the rest of the year.

[54] Krobo puberty rite for girls.

see culture as the most important."[55] In addition to these temporary absences, there is a high turnover of school children from migrant communities because they are often withdrawn from school to move back to their hometowns with their parents or to be sent on their own to continue their education or work for relatives or to supervise buildings their parents are constructing. This apparently affects boys more than girls. According to a teacher in Bisaaso #1, *"The main reason for dropout is parents moving away."* Four out of the six children interviewed in Bisaaso #1 were born in their parents' hometowns and five of them wanted to return there to live in future.

4. Relationship of farmers to land

   The relationship of farmers to the land they are farming is rarely one of ownership as most farmers are tenant farmers or sharecroppers. In some cases land is owned by indigenes who hire migrants to farm for them and in other cases land is bought by non-indigenes, who hire indigenes to farm for them. The end result is the same, that the person actually living on the land and farming it does not own it. According to former staff of Care International's SCORE project which operated exclusively in the Wassa West District, many owners of cocoa farms in the district are non-indigenes who employ the native Wassas to work on their farms. Thus in PLA exercises when these indigenous farmers talked about 'their' farms, they were alluding mainly to their own vegetable plots for cassava, pepper etc., because they did not really consider the cocoa farms to be theirs. Meanwhile the actual owners of those cocoa farms are not resident and thus have no interest in investing money in the schools in these communities. ICI IPs indicated that it was not only the attitudes of migrants but also of indigenes, that could be problematic. Some of their comments are given below:

   - *"Some do not value education, esp. indigenous communities with a long history of farming. They feel the land is there to farm so they don't need to worry about education. They take the land and the farming lifestyle for granted whereas migrants are used to having to make living in other ways and thus value education more. (Wassa Amenfi West District)*
   - *Also, the indigenes feel much more entitlement from their District Assemblies – 'indigenous people are very difficult to mobilize. They feel complacent – that the place belongs to them and they should rely on the District Assembly to take responsibility for them. They take more for granted than migrants. (Wassa Amenfi West District)*
   - *When communities are composed entirely of settlers (including the leadership), they cooperate with each other and they take pride in developing their communities. But when they are mixed, people feel as if they don't belong and will be leaving soon.' (Adansi South District)"*

5. Lack of pride in cocoa farming livelihood

   Related to the land issue and the low commitment to cocoa communities is a lack of pride in cocoa farming as a profession, a sense among farmers that they do it for lack of better options. This links in with the farm ownership issue mentioned under (2) because the people who actually work on cocoa farms are often of a different ethnicity from the (non-resident) owners of the farms. Thus there is probably a sense of labouring for the profit of someone else with whom ethnic loyalties are not shared. There might even be some resentment of the livelihood for these reasons.

6. Problematic leadership

   Leadership is often ineffectual because it cannot possibly represent all the different ethnic groups living in the community. This issue is more valid for traditional leadership which is strongly rooted in culture and ethnicity. State governance systems are in principle supposed to

[55] *ICI IP in Adansi South District*

transcend this problem however they do not in practice and especially not at the level of small rural communities. The inability of leadership to be properly representational in ethnically diverse areas compounds the pre-existing complexity of having both traditional and local government systems of leadership in small communities. The end effect is that both systems of governance are often ineffectual or problematic. In terms of local government representation, few rural communities have resident assemblymen and most assemblymen/women never visit their communities after their election. Unit Committees also become inactive due to lack of incentives and are subject to political influences. So the voices of the communities are not heard at the District Assembly.

In the communities visited there was a mix between native and non-native chiefs. In some cases the chief would be a member of the majority migrant community but not a native of the area. In others, he would be a native of the area and thus a member of a tiny native population in a community dominated by migrants of a completely different ethnic group. It was noted in several cases that community cooperation was higher in the former category than in the latter. For example in Woman-no-Good, which has approximately 60% Fanti migrants, the chief is a native Wassa. Community cooperation is more problematic here than in the other two communities visited within the same district, namely Nkansah (approx. 80% Fanti with a Fanti chief) and Bisaaso #1 (approx. 60% Asante with an Asante chief). In the Adansi South district a similar pattern was observed. Menang with a 40% population of Akuapem migrants, has a native Adansi chief. Akotreso with 40% Ewe migrants has an Ewe chief. Despite YDK intervention the impact of this difference can be perceived in several indicators including activity levels of community committees and even in the academic performance of children (see Table 7).

Most communities received few or no visits from their Assemblymen. In the Wassa Amenfi sample communities, unit committees and school-related committees (SMCs and PTAs) were generally inactive. In Suhum sample communities they were active likely due to WACAP and GAIT II activities and in Adansi South there was a notable difference between the two communities visited which is attributable as mentioned above, mainly to the difference in leadership patterns. In Menang, which has a native chief with a high migrant population of a different ethnic group, there was low activity of both Unit Committees and school-related committees. In Akotreso, which has a chief from the majority migrant population, unit and school-related committees were very active.

7. <u>Neglect by authorities</u>
   In some communities, people complained that they are neglected by government authorities because they are not indigenes. Similar complaints were made about government neglect due to political inclinations of communities.

8. <u>Language barriers</u>
   Language is a problem for children in school. Some of the younger children interviewed said that they did not understand lessons because they did not speak the vernacular languages being used by teachers. This happens mainly with the children of migrant groups which are in the minority in communities and especially with newly arrived migrants. It would not be such a problem if English could be used as a common language but most children in such communities cannot speak English either.

3.1.3.2. Remoteness

Being a forest crop, cocoa by nature is farmed in areas of difficult access: *"Access is a major issue. Cocoa areas are scattered hamlets. They cannot come together as a village."*[56] Indeed, settlements in these areas range from standard sized towns and villages to tiny 'hamlets' consisting of a few households, sometimes even a single household, deep inside the forest. This is because some farmers settle on their farmlands for the 3-4 years that it takes the cocoa trees to bear fruit, before moving to the nearest community. This situation leads to the following problems:

1. Difficulty of access for schoolchildren
   Many pupils from such settlements walk long distances to school. Tiredness from this exertion lowers their academic performance.

2. Difficulty of mobilizing and unifying people
   It is a big challenge to involve people living in these remote and scattered settlements in communal activities in the larger communities which serve as 'centres,' and in particular, in activities important for school supervision such as PTA and SMC meetings.

3. Problems of leadership
   Effective and representational leadership is difficult in view of the scattered and fragmented nature of these networks of communities and the challenges of moving between them. In many of the villages, even the larger ones, chiefs are not substantive but are merely substitute figures – "caretaker chiefs" - representing real chiefs who do not wish to reside in such remote areas. This further compounds already difficult leadership situations as mentioned above.

4. 'Dead-end' feel
   This is the atmosphere in many of the smaller cocoa farming communities because they lack opportunities for most other occupations due to their remoteness. Thus people cannot be blamed entirely for not wanting to invest in them. There is little for adults to do apart from farming and petty trading. Even opportunities for low-income jobs like hairdressing and tailoring are absent from the smaller communities. As a teacher pointed out *"There are no role models for the children, no teachers from their own communities."* School children interviewed almost all aspired to live elsewhere as adults, mainly in big towns and in some cases, abroad. None wanted to follow their parents' footsteps: *"There are a lot of difficulties here. There is no work except farming. City people look down on us when the come here. Farming is difficult. We don't want to do it. Our parents do it because they could not go to school."*[57]

5. Poor general services/infrastructure
   Provision by government (and/or donors) of services such as water, electricity and roads, often depends on sizes of communities. Larger communities tend to be more likely to receive services as they will benefit more people. However there is also a political angle because the provision of services attracts votes and the larger a community, the more votes there are to gain. Thus the smaller and more remote a community is, the less likely it is to be well served with services and infrastructure. Consequently, services are poor in such areas as many communities are so small and so scattered and also because they tend to lack strong leadership, which is

[56] Former ag. Director General of GES, Michael Nsowah, interviewed 2006.
[57] School children interviewed in a sample community.

important for going through the bureaucratic and sometimes politically complex processes whereby communities gain access to services and infrastructure.[58]

None of the communities visited had electricity although two (in Adansi South) were in the process of having the poles erected and lines laid and one of the ones in the Suhum district had solar energy. Water infrastructure was generally poor. The Suhum district was best off with some communities having up to six borehole pumps. Wassa Amenfi West was worst off with two of the communities having absolutely no water infrastructure and fetching their water from streams. Road access was generally poor and health facilities were also poor or absent.

6. Lack of educational infrastructure and inputs

In terms of school infrastructure Suhum district was best off. In Adansi South many of the buildings had walls but no doors or windows and were therefore open to the elements. They also had leaking roofs. Other problems were lack of toilets, inadequate furniture, inadequate classroom space, water problems and the precariousness of buildings, which can easily collapse in the violent storms common during the rainy seasons. In Wassa Amenfi West the same problems were common except that many school structures, particularly primary ones, lacked even walls and were simply poles with thatched roofs or roofing sheets. Attending schools in such structures during rainstorms is simply out of the question. Pupils and teachers using buildings open to the elements in this way are forced to take everything home at the end of the school day. In one community the headmaster was storing all school records, documents and textbooks in his bedroom for lack of any other option, and even that building had a leaking roof in an area of torrential rainfall. In Bisaaso #1 they built a primary school structure with help from the District Assembly. They applied for further assistance with teachers' quarters however the DA did not provide any further support: *"We started as pioneers to build those school structures and government was supposed to take over. But there has been very little support from the government so the parents have lost interest."*

There is a chronic shortage of educational inputs such as textbooks and TLMs. In the communities visited in the Suhum district, teachers said that until recently they were teaching only with syllabi and without the corresponding textbooks. Sometimes it is difficult for schools even to procure the syllabi. Schools in all sample districts also lacked equipment for the teaching of science and technical/vocational skills. Teachers in sample communities complained that because textbooks are insufficient children cannot take them home to study. TLMs were completely missing in most cases and even if they existed, many of the school buildings visited by researchers did not even have walls upon which TLMs could be displayed or storage facilities where they could be kept. Teaching without even the bare necessities like textbooks, let alone TLMs, limits teaching methodology and makes lessons boring for pupils. This compounds the problem that teachers in Ghana tend to use lecture type methods instead of learner-centered ones. The end result is that pupils become bored, confused and frustrated. Many children interviewed complained about their inability to understand the lessons taught in class. Some parents also complained that when they asked their children to study after school they said they could not because they did not understand the lessons.

[58] It is often assumed that services and infrastructure are automatically provided by government however there are indeed application procedures for these things, which tend to be quite complex. Often communities are not even aware and informed of the need to apply, much less the application procedure.

3.1.3.3. Climate

Cocoa-growing areas have some of the heaviest rainfall in the country. Rainy seasons last about four months bringing stormy winds and torrential rain constituting vast quantities of water. These conditions have many disruptive effects such as:

1. Flooding and erosion of terrain
   Conditions of transportation, even for walking short distances, become muddy and treacherous. At the peak of the season there is rain every day and it can continue all day long. This makes it difficult for children and teachers to come to school, especially those children living in the forest hamlets. As pointed out by a teacher in Woman-no-Good, *"On rainy days some of the children living in hamlets would have to walk through rivers to get to school."*

2. Destruction of infrastructure
   This seasonal destruction, the literal 'washing away' of weaker structures, discourages people from investing significant financial resources in infrastructure. Thus many school buildings are little more than sets of supporting poles with grass thatched roofs. The disadvantages of having such inadequate and open structures as school buildings are as follows:

   a. Inadequate shelter from rain. In many communities there is zero attendance on rainy days because buildings are too open to protect pupils and teachers from the rain and stormy conditions. Even just the noise of the rain makes teaching impossible, especially in buildings with metal roofing sheets. Given poor supervision in these areas and problems of attendance even during the dry season, this is more than enough excuse for schools to be completely empty.
   b. Classes need to be combined because there are not enough classrooms.
   c. Teaching and learning materials (TLMs) cannot be displayed because many school buildings have no walls. This discourages teachers (many of whom already lack motivation) from making TLMs.
   d. Nothing can be stored in school buildings because they are open to the elements.
   e. School furniture is damaged by rain.
   f. Structures are not safe and could collapse on top of children
   g. Noise pollution from outside and from other classrooms is a distraction for children. There are also visual distractions when buildings are so open.
   h. School buildings are open to the entry of animals and in forest areas that includes snakes, scorpions and biting insects.
   i. School buildings are open to the passage of goats and sheep, which defecate in the classrooms.
   j. In some communities, even people defecate in classrooms.[59]

3.1.3.4. Economic difficulties

"We depend solely on cocoa. After the season it's difficult for people to find even C5,000." This is a quote from a community member in Bisaaso #1. Indeed, the seasonal nature of cocoa farming means that income streams are unsteady. *"Getting the money in small amounts stops the farmers from doing big things with it."*[60] It also makes it difficult for them to plan and easily leads to debt. The MMYE acknowledges that "Although the introduction of higher-yielding cocoa varieties and mass spraying campaigns in recent years has helped to raise output,….income from cocoa is still

[59] People complained about this in more than one of the research communities. Apparently some community members use schools buildings as places of convenience and sometimes it is a deliberate act of malice against teachers. This is an alarming statement on the relationship between community members and teachers and on dissatisfaction with education in general.

[60] Staff of one of ICI's IPs for the YDK programme.

generally low because output per farm is low, as are world prices."[61] Another problem is there can be major delays in payments to cocoa farmers by the government as there were, for example, in 2005. GES staff at the Wassa Amenfi West District Education Office said "*Their problem is managerial. They cannot manage their finances because it comes in bits. Instead of banking and financial management they do random buying when their money comes. They may even have bought on credit in advance."*

This situation undermines investment in their children's education or in any community development projects. This, in addition to some of the issues mentioned above - such as low community spirit, involvement, and investment - leads to an overall community poverty whereby communal resources like school buildings are allowed to run down without any investment in rehabilitation. Due to poverty, some children in these communities receive no support from their parents and thus have to support themselves and even pay their own school fees. Although the income-generating activities in which they engage are not always during school hours, they still interfere with their studies by robbing them of time needed to do homework or simply to rest in between school and their household chores. Examples of such activities are petty trading in the evenings and at weekends and seasonal harvesting of fruits, snails and mushrooms. Farming is of course, another major source of income for children.

The issue of poverty must also be considered in the context of trafficked children, who represent a small part of the child cocoa labour force in Ghana. Although these children mostly do not originate from cocoa growing areas, they also come from areas of poverty and poor education, primarily northern Ghana.

3.1.3.5. High demand for farm labour

Agriculture is a livelihood in rural areas all over Ghana so children are engaged in farming activities both for subsistence and commercial farming. However the demand for labour is clearly greater when subsistence and commercial farming are combined, as is the case in cocoa growing areas. As has already been indicated, it is not only parents who use children for farm labour, but teachers also. In some cocoa communities teachers are serious farmers too. They get land cheap and some farm both for subsistence and for commercial purposes. Teachers in some sample communities admitted using children on their farms, sometimes during school hours, to sow maize and carry cocoa from the farm to the village among other tasks.

Quite apart from the problem of children being used for free labour by parents and teachers, there is also a practice of hiring out children's 'cocoa labour' in return for cash. This is done by parents and again, even allegedly by teachers as pointed out in chapter 2. However, children sometimes also hire out their cocoa labour in their own right, earning the money for themselves. This happens especially with children who have to support themselves. Demands on child labour peak during harvest seasons of cocoa and other crops, notably rice and this interferes significantly with school attendance.

3.1.3.6. Low education of parents

Cocoa farmers, being largely tenant farmers and sharecroppers, generally have low levels of education. Although in some communities numbers of people with some degree of education was surprisingly high, levels and quality of education received have clearly been low and there is much illiteracy. A cycle has likely been propagated whereby the low quality of education received by parents themselves, or their inability to advance to any meaningful stage due to poverty, has led to their perception of education as useless. This leads to the following problems:

[61] MMYE NPECLC policy document, p.12.

1. Lack of involvement in children's education
   Even those who send their children to school often lack interest in or capacity to judge their performance, or both. A headmaster in one of the sample communities asserted *"Only 20% of parents are interested in the children's progress."* In some communities it was actually quite difficult to ascertain parents' opinions of the quality of education on offer at the local schools because they just did not seem able to tell whether it was good or bad, due to their own lack of education. However, many also simply seemed uninterested. This may on the other hand indicate resignation to the low quality of education available. Many parents are unable to read their children's end of term school reports and we were told in some cases that they have to get the children to read the reports to them.

2. Limited parental supervision and cooperation with children's education
   Parents do not ensure that children do homework and study at night. Many allow their children to watch publicly screened videos in the evenings. They also infringe on their children's educational time by using them for domestic or farm labour. They allow children to miss school on market days, and during the harvest season many children effectively drop out of school for several weeks. Teachers in research communities complained bitterly about these things: *"They don't care about their wards' welfare and don't understand education. When children absent themselves it's their parents who are sending them on errands."*

3. Low involvement in school management
   Even if there is the will to be involved, uneducated parents are greatly intimidated by the academic environment and literally afraid to challenge school staff. They have little or no awareness of their civic rights and are easily cowed by teachers and GES officials. This is often taken advantage of by teachers as demonstrated by this quote from a parent in one of the communities visited. *"If you complain to the teachers they will tell you that you are not the one paying them and worse still, they might leave and then you will struggle to replace them. And sometimes when they leave, they register a complaint at the district office that the community is difficult and this will discourage future teachers from coming."*[62] In the Adansi South district, researchers found a high incidence of teachers using children for farm labour. Parents asked researchers if this was acceptable because they were clearly too intimidated to challenge teachers about it themselves, and so unsure about what schooling means that they did not even know if farming for teachers is a standard part of going to school. This is a clear abuse of authority on the part of teachers, whom its suits to let parents believe they have a right to do this.

4. Lack of educated role models for children
   It was found in some of the smallest communities that children had low ambitions because they did not have educated role models and were not even aware of the sorts of professions to which educated people can aspire.

[62] Parent at Bisaaso #1, Wassa Amenfi West District. Casely-Hayford writes about the same problem in northern Ghana: "The lack of community understanding about their rights and what changes they were capable of making (e.g., holding teachers accountable for their attendance) was a major theme…Poor communities felt disempowered and helpless in the face of GES officers who were viewed as close colleagues of "trained teachers". Through interviews and observations, the *poor teaching culture* in the four research districts were also characterized by a *culture of fear*, i.e., communities were reticent in exposing high level of absenteeism and viewed the teachers as 'untouchable'. Communities felt they should not rock the boat by making complaints or reporting teachers who are not in the classroom for a significant amount of time…Most communities were hesitant to report these teachers for fear that the GES would not post additional teachers to their communities thus forcing the school to be closed." Casely-Hayford et al, 2003.

5. Low status of women
   Traditional leadership was male in all the sample communities and the composition of community-level committees such as unit committees, PTAs and SMCs was also predominantly male. Women traditionally have a low status in such areas and significantly lower educational levels than men. Researchers found mothers even less capable than fathers, of judging their children's academic performance. Many of them can never read their children's reports and said that the children's fathers read them. This diminishes women's role as supporters of their children's education and is unfortunate especially for their daughters. In addition to farming, women have many children and a heavy domestic workload. There are few or no local educated role models for girls in the communities. Naturally, all these things create a negative environment for girls' education.

6. Language barrier
   Having illiterate parents automatically puts children at a disadvantage with schooling because they are not coming from an educated environment and must learn most things from scratch. By far the most serious obstacle is the inability to speak English. This language barrier is, from any perspective, one of the most monumental problems facing the Ghanaian education system. Attempts by GES to address this problem by making local languages the teaching medium in the first few years of basic education have always been undermined by the inadequacy of corresponding teaching materials and by the ethnic heterogeneity mentioned above.[63]

3.2. Main effects of contextual problems on educational quality

All the problems listed above are interrelated and their effects must thus be considered a collective result of the conditions described. Below are the major impacts they have on education.

3.2.1. High turnover, scarcity and gender inequity of teachers.

The conditions described above, particularly the remoteness and lack of infrastructure in these areas, acts as a major deterrent to teachers by posing the following challenges:

- Inadequate teacher accommodation. As one headmaster put it, *"The teachers are housed in a coop."*[64] Many teachers in such areas live in structures which expose them to undesirable conditions such as flooding and entry of dangerous animals like snakes, mosquitoes etc.
- Lack of infrastructure and services required and desired by teachers such as safe water, electricity, health services, shops and tele-communication connectivity.
- Prevalence of endemic diseases like buruli ulcer, river blindness and bilharzia.
- For young and single teachers, the fear that they cannot find appropriate sexual/ marital partners in such areas.

In the Wassa Amenfi West district where conditions were worst, most teachers interviewed did not want to remain at post and were looking for other opportunities. Even a volunteer teacher recruited from the community said *"I will leave this place. I want to be a radio presenter."* In Bisaaso #1 there was only one teacher who expressed a conditional interest in staying: *"if my salary is increased and I get incentives."* Several wanted to leave the teaching service altogether to work in marketing, construction and accountancy among other areas.

[63] In view of these difficulties the President's Committee on Review of Education Reforms has now recommended a flexible language policy: "Either the local language or English language should be used as a medium of instruction at the kindergarten and lower primary as appropriate. Where teachers and teaching and learning materials are available, local languages must be used as the medium of instruction." p. 33, 2002 report.

[64] A headmaster in one of the communities in Wassa Amenfi West.

The situation is particularly critical in the case of female teachers who have such a high turnover rate in these areas that some educational authorities have actually taken a policy decision to stop posting female teachers altogether. In Bisaaso #1 in the Wassa Amenfi District we were told by school staff that the Regional Manager[65] has actually made it a policy *not* to post women to their community because they do not stay and their high turnover destabilizes the educational environment. Thus, from kindergarten[66] to JSS, the school has *not a single* female teacher. Community members said: *"Female teachers will not stay. Some leave after less than one week. The longest was 4 years."* In Nkansah where there was a private school with only one female teacher, people said *"Female teachers are lazy, not active."* Interestingly, many school girls expressed more confidence in male teachers' professional capacity than in that of females. Some of the opinions expressed were that although male teachers are more impatient and cane them more, they 'are better at teaching', 'deliver more information and better', 'instil discipline and teach well.' Parents also said that in comparison with females, male teachers were "regular and punctual, with no marital issues."

Allowing for cultural biases and so on, there is still a trend for women to appear professionally less capable than men, and not only in the teaching profession. This is due in part to the fact that women have indeed often had inferior educational opportunities and less chance to gain practical work experience than men. In addition, the domestic responsibilities of educated professional females are culturally still heavy and often impinge on their professional lives, and the high premium on childbearing combined with the traditional possessiveness of husbands, effectively rule out long-distance postings for married female teachers. This leads to a 'catch 22' situation whereby single female teachers do not want to go and live in remote areas because they feel they will have poor marital prospects, while married ones cannot go at all because they are married.[67]

The latter of these two negatives is far more serious because a woman's years of marriage generally cover the vast majority of her professional life. The fact that female teachers are more put off than male ones by the difficult conditions of service in rural areas, is undeniably also a factor, however the biggest obstacle is actually this issue of marital, maternal and domestic obligation. It basically boils down to a conflict between the socio-cultural role of a married woman and her professional duty as a teacher to serve in whichever area she is posted. This simple incompatibility keeps the vast majority of qualified female Ghanaian teachers well away from the remote rural areas.

3.2.2. Composition and quality of teaching staff in sample communities

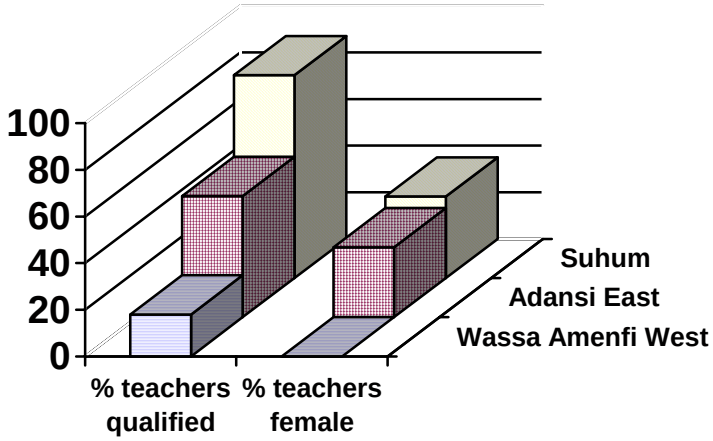
There was significant variation between districts in terms of qualified teachers. In Wassa Amenfi West only the heads of the four schools visited, representing 18% of the sample, were trained teachers. All other teaching staff were GES pupil teachers or volunteer teachers hired by the communities. There were *no female teachers at all* in these schools and even kindergarten levels were taught by men in the schools which had teachers for that level. The situation was better in the other two districts as shown by the table and graph below. However although the percentage of trained teachers was significantly higher in the Suhum district than in the Adansi South district, there was not much difference in the percentage of female teachers between these two districts.

[65] Regional managers are district-level supervisory authorities for unit schools.
[66] It is remarkable to have male teachers at kindergarten level as this is traditionally a female-dominated domain.
[67] The duties of looking after husbands and children are considered paramount for women even in the most educated social circles. It is culturally frowned upon for women to put their professions before family. This cultural bias almost institutionalizes the infringing of family obligations on women's professional duties, which naturally leads to inefficiency in their work, characterized by unreliability and poor performance especially in jobs with poor supervision and accountability. This in turn leads to the unfortunate propagation of the notion that women are intellectually and professionally inferior, and hence reinforces the belief that girls are not as worthy of educational investment as boys.

Table 5: percentage of qualified teachers and female teachers in primary and JSS schools in sample communities

District	% of teachers who are qualified	% of teachers who are female
Wassa Amenfi West	18	0
Adansi East	52	30
Suhum-Kraboa-Coaltar	87	35
Average for 3 districts	52	22

Table 6: Percentage of qualified teachers and female teachers in sample communities



Teacher turnover was found to be high in the Wassa Amenfi West sample. Most current staff had been there less than four years and several had been there less than one year. There had been many changes in staff over the past five years. Turnover was highest with female teachers. In Bisaaso #1, until last year the JSS head was the only teacher in the entire school. The primary school was also understaffed. Last year many primary classes did not have any teachers. The kindergarten teacher who was a volunteer paid by the community also left because the community stopped paying him. The response to teacher shortages was to combine classes. Apparently it is not uncommon in such areas for one teacher to teach three or four classes combined, which may run into 100 or more pupils. This represents significant challenges in choice of syllabus, variations in pupil capacity and maintenance of discipline. The alternative to this is for teachers to divide their time between classes, which also happens and means that large numbers of children have to wait until a teacher is available. This represents a serious loss of instructional time. The teacher situation was more stable in the other two sample districts. In the Adansi South District, farmland is plentiful and many teachers have acquired land and settled down to a farming lifestyle, and have thus been at post for many years.

The quality of primary teachers in the sample communities was informally tested by giving them samples of filled out examination papers[68] to mark in mathematics and English. Accuracy of marking was on average 70-90% for English and 90-100% for mathematics.[69] This was higher than expected considering that many of the teachers were untrained. However it was interesting to note that within the sample tested, there was little difference in performance by trained teachers and untrained teachers over all three districts. There was also little variation between state and private school teachers. If anything, the private school teachers fared a little worse. This suggests that the correlation between a teacher's level of training and his/her pupils' performance is not a direct one. In other words, having a trained teacher is no guarantee of good performance by pupils. This indicates the presence of other determining factors in the teaching/learning equation within the environment of remote rural schools.

3.2.3. Inadequate supervision and support by GES

This is a problem all over the country however it is compounded by the remoteness, harsh terrain and climate and scattered nature of communities in these areas. Circuit Supervisors (CS) do not visit schools frequently enough and sometimes they collude with school authorities to register fake records of visits. At one school in the sample, researchers were told that the Circuit Supervisor would 'come to the junction' and ask the teachers to bring the log book for him to sign without actually going to the school at all.[70] Such behaviour stems both from poor supervision of CSs by their superiors at the DEO, and from chronic under-resourcing of the state system. At the Wassa Amenfi West DEO, staff indicated that only three out of their eight Circuit Supervisors have motorbikes. They also complained that the terrain is very difficult to travel and that the district is huge, with schools being scattered and remote. GNAT staff indicated that part of the problem is that Circuit Supervisors often come from the locality and this breeds familiarity which undermines the chain of supervision in both directions. Thus, due to these various problems of supervision, problematic teacher behaviour such as alcoholism,[71] lateness, absenteeism and abuse of children largely go unaddressed. In some of the communities visited, people complained that some teachers do not report back to work for two or three weeks after school holidays.

Apart from monitoring teachers, the GES is also supposed to give them support in various ways, particularly those serving in remote areas. However, hardly any of the teachers interviewed for this study had ever received the government's 'incentive package' for teachers in remote areas.[72] There was also confusion among teachers interviewed over how to access the GES incentive package.[73] Moreover some of the items given under this package are not suitable for remote areas. An example of these are 'ghetto blasters' which must be powered by electricity (absent in remote communities) or large batteries which are expensive and unavailable in such areas. Moreover such items are not a priority in areas where teachers' needs are far more basic. Even just in terms of standard communication with District Education Offices, teachers encountered problems and

[68] Instruments used were end of term examination papers provided by the Accra Metropolitan Education Office for use by schools in the metropolis in 2004-5.

[69] It should be noted that although examination papers were given to teachers of the classes (grades) corresponding to the papers, they generally received help from other teachers in the school.

[70] Collusion between teaching staff and the GES inspectorate is a nationwide problem which is extremely detrimental to the effective supervision of schools: Casely-Hayford writes about it in the Northern Region: "District Education officials in Sissala District stated that they felt there was collusion between the Circuit Supervisors and teachers (i.e.,Circuit Supervisors were not monitoring or supervising the work) despite the free fuel that Action Aid was providing for their supervision and monitoring." Casely Hayford et al, 2003, p.20

[71] A common problem in forest areas due to the cultivation of the oil palm which is also used for production of palm wine and akpeteshie (a local spirit) and makes alcohol cheap.

[72] GNAT staff interviewed indicated that GES has had a problem defining remote and deprived areas.

[73] Apparently teachers are either recommended for it or apply. However many teachers seem unaware that they have the option to apply for it.

frustration. One headmaster complained – *"I have been to the District Education Office three times to get our SPIP[74] stamped by the DDE but he is always not there."* Researchers for this study also found DEO staff difficult to meet with due both to absence from post and reluctance on their part.

3.2.4. Inadequate supervision by community members

As mentioned above, this is due mainly to low community cohesion, low education of parents and lack of awareness of civic rights. Combined with the poor supervision of the GES in these areas, this lack of community involvement leaves education staff with a low sense of accountability and thus reinforces teacher misconduct and the general acceptance of mediocrity in education. It also results in the weakness of community-level educational supervisory structures such as PTAs and SMCs. A vicious cycle is thus at work whereby parents blame teachers and the education authorities for the low standards of education, but at the same time make little or no effort to get involved in schools. Some parents interviewed had never been to their children's schools. One mother, when asked if she minded that there were no female teachers in her daughter's school, responded that she was not aware of that. In addition, weak leadership is reflected in a low sense of civic rights among community members in general, and the tendency to be intimidated by authority. This leads for example to them being easily cowed by teaching staff and accepting exclusion from decision-making processes such as the allocation of the capitation grant.

3.2.5. Low attendance, absenteeism

High levels of absenteeism of both pupils and teachers in these areas are due primarily to extremely challenging geographical conditions and the scattered nature of settlements. An estimated minimum 25% of the school year is being missed in the remotest areas, due to rain and inaccessible terrain. In addition, the rainy season spans the months leading up to the BECE exam, a time when attendance is crucial. As pointed out by a teacher in Bisaaso #1, *"During the rainy season attendance drops a lot so they fail."*

3.2.6. Poor performance by school children

The end result of all quality problems including the ones listed above, is low performance of school children. As a parent in Bisaaso #1 complained, *"We are wasting our money because they can't even read letters for us."* In the sample communities, primary children from classes 4-6 were tested informally (orally) with random questions from grade-appropriate examination papers[75] in mathematics and English. Performance was generally below average to poor, with notably better scores in mathematics than English. The difference in teacher capacity and pupil performance as evidenced by the informal testing exercises applied to both parties would suggest that the transfer of knowledge from teachers to pupils is not happening effectively. In addition to informal testing, data was collected on the performance of JSS children in the Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE) from 2001-2005 in the same communities. Details are provided in the tables below.

[74] SPIP – School Performance Improvement Plan. This has to be drawn up by each school before the capitation grant is disbursed.

[75] Instruments used were end of term examination papers provided by the Accra Metropolitan Education Office for use by schools in the metropolis in 2004-5.

Table 7: % pass rate of BECE exams 2001-2005 in sample communities

Community	**Year**				
	2001	**2002**	**2003**	**2004**	**2005**
Wassa Amenfi West District					
Woman-No-Good	n/a	n/a	87.5	17	14
Bisaaso Presby	27	n/a	70	56	8
Nkansah (private school)	*School not yet entering candidates for BECE*			100	65
Adansi South District					
Menang	n/a	0	0	0	4
Akotreso	27	0	19	17	22
Suhum District					
Obomofodensua	30	29	13	0	25
Otwebedidua	28	43	53	17.2	27
Nankese-Abisim	19	0	44	0	0

The performance rates above are for the most part poor with several instances of 100% failure. Dramatically varying pass rates from one year to another, notably in the Wassa Amenfi district, reflect high teacher turnover and the chronic instability of the academic environment. One parent complained - *"At least girls should be able to learn vocational skills but they don't have a teacher for that subject."* The difficulty in retaining teachers in such schools means that children often have no instruction for subjects on the curriculum. What makes this even more unfair is that according to GES policy, children have to sit the BECE in all ten subjects regardless of their teacher situation. Thus in such areas, children commonly find themselves having to sit this public exam in subjects for which they have had no teaching whatsoever. This is demoralizing and extremely unfair to the children. It accounts to a large extent for the appalling national performance in the BECE year after year.

It is notable that the only instance of 100% pass rate in the above table is from a private school. This is even more interesting in view of the fact that this was the only school in the entire sample without a single trained teacher. Indeed, according to this data, pupils' performance across districts endorses the conclusion that teacher qualifications do not appear to make much difference to academic performance. This also suggests that teacher qualifications are less important than other factors in achieving quality education.

3.2.7. Low female enrolment and performance

This is due mainly to the intensive domestic role of girls in areas of poverty, low infrastructure and harsh terrain. Although boys also contribute to household labour it is primarily a female domain. An informal gender-disaggregated list of household tasks performed by children *before* going to school in the mornings was compiled in the Wassa Amenfi West research communities in interviews with school children with the following results - Girls sweep, wash dishes, fetch water, bath and dress younger siblings, make fire, boil water and cook their own food. Boys sweep, fetch water and cook their own food. Understandably, many children, especially girls, arrive at school already exhausted. This heavy domestic load or 'girls' labour,' contributes significantly to marked female disadvantages in enrolment, retention and performance. Indeed, domestic labour is quite likely a greater obstacle to education for girls in rural areas – including cocoa communities – than farm labour. Thus there is an important gender aspect to the education problem in the more remote cocoa areas. Table 8 presents a gender disaggregation of the performance data from sample communities as given in Table 7.

Table 8: Girls as percentage of pupils taking the BECE exam and as percentage of pupils passing.[76]

Community	2001		2002		2003		2004		2005	
	Girls as % of pupils sitting	Girls as % of total passes	Girls as % of pupils sitting	Girls as % of total passes	Girls as % of pupils sitting	Girls as % of total passes	Girls as % of pupils sitting	Girls as % of total passes	Girls as % of pupils sitting	Girls as % of total passes
Wassa Amenfi West District										
Woman-No-Good	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	37.5	28.5	33	50[77]	25	33
Bisaaso #1	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	50	57	33	22	33	0
Nkansah (private school)	*School not yet entering candidates for BECE.*						23	23	8	12.5
Adansi South District										
Menang[78]	n/a	n/a	33	0	33	0	33	0	39	0
Akotreso	16	17	60	0[79]	60	0	0	-	0	-
Suhum District										
Obomofodensua	35	14	46	28.5	42	33	50	0[80]	60	25
Otwebedidua	44	0	46	38	47	30	31	0	45	0
Nankese-Abisim	31	0	45	0[81]	67	62.5	60	0[82]	70	0[83]

As demonstrated by these figures, girls' enrolment and performance is generally below that of boys and more so in the first two districts which are poorer and more remote. This is a reflection of the greater obstacles facing girls in acquiring an education and the fact that remoteness compounds these obstacles. Examples of this are the terrible shortage of female teachers and the infrequency of visits by District Girls' Education Officers (DGEOs) in such areas. Educated role models are crucial in such areas for boosting girls' belief in the intellectual and professional capacities of females, precisely because *their own mothers and female relatives cannot play this role*. When school girls bring their report cards home, it is their fathers who might be literate enough to read them, not their mothers. They become used to the fact that their mothers cannot be academic mentors to them or have any concept of what they are doing in school. They cannot even take pride in them because they lack the capacity to judge their academic performance.

It emerged through interviews that boys are more often given positions of authority at school, eg. 'compound overseers,' 'section leaders' and also that boys are asked more questions, especially in science and maths. Most school visited had no toilet facilities which is more problematic for girls than boys. It was also noted in interviews with school children that boys were always quicker to cite role models and to mention professions to which they aspired, than girls. This was because girls have fewer models and examples. Combined with the quality problems and inequities they face in the educational arena, this lack of female inspiration undermines girls' confidence in and understanding of the purpose of their own education. Parents in one of the research communities said: "*We are willing to send our girls to higher educational levels but they themselves don't want to.*" Researchers for this study came away from several communities with the strong sense that

[76] It should be noted that because numbers of pupils was relatively small, minor changes had a strong weight on the averages.
[77] This represents only one of two candidates who passed the exam
[78] Overall pass rate for both girls and boys was 0 from 2002-2004. In 2005 only one pupil passed who was a boy.
[79] Overall pass rate for both girls and boys was 0
[80] As above
[81] As above
[82] As above
[83] As above

neither parents nor girls themselves believed education held any future for them and that the general attitude was that girls would end up staying in the village and getting pregnant with or without an education. There was a high level of school dropout due to teenage pregnancy. In the Wassa Amenfi communities, although no formal data was gathered on this issue, conversations with education staff suggested that female dropout at JSS level over recent years was roughly double that of male dropout, due mainly to teenage pregnancy.

Girl in Woman-No-Good carrying a child not much lighter than herself

4. How to improve quality

4.1. Educational needs as perceived by stakeholders in the communities

It can be assumed that people would wish for solutions to all the problems laid out in the previous chapter, and this was implicit in the discussion of such problems with all stakeholders. However the collation below is of what people cited when asked specifically for the quality improvements they would like to see in their communities.

4.1.1. Parents' perspective

4.1.1.1. Teaching and Learning

- Enough teachers for all pupils and for all subjects;
- Qualified teachers;
- Effective teachers who can inspire their pupils;
- Improved teacher attendance and punctuality;
- Volunteer teachers;[84]
- Extra classes for children.[85]

4.1.1.2. More support from government

- More support with educational expenses – "The government should bear two thirds of the cost including exercise books, stationery and furniture. If they say 'free education' it should be free."[86]
- Adequate provision of educational materials such as text books;
- Infrastructure - good school buildings and furniture, teachers' accommodation;
- Facilities and TLMs to enhance teaching and learning;
- Better supervision from GES. Communities are frustrated by the inability to get rid of problematic teaching staff, eg. alcoholics;
- A more streamlined curriculum. Currently there are too many subjects and it is hard for teachers to complete the syllabus in every subject. Many JSS teachers are combining two or three subjects.

4.1.1.3. Other

- Initiatives to support education eg. donor/NGO programmes.

4.1.2. Teachers' perspective

4.1.2.1. More community support

- For infrastructure provision, for school structures and teachers' accommodation;
- More parental support in provision of children's educational needs like exercise books, mathematical instruments, schoolbags to carry books in the rain, lamps to do homework at night;
- More parental reinforcement in ensuring children study at home.

[84] One community said their CS had made them aware of the district sponsorship of teachers and that they would like to make use of this to hire volunteer teachers.
[85] This common desire for 'extra classes' has its roots in the incapacity of the system as it exists to deliver minimum standards. If it functioned properly, normal lessons reinforced by children doing their homework would be enough to produce the required standards.
[86] Community member, Woman-no-Good.

- The chance to upgrade their own qualifications while teaching. One headteacher was doing a distance diploma in commerce.

4.1.2.2. More government support

- For infrastructure provision, for school structures and teachers' accommodation;
- More support and cooperation from the District Education Office.
- Better provision of teachers' needs.

4.1.3. Children's perspective

- To be able to understand their lessons.
- To be able to understand the language of instruction. Many cannot understand English and some migrant children complained about not being able to understand Twi which was being used by teachers.
- To be properly equipped for school with uniforms and stationery.
- Freedom from unpleasant punishments at school like caning and weeding.
- Comfortable school buildings.[87]

4.2. Important elements for quality education initiatives

On the basis of the above and of the analysis in the foregoing chapter, it can be concluded that interventions targeted at improving the quality of education in cocoa communities would need to address economic, cultural, social, political, academic, linguistic, geographical and gender challenges. This is a formidable list recalling UNICEF's definition of education as "a complex system embedded in a political, cultural and economic context."[88] It is clearly beyond the means of any individual organization (or indeed, government), to address all these challenges simultaneously and successfully. However some impact can be made on some fronts by well-designed interventions.

As a guideline, any intervention aiming to improve the quality of education in cocoa communities should include activities and interventions addressing at least some of the objectives listed below. These have been categorized under the various 'challenge areas' listed above, however there is much overlap between them as indeed, between the challenge areas themselves. Indeed, most of the objectives could fit simultaneously under several of the demarcated categories, demonstrating as indicated in Chapter 2, their inter-connectedness and the need for them to work together if quality is to be achieved. In the next two chapters, existing initiatives to improve educational quality will be reviewed with these critical areas of intervention in mind.

4.2.1. Critical objectives for quality education interventions

(A) Social

1. Addressing parental illiteracy, ignorance of civil rights, disengagement with education;
2. Promoting parental ownership of schools and involvement in school management and supervision, building their confidence as educational stakeholders;
3. Promoting parental responsibility for children's education;
4. Finding role models for children, preferably among their own communities;

[87] Some complained that their buildings are hot in the afternoons.
[88] See chapter 2.

(B) Cultural

5. Promoting cultural unity, sense of pride and belonging to cocoa communities and the desire to invest in them both in terms of money and community participation/activism;

(C) Political, policy-related

6. Addressing issues of governance and leadership in culturally heterogeneous communities;
7. Strengthening community capacity to participate in local governance structures;
8. Bringing about closer relations between communities and government authorities by strengthening CSOs, including PTAs and SMCs;
9. Strengthening government capacity to respond to needs of communities;

(D) Economic

10. Addressing the poverty, unstable economics, money management of cocoa farmers;
11. Building community capacity to advocate for own resources;
12. Improving services/infrastructure in remote communities to reduce inaccessibility and the burden of domestic drudgery esp. 'girls' labour';
13. Improving and increasing educational infrastructure and fulfilling basic quotas of educational resources.

(E) Academic

14. Making education needs-based;
15. Giving children the building blocks of learning: language, literacy and numeracy;
16. Tackling linguistic barriers arising from illiterate background and multi-culturalism;
17. Providing adequate numbers of teaching staff and motivating teachers to stay at post;
18. Promoting child-centred teaching methodologies;
19. Streamlining the curriculum and making it more relevant;
20. Integrating out-of-school children into formal education.

(F) Gender

21. Promoting gender balance among teaching staff;
22. Addressing gender disparities which put girls at a disadvantage;
23. Addressing the enabling gender environment - traditionally low status of women;
24. Finding role models for girls.

(G) Geographical

25. Overcoming barriers of access for children - long distances, harsh terrain and climate;
26. Addressing the significant loss of instructional time caused by annual rainfall.

5. Review of parallel models for quality

This chapter reviews home-grown education models operating parallel to the state education system. These are the private schools and the unit schools of Ghana, examined here as quality initiatives that should yield applicable best practices by virtue of their parallel nature. The issue of ownership emerges from this comparison, as a major factor in quality attainment.

Through various causes including decades of over-centralization of government, inadequate government response to the needs of the people and ignorance of civic rights due to low education, the state and the people are perceived as separate entities with separate agendas and the concept of the government representing and working on behalf of the people is largely absent. There is consequently no effective 'owner' of state schools. Government education services, already overstretched, are at their most ineffectual in such remote and deprived rural areas. Bureaucracy and poor accountability dog the system at all levels and are compounded by logistical challenges and deficiencies that increase in proportion to the remoteness and inaccessibility of areas where services are needed.

The net result is that government is basically an 'absentee owner' of such schools. A vicious cycle is consequently in operation whereby education staff are not held properly accountable for their actions by their direct employer ie. the state, and at the same time do not feel accountable to their indirect employers, ie. the members of the communities in which they work. These in turn, lack the power and knowledge to claim their rights over state-provided services and thus to enforce any kind of community-level supervision over schools. In addition, they are easily intimidated by education staff precisely because they lack education themselves. The fact that education staff do not feel accountable to communities and do not even see them as their indirect employers, merely reflects the bigger picture of poor government accountability to the people. The parallel systems presented below, demonstrate the difference effective ownership of schools can make.

5.1. Private Schools

Private schools tend to be synonymous with wealth and privilege, however they exist at all levels of Ghanaian society. Indeed, the use of private schools as a model would not be considered appropriate for this study were it not for the fact that such establishments exist and were encountered at the same level of remote, rural deprivation as the state schools within our sample. Once registered with GES, private schools are supposed to be supplied by GES with syllabi, textbooks etc. and supervised by the GES inspectorate system. However GES does not supply them with teachers. Reference has already been made to a private school in Nkansah, a tiny forest cocoa community in the Wassa Amenfi West District. This chapter provides a description and analysis of that humble rural establishment, Pastor John Kumah Preparatory School, as a case study of quality in a parallel system.

5.1.1. Description

This school presents an excellent parallel to the state schools in the area, particularly in Woman-no-Good because it is only 2km away and even counts some children from Woman-No-Good among its pupils. Nkansah and Woman-No-Good share the same climatic conditions and problems of access, the same cocoa farming livelihood, the same district government authorities and even the same majority ethnic group (Fantis).[89] The school is 12 years old and began with only a primary section. It has only presented candidates for the BECE for the past three years.

[89] However the majority is greater in Nkansah than in Woman-No-Good and thus there is greater ethnic homogeneity.

5.1.1.1. Infrastructure

The infrastructure of this school is surprisingly poor and was worse than that found in Woman-No-Good. Buildings consisted basically of pole supports with thatch or iron roofing sheets and planks of wood nailed together to separate individual classrooms, but otherwise completely open to the elements (see photos below).

Classroom blocks of Pastor John Kumah Prepratory School, Nkansah

Pupils interviewed (rain streams down from the roof during the interview)

5.1.1.2. Pupil composition

The school has a total of 236 pupils in the primary and JSS combined.[90] There are about 50 students from Nkansah and 20 from Woman-No-Good. The rest are from other neighboring communities. According to community leaders and school staff, the figure from Nkansah represents 100% of school-age children in the community.

[90] As at May 2006.

5.1.1.3. Cost

School fees are C100,000 a term for primary level and C150,00 for JSS. Uniforms cost C72,000 per set. Parents are allowed to pay fees seasonally: *"We accept payment in installments, also yearly. During the cocoa season they pay all fees in bulk"*[91]

5.1.1.4. Ownership

The proprietor, after whom the school is named, plays an important role as a religious figure in the community. This religious connection provides some cohesion and credibility in the eyes of the community, which works to the benefit of the school in generating a high level of community support and in helping enforce discipline: *"This is a very Christian community, very serious. No alcohol is sold here. The proprietor is a prophet, no drunkard is employed. Good morals make for good education."*[92] Although uneducated, the proprietor plays a prominent role in the day-to-day running of the school and appears to have a good rapport with the school staff.

5.1.1.5. School staff

All the teachers in this school are untrained, including the headteacher. They are all senior secondary school leavers, and some come from large towns including regional capitals, however they are all resident in this tiny community. This makes them regular and punctual to school. Their food and accommodation is provided by the school and they earn C300,000 a month. This is in contrast with GES pupil teachers in state schools who earn C500,000 a month.[93] They feel, however, that *"When you deduct food and accommodation, our teachers are better off."*[94] Sometimes teachers receive extra allowances at the end of the year and sometimes community members contribute foodstuffs to them.

5.1.1.6. Gender

In keeping with the general picture in this district, girls represent only 32% of the pupil population of the school and there is only one female teacher in the whole school. At JSS level all the teachers are male. According to the proprietor, he hardly receives applications from female teachers. Mothers interviewed said they would like more female teachers for their daughters.

5.1.1.7. School management/supervision

The GES Circuit Supervisor responsible for this school does not come regularly. However the PTA is active and parents are supportive. In addition to their religious cohesion, the fact that the community has the largest majority population (approx. 90%) of all sample communities for this study, composed of Fanti migrants, with a Fanti chief, works well for unity and community co-operation. According to the teachers, parents regularly contribute communal labour and never encroach on their children's instructional time. Their children only carry foodstuffs home from the farm after school hours and do more comprehensive farming only on Saturdays.

Management of the school is entirely performance-based. *"In government schools teachers get salaries whether they perform or not. It's different here,"* say teachers in this school. Teachers are disciplined for non-attendance with salary deductions or outright dismissal. Insubordination is punished by dismissal. In 2005, two teachers were dismissed, one of them being the headmaster. Even the old PTA members were dismissed for non-performance. Extra measures have been put in place to ensure good academic performance as recounted below.

[91] Proprietor, Pastor John Kumah Primary and JSS School, Nkansah
[92] School staff, Pastor John Kumah school.
[93] This figure is the approved GES salary as provided by the Wassa Amenfi West District Education Office. Newly trained teachers are paid C800,000 a month by the GES.
[94] Headmaster, Pastor John Kumah Preparatory School.

- The teachers provide extra classes for JSS children from 7 till 9pm every weekday evening, *"for going over things we didn't understand."*[95] For this purpose the school has provided a generator to provide light. Parents do not allow children to watch films in the evenings: *"Here we don't watch films at night so if we don't go to school it's boring."*[96] These extra classes help to compensate for lesson time lost during the rainy season, a situation which affects this school just as much as others in the area, perhaps even more, due to its poorer than average school structures.
- The children report that they are given homework every day and that it is marked and that their teachers only miss school when they are ill.
- The school pays to have end-of-term tests set by a private organization called 'Excellence for Academic Performance.' This organization also provides the school with a marking scheme. These tests are applied at the end of every term (thus three times a year), in contrast with state schools which only apply such tests once a year since this is all that is budgeted for in the capitation grant.
- Children who fail such examinations for two terms running are expelled from the school.
- Before JSS candidates are presented for the BECE examination, they are given mock examinations by the school. If they fail them, they have to repeat the school year before being presented for the BECE again. Children whose parents do not wish them to repeat the school year must leave the school.

5.1.1.8. Performance

Some of the above measures seem harsh, however they clearly produce results. In 2004, this school obtained the best BECE results in the entire Wassa Amenfi West District, with 100% pass rate (see Chapter 3). Since then their results have continued to be good and far above average performance for the district. According to school staff, 95% of their graduates are now in senior secondary schools. Community members say: *"We are very happy with the quality of education in our school because our children are getting good exam results and the teachers are very good role models."*

School children interviewed in Nkansah performed better in informal tests, spoke better English[97] and radiated confidence as compared with children in the state schools. They also had higher ambitions for their future than those in the state schools and clearly viewed their ambitions not just as dreams, but as something within their reach. Finally, everyone interviewed in Nkansah took pride in the school and morale was high. This was a huge contrast with the situation in communities with state schools. When asked what they were most proud of, teachers said *"We are most proud of our academic performance"* and when asked if they would like to teach in state schools they responded: *"We don't want to go to the public schools and disgrace ourselves."* This implies a recognition of the fact that the enabling environment is key, and that the outcome of their work could be very different under different circumstances.

The Nkansah school is not an isolated example. The value of private education is well recognized, however efforts to establish such schools are undermined by poverty and poor community cohesion. In Bisaaso #1 community members recounted an attempt to start a private school which had only lasted for three years between 1999-2001. *"It was good. It almost led to the collapse of the public school because people were moving their children. But the enrolment was not enough.*

[95] JSS pupils of Pastor John Kumah Preparatory School.
[96] As above.
[97] This is a classic feature of children in private schools and one well-recognized by parents who will often cite English competency as a sign of education and will choose schools on the basis of how well pupils speak English. As a teacher from a sample community said: "Private school children can speak English, write English. The government school children can't compete."

It was not financially stable. People were not paying the fees." The impact of this short-lived enterprise on the state school suggests that its quality significantly surpassed that of the state school even in just three years.

5.2. Unit schools

Unit schools are those originally founded by religious missions or by other institutions such as the security services. Examples are Christian unit schools, Moslem unit schools and Armed Forces unit schools. They are run by educational units set up by their various missions or institutions, and funded by them as well as by the GES. These units run all the schools established by their missions. Supervision of these schools is carried out by their Educational Units side by side with the GES inspection system. The units are headed by 'General Managers' and have at district level 'Regional Managers' who are required to manage the schools in liaison with GES District Directors of Education.

Although a far less dramatic contrast, unit schools also appear to have a slight advantage over state schools when it comes to ownership and supervision. Research for this study did not include comprehensive observation of this phenomenon however impressions from some of the sample communities suggested that the involvement of their Regional Managers led to better and prompter fulfilment of teacher quotas than in the state schools. For example in Bisaaso #1 Presbyterian Primary School there was a full quota of teachers and school staff said: "*We informed our Regional Manager of the shortage of teachers so he sent us two teachers.*"

6. Review of donor and NGO initiatives in improving educational quality

6.1. Introduction

6.1.1. Structure of the review

This chapter will look at external initiatives targeted partly or fully at improving educational quality. As indicated by Casely-Hayford, "The scale and bureaucracy of the state system make it inefficient in delivering services to remote, rural areas, thus NGOs and other civil society organisations are proving to be the most effective implementers of these programmes due to their flexibility to adapt and ability to respond to highly deprived rural contexts."[98] Indeed there is a wealth of NGO and donor programmes, past and present addressing the quality education issue from various different angles with varying degrees of success.

As previously stated, the quality problems in cocoa communities are strongly founded on educational problems in the country as a whole, and even more on those of rural areas in general. For this reason many initiatives going on in non-cocoa areas have elements applicable for cocoa areas. In particular, communities in northern Ghana, although geographically and culturally completely different, share the same issues of remoteness,[99] high ethnic diversity, poor infrastructure, teacher shortages, and gender imbalances. Thus many of the programmes being implemented there have lessons relevant for this study. Education programmes which have been implemented specifically in cocoa growing areas are clearly also of potential relevance. Integrated approaches are favoured in this review because, as we have seen, the quality education issue is embedded in several overlapping areas of difficulty. In particular, initiatives that address the socio-cultural and political issues militating against community ownership of schools will be examined, as this has been shown to be a critical problem area in cocoa communities.

However, because not every element of every programme is necessarily relevant here, and for the sake of contextual structure, it was considered more strategic to conduct this review by area of intervention than simply as a catalogue of education programmes. Categorizing them in this way was done only in response to the need to find some practical mode of presentation. There is so much overlap between identified areas of need that any form of separation of them cannot possibly be entirely satisfactory. Thus, to clarify the format used for this chapter, the critical objectives for quality education initiatives in cocoa areas as extracted from foregoing analyses in chapters 3 and 4, are presented in Chart 6.1.3 below as a context for the review. This is followed by Chart 6.1.4 which provides summarized descriptions of all relevant programmes to be reviewed. The review itself is next, structured as a critical account of these programmes' activities and impact in the relevant areas of intervention, and arranged in the same thematic order as Chart 6.1.3. Integrated programmes will thus recur under several categories.

6.1.2. Limitations of the review

This study has naturally been subject to time and space limitations and the review in this chapter does not claim by any means to be an exhaustive reference of initiatives in Ghana addressing all the critical issues identified in Chapter 3. There are many programmes addressing these which have not been written up here – for example, programmes improving geographical access through the construction of feeder roads and water infrastructure, enhancing children's welfare through health

[98] "Reaching underserved populations with education in deprived areas of Ghana: Emerging good practices." L. Casely-Hayford et al., Care International 2003, p.v.

[99] "One particular difficulty of providing education for children in the north is the nature of community settlements, which tends to be small, sparsely populated and widely scattered." (Casely-Hayford et al, 2003)

and feeding programmes and the provision of sanitary facilities in schools, addressing socio-cultural issues through peace initiatives, providing micro-credit to farmers, cocoa farmers' co-operatives and so on. All these impact indirectly on access and quality of children's education in cocoa-growing areas and are unequivocally acknowledged for this impact.

Neither does this review purport to cover comprehensively all initiatives targeted at improving education in Ghana. Such an undertaking could fill several volumes. Many such programmes are doing similar work and it would be repetitive to give detailed descriptions of all. The objective here is to identify and analyse a *representative sample* of applicable and relatively current approaches, rather than to compile an encyclopaedia of education initiatives in Ghana. Thus, examples of some relevant programmes not included are World Vision, FAWE, GILLBT, WFP, CRS, and PLAN International. The contribution of these programmes is well recognized and it is hoped that the nature of their interventions is to some extent represented by others included in the review. Thus, in brief, this chapter attempts to distil the collective relevance from a sample of initiatives that could potentially work for cocoa growing areas.

It also needs to be noted that under multi-sectoral and multi-donor budgetary support (MDBS) approaches, much assistance by bi- and multi-lateral donors such as UNICEF and DFID who were formerly implementing their own education programmes, is now channelled directly through the GOG and its MDAs for the collaborative implementation of their programmes. In some cases these collaborations also include NGOs. Thus, although not implementing, these donors are still involved in monitoring etc. of numerous initiatives relevant to this study which are being carried out within the framework of the ESP, such as complementary education initiatives funded by UNICEF in collaboration with the MOE and School for Life. For this reason, USAID is the only donor which features in this review.

6.1.3. Critical objectives for quality education initiatives in cocoa-growing areas

Recalled from the analysis in Chapter 3 and tabulated below are the key areas and issues that must be addressed in order for programmes attempting to improve educational quality in cocoa communities to be successful. They are presented here as a referential context for the forthcoming review. The review itself is laid out in the same order of categories as this chart, beginning with socio-cultural issues. It should be noted however, that issues of geographic access have not been addressed as a separate topic within the body of the actual review, because they occur within other categories which raise the issue of access. This chart is repeated in Annex 2.

Critical objectives for quality education initiatives in cocoa-growing areas	
Socio-cultural	1. Addressing parental illiteracy, ignorance of civil rights, disengagement with education; 2. Promoting parental ownership of schools and involvement in school management and supervision, building their confidence as educational stakeholders; 3. Promoting parental responsibility for children's education; 4. Finding role models for children, preferably among their own communities; 5. Promoting cultural unity, sense of belonging, desire to invest in cocoa communities.
Political: issues of leadership and policy engagement	6. Addressing issues of governance and leadership in culturally heterogeneous communities; 7. Strengthening community capacity to participate in local governance structures; 8. Bringing about closer relations between communities and government authorities by strengthening CSOs, including PTAs and SMCs; 9. Strengthening government capacity to respond to needs of communities.
Economic	10. Addressing the poverty, unstable economics, money management of cocoa farmers; 11. Building community capacity to advocate for own resources; 12. Improving services and infrastructure in remote communities to reduce their inaccessibility and the burden of domestic drudgery; 13. Improving and increasing educational infrastructure; 14. Fulfilling basic quotas of educational resources.

Academic	15. Making education needs-based; 16. Giving children the building blocks of learning: language, literacy and numeracy; 17. Tackling linguistic barriers arising from illiterate background and multi-culturalism; 18. Providing adequate numbers of teaching staff; 19. Motivating teachers to stay at post; 20. Promoting child-centred teaching methodologies; 21. Streamlining the curriculum; 22. Integrating out-of-school children into formal education.
Gender	23. Promoting gender balance among teaching staff; 24. Addressing gender disparities which put girls at a disadvantage; 25. Addressing the enabling gender environment - traditionally low status of women; 26. Finding role models for girls.
Geographic	27. Overcoming barriers of access for children - long distances, harsh terrain and climate; 28. Addressing the significant loss of instructional time caused by annual rainfall.

6.1.4. Summary of initiatives reviewed (in alphabetical order)

Organization	Summary	Key relevant initiatives
Action Aid/Ghana (AAG)	Action Aid was established in Ghana in 1990. It operates mainly in the north of the country with a rights-based, integrated approach to development. It has been a pioneer in quality education delivery in some of the remotest, most deprived areas of Ghana, and its initiatives are now being widely replicated by other NGOs and even by GOG.	• 'Shepherd School' complementary education programme. • Rural Education Volunteer Programme (REV) – deployment of local pupil teachers. • Adult literacy (REFLECT) programme. • Youth Alive street children's vocational programme with literacy and numeracy. • Gender advocacy. • Infrastructure provision.
CARE International/ Ghana: School and Community Oriented Education Project (SCORE)	3-year programme from 1997-2000 based in Wassa Amenfi District, seeking to improve the quality of education by heightening the awareness and building the capacity of all players in the educational process, with regard to their roles and responsibilities as education stakeholders.	• Revitalizing school-community relationships. • Improving the quality of instruction. • Building education management capacity at GES. • Improving gender access.
CARE International/ Ghana: Basic Education and Civil Society Project (BECS)	4-year project to improve the capacity of CSOs to influence the education and development process in Wassa West District.	• Strengthening the institutional capacities of 160 Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) to play a more proactive role in the provision of quality basic education and other social services. • Provision of financial assistance to help CSOs implement self- initiated development projects in their communities.
CARE International/ Ghana: Youth Education and Skills Project (YES)	2003-2005. Strategic interventions in formal and non-formal education to prevent and eliminate abusive child labor in cocoa growing areas.	• Radio social marketing (IEC). • Non-traditional methodologies in provision of education services to working children with an interactive functional literacy/life skills curriculum to combat WFCL.
Ibis, Ghana: Education for Empowerment Programme (EfE)	Ibis' West Africa's thematic education programme was launched in 2004. In partnership with stakeholders in Ghana, it focuses on children's (esp. girls') rights and access to quality education in 4 districts. National policy and advocacy is supplemented with direct engagement with civil society partners and district-level government structures.	• Supply of Rural Education Volunteers (REVs). • Complementary Education programme. • Gender advocacy. • Training of DEOs in education management and supervision. • Professional development of teacher capacity. • Supporting interface between CSOs and public sector in education.

Integrated Social Development Centre (ISODEC)	Ghanaian NGO formerly a programme support unit to the British NGO Water Aid. Independently established in 1987 to provide capacity-building and empowerment to local and underprivileged communities. Education one area under integrated programme.	• Capacity-building to make communities advocate for their rights in education. • Complementary education initiative – extra lessons for children in school holidays. • Girls' scholarship program to boost enrolment and retention. • Excursions for girls to meet role models.
ILO/IPEC/Ghana: Campaign against Child Trafficking in West and Central Africa Project (LUTRENA)	Programme active in 12 West- and Central-African countries to improve conditions in order to discourage the trafficking of children from poor areas. Ghana programme (2002-2007) working in partnership with local NGOs in 6 districts in Northern, Upper East and Greater Accra Regions.	• Identifying children at risk and trafficked children. • Rehabilitating and enrolling them in school. • Providing basic education needs to keep children in school. • Working with MOE at community, district and regional levels. • Awareness raising of parents. • Income-based support to needy parents.
Northern Network on Education and Development (NNED)	Education coalition/umbrella organization for NGOs working in education in the Northern Region. Also engaged in some programmatic interventions.	• Fostering collaboration between NGOs in the implementation of their education programmes. • Advocacy for education through traditional leaders. • Strengthening community responsibility for education and capacity to engage with district authorities for improved GES supervision of schools. • In-service training for teachers.
Olinga Foundation for Human Development	Supported by the International Bahai community and NAWA. Active since 2000 conducting a child literacy campaign in the Wassa Amenfi and Wassa Akropong districts of the Western Region, reaching 6,000 children.	• Enlightening the Heart Literacy programme for mother-tongue literacy and moral education.
RAINS/CAMFED	Girls' education support programme established in Ghana in 1997 and based in Northern Region. Programme implemented jointly between CAMFED (a British NGO) and RAINS, its Ghanaian counterpart from 1997-2005.	• Bursary scheme to support educational needs of girl pupils. • Supply of female pupil teachers. • Establishment of vocational training centres. • Building enterprise and leadership of young women school leavers. • Creating enabling environment of cooperation and advocacy at community, district and national levels.
School for Life (SfL)	Northern Ghanaian NGO established in 1994, working in partnership with a Danish sister organisation. Developed a highly effective native language CEP. Also working in partnership with USAID's EQUALL programme under a 5 year sub-agreement.	• Complementary Education Programme teaching functional literacy in local languages. • Training some GES teachers in SFL methodology. • Provision of educational infrastructure.
USAID/Ghana: Quality Improvement in Primary Schools Project (QUIPS)	A complex, nation-wide integrated program from 1996-2004 supporting the MOE's FCUBE programme, designed to demonstrate the conditions and processes necessary for improving standards throughout the education system by establishing Partnership School/ Communities (PSCs). Featured targeted improvements in teaching practices and school management, community involvement in education, and national education policy support of quality primary schooling.	• Improving Learning Partnerships Project (ILP) for improving teaching and learning and education management through in-service training of teachers, head-teacher management capacity and provision of educational resources. • Community-School Alliances Project (CSA) for building community-school collaboration and education management, including capacity-building of SMCs and PTAs.
USAID/Ghana: Education Quality for All Project (EQUALL)	A 5-year project designed to support the MOES/GES to achieve ESP goals. It aims to increase access especially for girls, reading instructional practices and education management practices. It has an integrated approach with various simultaneous interventions designed with the cross-cutting themes of gender, literacy and teacher development.	• Complementary Education Programme (CEP). • Community Support Teacher Programme (CST) • Support to distance learning for teachers. • Reading Improvement in Primary Education (RIPE) using BTL and BTE language and literacy methodologies.

USAID/Ghana: Government Accountability Improves Trust Project (GAIT II)	Democracy & Governance and education program 2004-2009. Overall goal to improve the social and economic welfare of the population in 25 districts through increasing effective citizen participation in local governance and school management.[100] A successor to the 'GAIT' (I) Project which had no education component.	• Strengthening CSOs and CUs for advocacy. • Strengthening links between communities and govt. authorities. • Capacity-building for SMCs and PTAs.
ILO/IPEC/Ghana: West Africa Cocoa Agriculture Project (WACAP)	Implemented in 5 West African countries and aimed at eradicating WFCL and FL in the agricultural sector. Has 5 components including social protection under which education is an objective. Ghana programme 2002-2006.	• Together with other IPEC projects, WACAP advocated for increased access and quality of education for children on rural farms and worked in conjunction with educational authorities and communities.
Voluntary Service Overseas/Ghana (VSOG): National Teacher Volunteer Programme	Operating in Ghana since 1958 in the provision of foreign volunteers donating technical expertise to local communities, including teaching in secondary schools, vocational/technical colleges and TTCs. In recent years there has been a major strategic shift away from service delivery and towards capacity-building with a focus on the three northern regions. The development of the National Teacher Volunteer Programme in conjunction with the National Service Secretariat has been part of this shift.	• Contribution to policy formulation on education through support to GES, GNECC, etc. • Placement of Teacher Support Officers and Management Support Officers in DEOs to support teachers and strengthen planning and supervision of the state education system. • Capacity-building with communities, CSOs and DAs for education development and facilitation of dialogue between them.
World University Service of Canada (WUSC)	WUSC has worked across the three Northern Regions of Ghana for 7 years (1997-2002) implementing a successful gender equity program which has improved the access and retention rate of girls through PLA and community empowerment techniques.	• Sensitization of teachers and educational officials on girl friendly teaching methods • Gender-sensitization of curriculum. • Provision of micro-finance for mothers in support of girls' education. • Institutional capacity building of national, regional and district structures of the GES to achieve gender equity in basic education. • Promoting collab. between state and CSOs. • to achieve gender equity goals in education.

Review of donor and NGO initiatives

6.2. Socio-cultural

Critical intervention areas identified

1. Finding role models for children, preferably among their own communities.
2. Promoting cultural unity, sense of belonging, desire to invest in cocoa communities.
3. Addressing parental illiteracy, ignorance of civil rights, disengagement with education;
4. Promoting parental ownership of schools and involvement in school management and supervision, building their confidence as educational stakeholders;
5. Promoting parental responsibility for children's education.

Poor parental involvement in schools and their low sense of responsibility for children's education are symptoms of the lack of community ownership of schools, one of the elements identified by this study as most detrimental to the quality of education. Their failure to identify and engage with the educational process is often confused with a lack of resources. For example, when people think poverty is preventing parents from sending their children to school the reality is often that they *can* afford basic educational costs but choose not to. In many communities which have electricity, school children still *do not* study at nights[101] and as discovered by evaluators of the QUIPS programme, "many children started the school day hungry and tired, thus undermining their ability

[100] GAIT II builds upon the experiences of GAIT I, which strengthened citizen advocacy at the local level. GAIT II adds a specific focus on key governance institutions at the local level and basic education

[101] As in the case of Sekyere Krobo, a community under ICI's pilot programme, according to interviews conducted in March 2005.

to learn…parents often were …not ensuring that their children's basic food needs were met before and during school."[102]

All these problems are signs that communities have given up on the education process through their frustration with its poor quality and with their own perceived inability to do anything about it: "Communities have limited understanding of their rights and how to engage productively with power structures (e.g., district authorities). It is critical that communities are made aware of their rights and how their 'voices' and concerns may be channeled upward."[103] Indeed, such problems have been observed to improve and even disappear through the sorts of programmatic interventions recounted below. As discovered through the QUIPS programme, "Once a well organized community has discovered its "inner voice" and has had it validated by positive experiences, its members can make a difference in how schools operate and pupils learn."[104]

The promotion of community involvement in education and the building of their capacity to manage education is crucial because they are the most stable management resource available. Management capacity within the GES as with the rest of the civil service is undermined by bureaucracy, resource constraints and crucially, by constant shifts in personnel. Under the QUIPS programme, it was found that the amount of district support provided to the QUIPS schools served to marginalize other schools in the district and further, that district supervision of the QUIPS schools deteriorated after the QUIPS intervention ended. This points to chronic resource constraints at GES level. Thus management capacity successfully invested in communities is much more likely to be sustainable.

Letting people know their rights, giving them the capacity and confidence to claim those rights and to engage with the educational process is more effective than appealing to their sense of moral duty or shaming them about not living up to their responsibilities. The popular notion of 'sensitizing' them implies that they lack sensitivity to issues that affect their everyday lives when what they really lack is civic awareness and easy life choices.

Many programmes are active in promoting community engagement with schools. A sample of these is given below, looking first at their approaches and methodology and then at their impact.

6.2.1. Addressing adult illiteracy

This is an important first step in the empowerment process because without literacy it is difficult to impart other skills. NNED found, for example, that illiteracy was a significant obstacle in their efforts to train community members in budget tracking to ensure accountability in the administration of the capitation grant. The Non-Formal Education Division (NFED) of the MOE has been running an adult literacy programme for many years, supported by the World Bank. The Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation (GILLBT) and other faith-based organizations have also conducted extensive work in literacy and the transcription of local languages.[105] Action Aid has also been working in adult literacy in Ghana since 1990. Indeed, the 'shepherd school' programmes in northern Ghana (see 6.4.2.) had their genesis in the fact that large numbers of out-of-school and dropout children were joining adult literacy classes run by GILLBT and Action Aid. More details on Action Aid's current programme are provided below:

[102] QUIPS evaluation report p. 151
[103] Casely-Hayford 2003. p.vi
[104] Ibid. 102
[105] These are actually the roots of formal education, which began in Ghana with literacy and the transcription of local languages by foreign church missions, for evangelistic purposes.

6.2.1.1. Action Aid's REFLECT programme

Action Aid provides non-formal education as part of its rights-based approach. Its adult literacy programme, Regenerated Freirean Literacy through Empowering Community Techniques (REFLECT) has proved far more successful than conventional approaches. REFLECT is an innovative, empowering approach to adult learning and social change which fuses the theories of Paulo Freire with Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA). It was pioneered in Ghana by Action Aid in 1993 based on research in other countries on past failures in literacy campaigns throughout the world.

The method believes that literacy can be at the heart of development. PRA tools are constructed on the ground by participants with locally available materials such as stones, leaves, sticks and sand, initiating a process of labelling and discussion that forms the basis of reading and writing. Discussions also lead to analysis and suggestions for action on development issues in the community. Storytelling, drama and songs are used in the process of these discussions. Facilitators are locally recruited on a voluntary basis and must be able to read and write in the local language. They are provided with 14 days of initial training and two refresher courses per year. Facilitators have monthly meetings with each other to share experiences, discuss the tools constructed by their groups and solve any problems.

Impact

In 2003 REFLECT was awarded the United Nations International Literary Prize in recognition of 'exceptional work in the fight against illiteracy', and it is now used by 350 organisations in 60 countries worldwide. In Ghana there are over 400 REFLECT groups (known as 'circles') and the methodology has proved very effective. Challenges faced by the programme are mainly to do with the motivation of the facilitators. In this regard AAG has followed NFED's policy of remunerating facilitators strictly in kind (with soap and bicycles for specified terms of service). However volunteers find it difficult to wait till the end of the teaching cycle before receiving these rewards. Thus there has been some degree of 'volunteer fatigue', leading to attrition. AAG will review this issue at their next annual forum.

6.2.2. Enhancing civic awareness

6.2.2.1. Approaches

(A) Information, Education and Communication campaigns (IEC)

This is usually the first step in the process of community mobilization. Action Aid Ghana conducts civic awareness activities bringing together teachers and community members in order to strengthen school-community relationships and to promote accountability. ISODEC sensitizes communities on local issues that militate against the education of pupils (especially girls) and local perceptions of education. Civic awareness for QUIPS included home visits by teachers and community facilitators. Ibis' (EfE) organized sensitization programmes in 30 communities in northern Ghana on community participation in school governance and management. Other examples are given below:

(a) SCORE

CARE's SCORE programme used a combination of IEC tools, the most powerful of which was a film: "The film's storyline is developed in keeping with current film and drama trends. It features some prominent and popular Ghanaian actors, and to give it extra appeal to the target audience, community members from the SCORE communities have been used as extras. It is well acted, humorous and conveys its message in a manner that cannot fail to make a profound impression on

its target audience. Altogether it is an outstanding job and a powerful IEC tool."[106] Some of the main impacts of SCORE's IEC activities and especially the film, were to make parents reduce household chores especially for girls, and to develop new belief in girls' abilities as shown by these comments from community members:

- *"We feel more pro-active about paying girls' fees."*
- *"After all the talking, the film brings out the reality."*
- *"There are definitely more girls in school as a result because we have learned that girls can do as well as boys."*[107]

Because it can be difficult to mobilize large numbers of people for civic awareness activities, and to keep them there for the duration of the activity, SCORE came up with some strategic approaches. They found that they could not mobilize enough community members during the day time so in the evenings they took a van with a loudspeaker, a generator and video machine. They would play a Ghanaian film on the video machine and project the sound with the loudspeaker. This pulled people out of their homes and even from surrounding hamlets, in large numbers. When they felt they had enough people CARE staff would stop the film and conduct civic awareness activities. Afterwards they would continue the film to the end. This proved a very successful way to mobilize large numbers of people in communities.

(b) RAINS/CAMFED/ The Learning Circle

The RAINS/CAMFED Programme collaborated with a film making group called 'The Learning Circle.' This was a group of women from local communities who had been trained in film-making and produced documentary films on topical issues. Their films have attracted audiences of up to 2,000 people for community-level screenings including key leaders and decision-makers. Discussion and debate take place immediately after the films. Films made by The Learning Circle have had a dramatic and immediate impact on peoples' attitudes and brought about resolutions among individuals to change practices which impact negatively on girls' education. After the screening of the film about kinship fostering at a community gathering, many women who had themselves been fostered were provoked into considering their treatment of their own foster daughters and one of them said: *"My eyes have been opened today, I have a fostered child and I will take better care of her and put her in school."*[108]

(c) YES and LUTRENA - Radio social messaging

Media awareness raising on child labour issues has been conducted by CARE's YES project, and by LUTRENA through radio social messaging.

(B) Participatory Rural Appraisal/Participatory Learning in Action (PRA/PLA)

PRA techniques have proven remarkably successful in civic awareness and mobilization activities with rural communities in Ghana. This is because they are an effective way of transcending the barriers of illiteracy. They help people overcome their embarrassment at being illiterate and discover the enjoyment of participating in structured, analytical and planning procedures which are all about them and their community. What makes them most powerful is simply that they are fun. They often include stimulating Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), charting and mapping exercises making use of local resources such as sticks and beans as counters, and songs and drama which also draw on local resources, using community members as actors, singing traditional songs and so on. Some examples are given below:

[106] SCORE Final Evaluation Report, 2000, p. 62.
[107] SCORE Final Evaluation Report, 2000.
[108] RAINS/CAMFED Evaluation Report, p 29.

(a) SCORE

CARE's SCORE programme trained PRA teams within the communities, in effect, transferring development capacity from the project to the community members themselves. Having these teams gave communities a sort of resident development organization at their own level. It also made it possible for SCORE to function successfully with very few project staff, thus enhancing the potential sustainability of project impact. The PRA teams were considered to be one of the key elements of SCORE's success in bringing about sustainable change in the school-community aspect of the programme, which was actually considered to be SCORE's greatest achievement.[109]

(b) QUIPS

"Community investigation into priorities, problems, and solutions using participatory rural appraisal (PRA) and participatory learning appraisal (PLA) techniques…In most cases the implementing agencies…used community drama and participatory learning and action techniques to engage the community in a self-analysis or problems and potential solutions related to local education and schooling."[110]

(c) Action Aid Ghana

"All projects are designed based on community demand, and are developed through community planning sessions using PRA techniques."

(d) ISODEC

"Drama in the local languages is also used as a means of educating the public. It is usually carried out in the target schools in which ISODEC operates."

(e) WACAP

This programme featured an initiative called SCREAM which used PLA techniques including art work as an advocacy tool for child labour issues. Children were taught about child labour and the importance of education and the methodology also helped teachers understand the traumas and stresses of child labour. A training manual was produced and TOT training was carried out for teachers, DEO and DA staff.

6.2.3. Building community responsibility and planning capacity

PRA techniques are also used in many programmes including ICI's YDK programme, to draw up actions plans variously known as Community Action Plans (CAPs), or for those with a more narrow focus on education, School Improvement Plans (SIPs) or School Performance Improvement Plans (SPIPs). This has been a feature of QUIPS, YES and GAIT II. The drawing up of SPIPs represents an exercise in planning and their implementation builds collaboration and resourcefulness. It also facilitates other aspects of capacity-building as in the QUIPS case:

"Working with all stakeholders in the community, including teachers, to develop and implement School Performance Improvement Plans (SPIPs) provided a realistic roadmap for improving school quality in community-identified priority areas. This approach paved the way for capacity-development training of SMC and PTA executives and the provision of micro-grants to community organizations (supplemented by internally generated resources) to support the successful completion of SPIP targets."[111]

[109] SCORE Evaluation Report, p.34
[110] QUIPS evaluation report
[111] Ibid. p.8.

In the case of GAIT II, communities evaluated "had all involved the SMC/PTAs, Community Facilitators and in several cases someone from the DEO in the development of the SPIP. A number of communities had reviewed them independently of GAIT staff. Community members said that the SPIP process had facilitated planning. They also said that learning how to draw up GAIT II SPIPs had made it easier for them to do the capitation grant SPIPs.[112] DEO staff pointed out that headteachers from non-GAIT II schools had been going to those from GAIT II schools for help with capitation grant SPIPs."

6.2.4. Impact of socio-cultural initiatives

6.2.4.1. Successes

The organizations cited above have all had good results through these approaches to the socio-cultural problems undermining quality education. ISODEC and CARE's YES programme both experienced that communities they were working with began to take responsibility for education in their communities: "Alikrom,[113] established a community school and recruited three teachers who were paid by the community fund. In Manukrom the unit community chairman and the chief appealed to Ghana Education Service (GES) for teachers and GES posted 3 teachers for the community. The chief provided accommodation for the teachers, as a result enrolment has increased from 15 children to 85 children."[114] Further examples are given below.

(a) SCORE

"Verbal reports from community members indicate a greatly heightened awareness of their responsibilities towards education and greater confidence in representing their own and their children's interests. They now feel more comfortable interacting with teaching staff and even with district education officials."[115]

(b) ICI (YDK) pilot programme

In some communities eg. Achiasewa (Adansi South District), cocoa farmers each gave one kilo per bag of cocoa harvested to raise money with which they constructed school buildings and four teachers' bungalows. They initiated this in response to civic awareness activities by the programme. In another community Apegya (New Edubiase District), their Citizens Abroad Organizations donated 14 million cedis for infrastructure in the community. Kokoase community (Mpohor Wassa East) were able to improve their BECE results from 46th to 10th (in the district) within a year as a result of improvements made through their action plan. These included measures taken to stop children loitering in the evenings, missing school on market days, organized study for children at nights and a high commitment from parents and community leaders to supervise children. Commitment of teachers also improved significantly through the programme. In 2006 Kokoase won a District Assembly award for improved BECE results and an Independence Day award for neatness. Some children from their school gained admission to SSS in 2006, which was a goal of their action plan. The YDK programme has also experienced reductions in child labour and misuse of pupils' time and increases in Circuit Supervisor visits as a result of their civic awareness activities.

[112] This is a SPIP that each school must prepare in order to receive the MOE's capitation grant. The only form of training provided for this process has been a written manual, thus many communities have had difficulty producing their capitation grant SPIPs.
[113] A YES programme community.
[114] YES Evaluation Report
[115] SCORE Evaluation, p. 71

(c) QUIPS

"Building national awareness about the responsibilities of communities to support schooling was one of the major accomplishments of QUIPS. The importance of empowered parents and local authorities working with school personnel to improve instructional quality was emphasized by stakeholders throughout the evaluative fieldwork…..For the first time in Ghana, a program was able to reach beyond simply raising awareness to ensure the direct participation of parents in their child's learning. The QUIPS community intervention strategies and school-based support encouraged parents to get involved in their children's learning by offering evening classes, reducing the children's workload, and ensuring that their basic needs were filled so that they could learn….Parents began to feel a sense of responsibility for the education of their children, sometimes for the first time. This was a significant step for parents who themselves had not been formally educated and were not always confident about helping their children."[116]

(d) GAIT II

" *'GAIT has brought us a new life.'* Truly exciting progress…was noted by evaluators, in the form of attitudinal shifts. Several community members spoke about their past ignorance of the value of education and…and their fear (not an exaggerated term) of going to their children's schools. They talked about the *'awakening of the whole community to their role in education.'* "

"Community members felt strongly that GAIT had revolutionized their concept of their role in education. They said the program had brought about closer relationships between parents and teachers and had made parents understand that monitoring schools was not only the job of the school staff. They cited improvements in neatness, punctuality, enrollment, attendance, retention, gender equity, teaching, learning and examination performance, all through community involvement in performance monitoring of schools and increased community and parental support to children. It was also mentioned that schools have become more accountable through GAIT II because community members now demand to see their accounts."[117]

6.2.4.2. Challenges

Cultural resistance is a constant challenge faced by civic awareness/mobilization activities. For this reason great care must be taken in the design of such activities. Getting it culturally 'right' can be a challenge and CARE's YES programme had some problems with its radio social messages in this regard. The evaluation found that members of some target communities "had heard YES radio messages on Liberty FM and could cite messages that children should not do hard labor and should be in school instead of working" however "They have not changed their child labor practices but said that if they had money they would send their children to regular schools. There is no community commitment to the project, which would not be sustainable without project support." The lack of commitment and effective ignoring of radio messages indicate that they may not have been well designed and/or not adequately accompanied by other interventions and were therefore too superficial to achieve socio-cultural change on their own. However, CARE have also had good results with the same approach with their EQUIPE and PROBASE programmes in Benin. According to CARE staff, "Radio is the way forward."[118]

Sustainability is another challenge. If there is inadequate follow-up in IEC campaigns or if, due to cultural insensitivity or just inadequacy of contextual relevance they are not really 'bought into' by communities, their impact will be fleeting. In the YES programme it was found that "…the community-led social marketing and mobilization component had an initial impact. It addressed the key factors affecting children on the cocoa farms, with useful focus group sessions. However,

[116] QUIPS Evaluation, p. 105
[117] GAIT II Mid-term evaluation, p. 23
[118] Interview with CARE staff, 2006.

there was inadequate follow-up given the short timeframe of the pilot period and the impact has dissipated. Adults in two communities (Tanokrom and Kabiesue) remember the civic awareness workshops and community outcome logframe but have not done much with them. In Bronikrom, adults had no recollection of community mobilization efforts….. In Alikrom, Manukrom and Nyame Bekyere, a small number of people remembered the community action plans, while the majority had no idea about the action plans."[119]

6.2.4.3. Conclusions

The impact of community civic awareness and mobilization activities shows that the resources necessary for the achievement of quality education do for the most part already exist in communities. However they are lying dormant and it clearly takes some kind of a push to activate them, as these programmes have done. The question of sustainability of impact is closely linked to the attainment of quality education because if there are notable improvements in school performance before such programmes end, these alone can sustain parental support and involvement as they do in private schools. The QUIPS evaluation found that in some communities, night studies continued to be organized three years after the programme ended and ultimately concluded that "This awareness of the role parents play in their child's learning may be the most important outcome of the QUIPS program."[120]

6.3. Political: issues of leadership and policy engagement

	Critical intervention areas identified
6.	Addressing issues of governance and leadership in culturally heterogeneous communities;
7.	Strengthening community capacity to participate in local governance structures.
8.	Bringing about closer relations between communities and government authorities including GES staff, by strengthening CSOs, particularly PTAs and SMCs.
9.	Strengthening government capacity to respond to needs of communities.

The approaches and experiences described below address the need to find strong leadership or representation for community involvement in education projects. Although the existing historical and cultural complexities of leadership in the Ghanaian context are not directly addressed through these initiatives, they represent to some extent, attempts to find ways around that problem.[121] This is done through strengthening existing management bodies for education, creating new ones and forging links with traditional leadership and other potential sources of leadership for such projects in the community.

6.3.1. Recognizing the importance of local leadership in education initiatives

The QUIPS evaluation report indicates that "The importance of sustained and indigenous leadership to improve and maintain the community-school relationships was a theme that emerged from the fieldwork in all 18 sites. Where there was a "community champion" who believed in the importance of supporting the school, QUIPS not only added value to ongoing interventions at the school level but the community champion became a key to ensuring sustainability. How the champions operated and who they were took different forms. In Dunkwa, the champions were local church leaders; elsewhere, they were traditional leaders such as chiefs and elders; and in other cases they consisted of a few members of the community, parents or SMC members. To ensure that community-level interventions and structures were sustained required something from the community itself…. Where there were no local champions, community empowerment and

[119] YES Evaluation Report
[120] QUIPS Final Evaluation Report, p. 99
[121] As indicated by former staff of SCORE, "If the chief is difficult, concentrate on the SMC and PTA."

participation in school improvement declined after QUIPS ended."[122] ICI's pilot programme has also had the experience that communities with dynamic leaders have been much quicker in linking up with district authorities for resources eg. District Assemblies for provision of materials for construction/ renovation of school buildings.

6.3.1.1. Mobilizing traditional leaders around education

The Northern Ghana Network for Educational Development (NNED)

As an education coalition, NNED tackled the issue of leadership in a collective way, by setting up a forum for local chiefs under which a series of conferences were organized. Chiefs were brought together with GES officials and briefed on issues of teacher shortages, recruitment and posting of teachers by GES. Joint discussions took place and the GES agreed to post the teachers needed in the chiefs' areas while the chiefs agreed to pass byelaws to support education. This process led to the signing of a memorandum of understanding (MOU) between the Northern Regional House of Chiefs and the GES, witnessed by NNED. The resources needed to enforce the byelaws passed by chiefs are channelled through the Regional House of Chiefs. As part of this initiative a pilot program was run in the Mamprusi Traditional area setting up community enrolment committees chaired by chiefs, to facilitate the implementation of the bye-laws against socio-cultural practices that hinder the education of children. A major benefit of this initiative was that it made chiefs understand the need for them to get involved as a link between their communities and government authorities. Using traditional leaders is a good way to get GES attention and can also link into other governance initiatives. However, some challenges that have emerged from this initiative are resource allocation to the chiefs and the need for clear definition of their roles in education delivery.

6.3.1.2. Ensuring community leadership of academic programmes

(A) Making communities apply for programmes

Some projects have factored in community ownership and participation even before the beginning of implementation, by making beneficiaries go through an application procedure in order to qualify for assistance.

(a) GAIT II

To qualify for GAIT II assistance, districts had to engage in a competitive procedure of proposal writing, in order to show commitment. This required collaboration between various district-level structures including DAs and DEOs and even some financial outlay on their part. GAIT II provided guidelines for the process and short-listed applicants.

(b) School for Life

The first step in SfL outreach in new districts is the holding of animation activities in communities to inform them about the programme, with a focus on joint obligation. This is done in close collaboration with the Department of Community Development (DCD) of the DA. Communities are then invited to put together a management committee and find a facilitator and premises as criteria for applying. Their 'SfL committee' then makes a formal application to have a literacy class.

[122] QUIPS Final Evaluation, p.104 and 106

(B) Involving communities in the running of academic programmes

(a) School for Life

As mentioned above, local committees are constituted in each SfL community and trained in the management of the classes in their communities. Each committee has five members (3 females and 2 males) and they act as watchdogs, monitoring the enrolment and attendance of pupils, visiting the classes regularly, ensuring that facilitators are doing their job, helping solve problems they may face and organizing the community's support to the facilitator. "In that way the successful running of the class is the responsibility of the community itself."[123]. SfL's 'self-governance' principle for managing their classes is underpinned by the following rationale and basic values among others:

- The self-governing of the class creates ownership of education and thereby sustainability of the impact created.
- Building the confidence of local committee-members and leadership skills encourages other developmental initiatives in the community like the building of a CBO.
- Promotes the communities demanding their rights because of regular sensitisation and awareness creation among community members on development issues in Ghana.
- Self-help philosophy (Don't do for people what they can do by themselves).
- Attitudinal behaviour change starts with oneself.[124]

(b) Action Aid, Ghana

All AAG's education projects are designed based on community demand, and are developed through community planning sessions using PRA techniques. Community groups – especially PTAs – are at the centre of implementation. This emphasis on building community capacity for school management is due to the weakness of government services in AA/G's target communities, which are mostly in remote rural areas.

(C) Involvement of other programme community committees in education

(a) WACAP

The main task of WACAP Child Labour Committees is to monitor child labour activities and network with district and school authorities to integrate children into the education formal system. At the district level these committees have representatives of DAs, DEOs, traditional leaders and religious leaders. Education issues are tackled through the collaboration of the different players on these committees, so that for example, DAs become more willing to provide resources to communities and encourage DEOs to provide teachers.

6.3.2. Targeting citizens' groups as a local leadership force

In the hunt for sustainable structures to take on grassroots-level responsibility for education among other development issues, citizens' groups in the form of Civil-Society Organizations (CSOs) and their representative coalitions, Civic Unions, are increasingly being identified as a powerful resource: "We believe that Civic Unions, by their work, may in future be the cradle of local level development. In the GAIT II partner districts, Civic Unions and Civil Society Organizations constitute real agents of developmental change at the grassroots level, more so than many District Assemblies to date."[125] The role of Civic Unions and CSOs is likely to become more important as projected government decentralization exercises take effect and is thus a strategic area of support for development programmes.

[123] School for Life Functional Literacy Programme for Children: Components and Values. (Paper) p.6
[124] Ibid.
[125] GAIT II Evaluation report, p. 19

CSOs come into being spontaneously for the most part, mobilizing over commercial, social and religious needs and issues. Where education is concerned, CSOs can be split into two categories. One comprises CSOs of spontaneous origin such as market women's or farmers' associations, which have taken on education as an advocacy issue. Such groups usually have a broad-based agenda of which education is only one part, albeit an important one: "Citizen groups routinely identify access to quality education as their highest concern but few know how to hold local government institutions accountable for their children's learning."[126]

In an education context the second category of CSOs comprises PTAs and SMCs which are mandated organizations designated specifically to promote community involvement in education. These have only education on their agenda but are usually less dynamic than the first category, because they were 'artificially' created. Finding ways to strengthen both and to bring about collaboration between them is part of what initiatives like GAIT II, QUIPS and BECS have been doing. Below are some accounts from such projects.

6.3.2.1. Examples of relevant initiatives

(a) GAIT II

Under both GAIT I and GAIT II, much work has been done to strengthen CSOs and bring them together to form Civic Unions. GAIT sees Civic Unions as capable of assisting with the difficulties created by inadequate decentralization:

"Considering the structure and functions of the CUs, and with maximum cooperation and collaboration from the DAs and GAIT, the activities of the CUs could well leapfrog the development of the lower structures, especially the Unit Committees onto a higher level. It should also create synergy in both systems."[127] GAIT II has taken the CU concept a step further in encouraging the formation of regional networks of CUs:

"VONCU, the Volta Region Network of Civic Unions is an excellent example of network building supported by GAIT II. VONCU is composed of 5 CUs…in the Volta region. They came together in March of 2005, encouraged by GAIT. They had seen a decline in education results in the region and decided to begin working with their MPs on this issue….VONCU marshaled their data and presented it to the MPs, who they said were surprised and promised to take up these issues." The power of citizen's groups to engage with political structures and advocate for resources for their communities, represents a force for sustainable change. This is because they not only pool the joint strength of their constituencies but provide viable structures with which government agencies can engage and through which collaboration can be channelled. A further example is given below:

"….collaboration among structures may improve sustainability. The Business Advisory Center (BAC) of the National Board for Small Scale Industries (NBSSI) in the Nadowli district is collaborating effectively with the GAIT program. As a new entrant in the district, the NBSSI has adopted the GAIT supported CUs and CSOs as their clients because it found the organizational structure to be suitable for its operations in terms of effective and efficient monitoring of clients activities and loan recovery. "

[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid.

6.3.2.2. Capacity-building of CSOs

(A) General CSOs

(a) GAIT

"From our findings, some of the strengthening skills were key in the improvements of these organizations' services delivered to the beneficiaries. They are the following:
- Citizen Participation in Local Government (CPLG).
- Group organizational development and management.
- Advocacy and lobbying.
- Leadership training for women.

The training of the Citizen Participation in Local Government (CPLG) delivered to the government officials also…contributed in realizing and improving Government services to the communities. This allowed the two parties to come closer and understand better each others' concerns and realities. This was the first benefit mentioned by the DA or Local Government and the CBOs, when asked about the results of the GAIT project."[128]

(b) BECS

"The Capacity-Building Training was identified by all Stakeholders as the most effective component of the project. They likened it to the proverbial teaching a man how to fish as opposed to giving him fish. The training programmes proved useful not only to the CSOs, but also to the collaborating decentralized MDAs…..The training courses that sprang readily to the minds of the members of the CSOs, in order of higher frequency of mention, were:

- Decentralization and Advocacy.
- Some PRA tools, namely: Action Planning, Community Mapping, Problem Identification and Prioritization."

(c) VSO, Ghana

VSOG works with communities, CSOs and District Assemblies to strengthen their capacity to get involved in education development, and facilitates continues dialogue between the three.

As indicated above, as part of their training for CSOs, these three initiatives have provided parallel training to government authorities (MDAs and DAs). This represents an effort to bridge the gap between government representatives and communities, which will be examined in more detail later.

(B) Education-specific CSOs

1. At national and district levels

(a) Action Aid Ghana

Action Aid is a sponsoring partner of the Ghana National Education Campaign Coalition (GNECC), a coalition of NGOs working in education. AAG supports GNECC in conducting capacity-building for partner NGOs and in doing research to create a critical mass to engage with government on issues such as teacher deployment, girls' education and violence against women.

(b) Ibis – Education for Empowerment Programme (EfE)

EfE is supporting the Northern Network for Education Development (NNED) to improve accountability in the educational system. Civil society groups known as District Education for All Teams (DEFATs) have been established by NNED and the Ghana National Education Campaign

[128] Ibid.

Coalition (GNECC) as district level structures of these two networks. They are mandated to advocate for the EFA goals at the district level. In addition to the direct partnership between EfE and NNED at the national level, the EfE has been working closely with the DEFATs to identify challenges in education delivery in the district and advocating interventions by GES and the District Assembly. This includes tracking the disbursement and utilization of capitation grants to basic schools. The team has also been engaged in analyzing the results of the Basic Education Certificate Examinations (BECE) and identifying 'dark spots' in the results for intervention.

2. At community level: Parent-Teacher Associations (PTAs) and School Management Committees (SMCs)

PTAs have always been a part of the formal education system however they are often inactive in areas where there is little engagement between schools and communities. The formation of SMCs was mandated by GES in 1995 but there were no training programmes or resources to enlighten and prepare them for their roles and responsibilities. Thus there was little motivation and much confusion among these bodies. Most were basically non-functional.

(a) QUIPS

The Community School Alliances (CSA) programme under QUIPS provided training for SMCs and PTAs in all QUIPS school communities and later, on a nation-wide level. As part of this training, a handbook and a training guide were produced in collaboration with the GES.

"Interventions used to build participation, management, organization, budgeting, planning and communication capacity among different community groups were critical to sustaining community involvement and ownership in support of education…QUIPS…worked with the GES to provide…management training for School Management Committees (SMC) and Parent Teacher Association (PTA) executives from more than 9,000 communities across the country… Mainstreaming of SMC/PTA training across the nation has built awareness of the need to involve communities and share responsibility for primary education. "[129]

(b) SCORE

Cape Coast University produced a training manual for SMCs for the SCORE project before the more comprehensive one was produced by QUIPS/CSA/GES. SCORE also trained PTAs and SMCs in PRA/PLA skills. In this way they could assist in the production of data eg. on numbers of children out of school. Once they learned how to conduct Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) they were able to review and revise their action plans on their own.

(c) NNED

NNED has provided training for SMCs and PTAs in budget tracking, data collection, advocacy issues and collaboration with head teachers for the efficient utilization of the capitation grant.

(d) Action Aid Ghana

AAG has helped revive SMCs and PTAs and built their capacity to apply for SPIPs and to monitor education delivery in their communities. They have supported the establishment of zonal and district-level PTA executives in seven regions, and their coming together to share best practices.

(e) GAIT II

This project has provided extensive capacity-building for SMCs and PTAs, and uses members of Civic Unions as facilitators in refresher training courses for SMCs/PTAs. This strengthens collaborative links not only between SMCs/PTAs and other CSOs but also with DEOs and DAs.

[129] Strategic Objective 2 (QUIPS) Close-out Report, USAID/Ghana – February 2005, p.8

(f) LUTRENA

This project has worked with SMCs and PTAs on management issues as well as giving them key roles on their Community Surveillance Teams (CSTs) which are tasked with the detection of children at risk of trafficking. These work closely with the DEOs and serve as a link between the project, the communities and the DAs.

6.3.2.3. Successes

(A) General CSOs

(a) GAIT

"….it was observed that there was an increased awareness of government policy and government processes after training had occurred. A major difference over the last one and half to three years was that in a number of districts the DA was better able to engage with civil society. One of the effects of GAIT has been a better understanding of the way to access the political decision making process. Before the establishment of CUs, it was not clear to civil society leaders how to approach the DA."

Enhanced capacity of civic unions by GAIT also led to "increased contentment from the population and respect by the assembly officials through CUs advocacy, resulting in direct communication between the DA and community members (town hall meetings and public forums)." It also facilitated access to the DA's poverty alleviation fund. The following are quotations from members of Amansie East Central Civic Union, about their participation in GAIT:

"Before GAIT, we thought Democracy was something shrouded in secrecy and only few could understand it. With GAIT, many issues were explained to us by way of citizen participation in open and frank discussions."

"We did not know where we were going in terms of our functions. With GAIT, we were made to know many issues on development and how to finance our projects with minimal outside support"[130]

(b) BECS

In the final evaluation of BECS, CSOs said that government officials now listened to them more because they (CSOs) knew better how to approach them: "When people are armed with information and knowledge, then they are no longer afraid to move forward and ask for their fair share of the national cake. This can be seen in the boldness with which people moved from their remote BECS communities to the District Assembly and its decentralized MDAs to ask for services and development projects. Hitherto they feared to do that because they didn't quite know where to go, whom to contact and how." [131]The impact of strengthening CSOs under the project was credited with significant improvements in the following areas:

- Enrolment and retention;
- Supply of teachers: *"The staffing situation in BECS schools improved each year over the period. It rose from 24 teachers in the base year (2000) to 82 teachers in 2002….This could be attributable to the increasing contact of the project communities with the DEO to demand for teachers, and the incentive packages such as teachers accommodation, teachers*

[130] Ibid.
[131] BECS final evaluation

farms etc. that the communities themselves work hard to provide…Some communities continue to engage community teachers and pay their salaries through their own initiative."

- Pupil Teacher Ratios (PTRs): *"…by lobbying for a few more teachers into their schools, thanks to the advocacy and general awareness training programmes organized by BECS."*
- Improvement of parent-teacher collaboration;
- Willingness of parents to cater for children's school going needs;
- Provision of infrastructure: *"There are many success stories in the BECS communities…ranging from the provision of potable drinking water, construction of KVIPs and classroom blocks."*

(B) SMCs/PTAs

(a) GAIT II

In the GAIT II evaluation DEO staff mentioned that in contrast with non-project communities, SMC chairpeople from GAIT II communities have been refusing to sign for the capitation grant SPIP without being involved by school staff in the decision-making process. Due to the experience they gained in drawing up their GAIT II SPIP, their assistance has been solicited by non-GAIT communities, for drawing up capitation grant SPIPs. In addition, GAIT II schools tend to display the items purchased under the capitation grant SPIP more openly than non-GAIT schools. As indicated by the GAIT II evaluation, "Community members compared the GAIT II approach favorably with that of other education programs, saying that where other programs would just 'come and build infrastructure and go, whether anyone was using them or not,' GAIT has built the capacity of communities, SMCs and PTAs to be active stakeholders in education."[132]

(b) BECS

"There are functioning SMC/PTAs in all the BECS communities that have schools and in every one of them we visited, it was clear that the SMC/PTAs were actively involved in the affairs of their schools. We were told in many places that before BECS, not many parents showed interest in the work of the SMC/PTAs. And even when they did, they hardly attended meetings regularly….Now most PTAs record large turnout at meetings and parents have shown remarkable involvement in communal labour for school buildings and other projects. Parent-teacher relationship has also changed for the better in most of the communities. We were, in fact, told in many places by the community members that the way they relate to teachers has changed from confrontational to cordial."[133]

6.3.2.4. Challenges

(a) BECS

Since CBOs can take on a leadership role in communities there must be sensitivity towards existing community leaders, when building their capacity. BECS found this to be a problem in some cases and it was therefore recommended in the final evaluation that "Chiefs and elders of the communities should be given a special training workshop to allay any fears and suspicions that the CSOs might undermine or usurp their authority."

(b) GAIT II

Major challenge facing the CUs under the GAIT II project are:

- Financing;

[132] GAIT II mid-term evaluation.
[133] Ibid.

- Ensuring that all CSOs participate fully in the affairs of the CU and that the direction of the CU is not taken over by a few;
- Ensuring sustainability of the regional networks. VONCU has received capacity-building support from GAIT, but has not managed to garner other resources. They have realized that their advocacy agenda has exceeded their financial capacity, and are now trying to slow down until funding catches up.

(c) General

SMCs and PTAs generally have similar problems to the above. It has always been a struggle for them to get parents to pay dues, however they complain that now the capitation grant has been introduced, parents are more complacent than ever, saying that education is supposed to be free and they should not have to pay anything at all. Moreover there are government regulations on how much they are allowed to charge, which they consider confining. There is also the danger in SMCs and PTAs of a few members taking over direction and the committee thereby losing its capacity to be fully representational.

6.3.3. Strengthening community capacity to participate in local governance structures.

6.3.3.1. Examples of relevant initiatives

Both GAIT II and BECS have widened access to local government structures. This is because CSO and CU members have been empowered through the training they received under the programmes, to contest for District Assembly elections. In some GAIT districts this has led particularly to significant increases in female Assembly Members. An example from BECS is given below:

"The Assemblyman for Huni-Shaft Area, Honourable Akolwin David Agatiba testified that it was through the BECS training workshops that he got motivated and contested and won the District Assembly Elections to become the Assemblyman for his area, and that he is now "rendering valuable services to the various communities to develop and improve upon their standard of living." This man was also a BECS Community Facilitator and after he became an assemblyman he campaigned successfully against an old custom that was militating against girls' education. See 6.6.1.1.(f) for details. Advocacy work by Action Aid has also increased female DA members in their areas of intervention. More details on this are given in the gender section of this chapter.

6.3.4. Strengthening government capacity to respond to needs of communities

Strengthening the capacity of communities and CBOs to advocate for change is not enough if the powers to whom they are advocating are left out of the picture. In fact it can be counterproductive because they will receive a negative response and become discouraged. For this reason, many programmes aimed at building the capacity of CBOs have simultaneously worked on strengthening district-level government capacity to respond to the advocacy coming from the newly empowered grassroots, thus bridging the gulf between the people and the state. As described by USAID, "Once local governments have received the necessary training and developed policies that encourage citizen participation, they will be in a better position to seek and use citizen input in setting priorities, establishing performance-based plans and budgets, generating income, and managing resources…..Citizen groups will be trained to identify and discuss priorities and problems…with local government. The goal is for citizen groups and local governments to work together to come up with innovative ways to resolve local problems.[134]

[134] USAID/Ghana Strategy Statement, March 2006

6.3.4.1. Examples of relevant initiatives

This has been done by running parallel training activities with DAs, DEOs and GES staff at the school level. For example, ISODEC has been conducting stakeholder workshops with GES in order to enhance its supervisory role. WACAP tried to involve the MOE in their work through capacity-building of education officials to include child labour issues. More detailed examples are given below.

(a) GAIT II

Some GAIT II approaches have been:

- CUs/CSOs helping DAs to organize meetings for participatory decision-making, budgeting and development planning, and also taking an active role in these meetings.
- CUs/CSOs collaborating with DAs in resource mobilization eg. CUs gathering input from citizens concerning fee-fixing through public meetings and helping collect DA revenues in the markets.
- DEO staff partnering with GAIT II in PLA training in the communities. DEO staff actually resided in communities for the duration of this training. PLA activities and exercises are good for bringing people together and the whole exercise was extremely positive, effective in strengthening collaboration and was highly recommended by DEO staff during the GAIT II evaluation. Community members no longer felt intimidated by the idea of going to DEOs after that. This initiative was reinforced by DEOs involving GAIT II staff in their own activities at the community level.
- Holding of yearly education forums by DAs – 'town hall meetings' which bring education stakeholders together from all over the district and provide them with an advocacy platform. Communities send delegates from their SMCs and other CBOs to these meetings and they participate actively, making their opinions and needs known to district level government officials.
- Trying to get District Education Offices to incorporate the main issues and demands from GAIT II SPIPS into their Annual District Education Operational Plans (ADEOPs).[135]

(b) QUIPS

Part of QUIPS' efforts to strengthen government capacity was the creation of a Community Participation Unit under the Basic Education Division of the GES, represented by Community Participation Coordinators in the DEOs. QUIPS also created District Management Implementation Teams and M&E teams,[136]all to help improve the management capacity of DEOs and bring them closer to the needs of their local communities. "Over the life of the QUIPS program, there was a consistent transfer of implementation responsibilities to MOEYS/GES partners. For example, the GES took the majority of the responsibility for the implementation of the SMC/PTA Training Expansion Program and shared responsibility for the training delivery of the Monitoring and Evaluation Capacity Building Program, which were two activities that benefited the entire country. To support this transfer the QUIPS program provided regular and targeted capacity-building in the areas of community mobilization, SMC/PTA training, and monitoring and evaluation. In the last year of the program, for example, more than 14,000 teachers, 2,200 MOEYS/GES officers, and 43,000 community representatives received training."[137]

[135] ICI IPs also reported attempts to do this but they had so far been unsuccessful.

[136] These in some cases already existed but had been dormant and were reinvigorated through the training QUIPS provided.

[137] QUIPS final evaluation report.

(c) EQUALL

Under EQUALL's GES management improvement component, headteachers and DEO staff are given orientation on the volunteer teaching scheme and management capacity-building to enable them respond to requests from sensitized communities. Initiation of EQUALL activities was carried out in collaboration with government partners including DEOs, DAs and the Department of Community Development (DCD). Members of these agencies were on the teams that conducted community animation and learner enrolment activities for the project. The animation teams sensitized communities about the EQUALL package and spelled out the obligations of each partner under the programme, in order to ensure community ownership. As part of this process, collaboration meetings were organized with key stakeholders of the GES, District Assemblies, Traditional Authorities and other NGOs and at these meetings, facilitators were identified in each community for the Complementary Education Programme. In addition, the districts participating in the project assigned DEO desk officers to support the CEP programme.

EQUALL also provides district incentive grants (DIG), a grant mechanism supported by training and technical assistance, to build capacity at the District Education Office mainly in the areas of planning and decision-making, monitoring and evaluation. Grants are used as leverage to reward performance that will result in improved planning, management and accountability at the DEOs. They are intended for the implementation of activities to improve educational quality, especially those that focus on reading and reward improved performance.

(d) Ibis 'Education for Empowerment Programme' (EfE)

The EfE is providing funding support to the GES to train Circuit Supervisors in the 9 educational circuits in the Bole and Sawla-Tuna-Kalba districts of the Northern Region, on monitoring and supervision. In the East Gonja district, the programme in collaboration with Bimbilla Training College and the GES is providing an in-service training programme in education performance for 20 education officers including 12 Circuit Supervisors. These officers were trained in modern methods of 'clinical supervision,' a clear departure from the old trend of visits to schools to check attendance, enrolment etc. Under the current clinical supervision, the supervisors now support head teachers and teachers in harmonized lesson planning, assist them with modern child-centred pedagogy etc. Through the work of the District Education For All Teams (DEFATs), Ibis also assisted the Circuit Supervisors with furniture. With counterpart support, the DA provided an office for the CS at the Urban Council. This enables the Circuit Supervisors to be close to the schools they are supposed to be monitoring.

(e) LUTRENA

There is an agreement between the schools implementing the project and the MOE/GES and the DAs. The project carries out field monitoring jointly with staff from these MDAs. There is a GES focal person for the project.

6.3.4.2. Successes

(a) GAIT II

Improvement of communication between citizens and DAs: "Public meetings to brief the citizenry are now much more common than before GAIT II. In addition, citizens in a number of districts can now actually express their feelings about issues of development and provide suggestions for redress. The notion that DAs are owned by the citizens is gradually taking hold."[138] This has led in turn to improved accountability and greater effectiveness of the development planning process at the grassroots level: "In Amansie East, citizen groups are invited and informed of projects that are

[138] GAIT II mid-term evaluation report p.16.

being planned. Notice boards also display information for the public about programs/projects to be awarded on contract." DEO staff were positive about their involvement in PLA activities in the communities and cited it as a good opportunity for collaboration with communities. They also said that as a result of the involvement of GAIT staff in DEO activities at community level, their DDEs are well briefed about GAIT.

6.3.4.3. Challenges

The main challenge faced by these programmes in building district level government capacity has been the lack of sustainability of gains made due mainly to loss of interest when funds dry up and to the constant shifting of staff within MDAs. Accounts from the different projects are given below:

(a) QUIPS

QUIPS experienced serious problems with sustainability after sinking enormous effort and resources into GES capacity building. Only a few years after the end of the programme, there is little evidence of the 'consistent transfer of implementation responsibilities to MOEYS/GES partners' referred to above. According to the evaluation report, "The evaluative fieldwork identified some sustainability in the individual human resource capacities built through the district grant mechanism particularly the M&E training, but this is challenged in the districts by shifting priorities, limited opportunities to practice new skills, and limited funding." Staff from a former QUIPS model school speaking about conditions since the project ended said "there is no longer any help from the Assembly. The education office is even taking away our teachers without replacing them."[139] Although the new units set up at the GES by QUIPS have survived, Community Participation Coordinators do not have a budget from their headquarters at the GES and are apparently currently operating with a yearly allowance from DFID. Beyond that they must rely on the discretion of their DDEs who may or may not apportion them funds from other donor/NGO projects. Thus the unit is still not well established.

(b) GAIT II

GAIT has experienced some problems with vacillating degrees of collaboration on the part of government authorities:

"Much seems to depend on the individual attitude of DDEs to the program. If they lack interest then they do not promote any more than the bare minimum investment of human and financial resources at their disposal. DDEs who are enthusiastic about the program can help it make great progress in their districts, however when they are transferred this can change overnight and then further progress becomes dependent on the individual attitude of the new DDE. Staff transfers from DEOs were cited as a serious problem by Community Facilitators and zonal GAIT staff."[140]

"DEO staff seem to have an attitude of being prepared to be involved as long as there are funds to pay for their travel and transport costs (T&Ts). However they do not seem to see the generation of those funds as part of their role. Thus without dynamic partnership from DAs willing to provide resources, or CUs taking the initiative to raise funds, it is likely that they will 'sit back' and become stagnant partners."

"DAs generally understand the advantages of involving the CUs and the public in the preparation of the budget, but there is sometimes a reluctance to go beyond using the process to increase revenue and genuinely involve the CUs and the public in decision-making…For example, with regard to

[139] QUIPS final evaluation report.
[140] GAIT II mid-term evaluation report, p.25.

market kiosks, the Metropolitan Assembly refused to collaborate with the CU in an enumeration of the market stall holders… The lingering suspicion is that the real reason for the exclusion of the CU must have involved the desire to keep the information confidential within the MA and therefore the subject of how much revenue should have been collected and reported as an opaque subject…."[141]

(c) Ibis

- The lukewarm attitude of the GES and the DA is a big challenge;
- Even though office accommodation has been provided for the CS, the desired impact is yet to be seen from the academic output of pupils. This is due to ineffective supervision;
- While the Ibis education project supports the GES to improve upon the teaching and learning in the basic schools, the attitude of the trained teachers has not changed much.

6.3.5. Impacting policy

(a) Education coalitions

The main education coalitions currently operating in Ghana are NNED for the northern part of the country and GNECC for the rest of the country. These act as umbrella organizations, centres for information gathering/dissemination and engines of collective advocacy and influence on educational policy. They also engage in some programmatic interventions in collaboration with their partners. Most of the initiatives listed in this review are members of these coalitions and channel their policy advocacy through them.

(b) QUIPS

Despite the problems of sustainability mentioned above, QUIPS was able to impact GES policy with regard to the involvement of communities in education:

"By serving as a 'testing ground' for the development of innovative strategies for achieving the goals of fCUBE, QUIPS influenced operational policies of the MOEYS/GES for improving community participation in education. By partnering with the MOEYS/GES in the design and delivery of project activities and materials, the QUIPS program generated ownership within the government that led to the mainstreaming of the SMC/PTA training program and materials, the adoption of a shared format for all school-community level planning, and the creation of a post of Community Participation Coordinator (CPC) at the District Education Office (DEO). Through these and other activities, QUIPS advanced the dialog on the importance of community participation in education at the national level, garnered the support of many top government officials, and changed the way in which GES interacts with the community."[142]

6.4. Economic

1. Critical intervention areas identified
2. Addressing the poverty, unstable economics, money management of cocoa farmers;
3. Building community capacity to advocate for own resources;
4. Improving services and infrastructure in remote communities to reduce their inaccessibility and the burden of domestic drudgery esp. 'girls' labour';
5. Improving and increasing educational infrastructure;
6. Fulfilling basic quotas of educational resources.

[141] Ibid. p.16.
[142] QUIPS final evaluation report.

Initiatives to improve the economic situation in deprived communities are always faced with the thorny issue of sustainability. Fulfilling a need only in the short term with no regard for the future, can actually make matters worse. There are various ways to approach this problem. The initiatives examined below range from simple fulfilment of needs to ways of building local capacity to generate resources.

6.4.1. Provision of educational needs not covered by government

This type of assistance tries simply to remove outstanding financial obstacles to children's education by supplying all items not covered by the government. These are mainly uniforms, shoes, exercise books and stationery. The provision of these items is intended to boost enrolment and counteract dropout.

6.4.1.1. Examples of relevant initiatives

Among others:

- RAINS/CAMFED
  Bursary package for upper primary, JSS and secondary school girls.
- ISODEC
  Scholarship package for needy girls and bicycles (sponsored by USAID) for those living far from schools. Food rations supplied to girls' families in the lean season.
- SfL
  Providing scholarships to SfL graduates entering the formal system, through the Ambassador Girls' Scholarships.
  WACAP
  Sent 1,120 children withdrawn from child labour activities back to school and paid all educational expenses. Also provided them with extra tuition in collaboration with CEDEP, GAWU and DAs.

6.4.2. Infrastructure provision

Several of the programmes already examined have had infrastructure components. The challenge is to respond to needs without creating dependency, and beyond that, to use resource provision as a tool for capacity building. Many projects share the financial responsibility with communities or District Assemblies to avoid promoting a culture of dependency. Community contributions are often given in kind, as labour or materials that are within their means to provide.

6.4.2.2. Examples of relevant initiatives

(a) Action Aid Ghana

Action Aid provides educational infrastructure with counterpart funding from District Assemblies, to renovate primary school buildings. The funds are channelled through the DAs and communities are empowered to see it as their right and to lobby for it.

(b) School for Life

SfL assists in the improvement of educational infrastructure in the programme area through its own 'Self-Help pool' which requires a self-contribution from the community of 15% of the cost of a school pavilion and 25% of the cost of the school furniture.

(c) QUIPS

QUIPS found that "School infrastructure improvement projects were most effective when their scope was restricted to available resources. Cost-savings were achieved in those cases where a

partnership approach through community cash and in-kind contributions was used and District Assembly contributions were provided upfront."[143] The project used infrastructure provision very much as a learning tool for communities: "…one benefit of the infrastructure development program was the sense of ownership facilitated by involving the community in the construction process and by mobilizing community involvement in school improvement through the micro-grant process." It was thus recommended in the evaluation that "Infrastructure projects for rural schools should be continued as vehicles for improving community management capacity and teacher retention and for coping with increasing enrolment. Construction of classrooms, latrines and teacher accommodation should remain an integral part of USAID education projects."[144]

(d) GAIT II
GAIT II operates micro-grants similarly to QUIPS, using them as a tool for capacity-building of communities (mainly SMCs and PTAs), while at the same time providing assistance to education.

6.4.3 Credit and technical assistance programmes

These programmes again, aim to provide assistance in a way that builds capacity for the sake of sustainability. They are indirect approaches to improving the economic situation of rural communities with a view to promoting education.

6.4.2.3. Examples of relevant initiatives

(a) Action Aid
Provision of agricultural training and a Seed Credit Programme to farmers, and savings and credit facilities to enable women invest in small businesses to increase family incomes.

(b) WACAP
To ensure that the children stay out of child labour and to complement their families' incomes, adult family members have been trained in income-generating activities and given some support and assistance.

(c) LUTRENA
Income-based support to needy parents, capital, farming tools, training by MOFA, help with marketing.

(d) GAIT II
Grants to Civic Unions to start their own income-generating activities to enhance their long-term sustainability. Examples of activities initiated by CUs with such funds are commercial farming and the hiring out of canopies and chairs for ceremonies.

6.4.4. Building community capacity to advocate for own resources

This has been done by various programmes, eg.

- GAIT I and II
  training for SMCs and PTAs in proposal writing. Building advocacy and lobbying capacity of communities through CSOs, involving CSOs directly in the work of the DA, bridging gap between communities and power structures.

[143] Strategic Objective 2 (QUIPS) Close-out Report, USAID/Ghana – February 2005, p.7
[144] QUIPS Final Evaluation Report

- BECS
  workshops on lobbying skills
- SfL
  connecting communities to other NGOs and agencies specifically working in infrastructure provision.
- NNED
  advocacy training
- QUIPS
  Strengthening of advocacy capacity, bridging gap between communities and power structures.

6.4.5. Impact of economic initiatives

6.4.5.1. Successes

Programmes providing direct financial assistance for educational costs like RAINS/CAMFED have achieved impressive results in increasing enrolment and retention. They have given the opportunity of education to children who would otherwise not have had it and thereby saved them from the less desirable alternatives available to them. For example, the RAINS/CAMFED programme has been credited directly with stopping rural girls from migrating to engage in commercial porterage known as *'kayayoo.'*

Infrastructure provision has helped increase access by creating more space as well as by mitigating geographical obstacles to education as in the case of QUIPS: "Throughout the field work, the team heard testimonials about the benefit of infrastructure improvements, primarily related to the fact that pupils and teachers were able to stay in school during periods of heavy rainfall."[145]

Impressive results have also been achieved by programmes which have built the capacity of communities to raise their own resources. A particularly encouraging aspect of these successes is that in several cases communities have, of their own initiative, shared their newly gained capacity and best practices with other, non-project communities. Examples are given below.

(a) NNED

Due to the advocacy role of NNED, communities now write to the DA's to provide them with educational infrastructure.

(b) GAIT II

In the evaluation, SMCs in GAIT II communities expressed gratitude that the programme had given them the chance to make their own decisions about how to spend money instead of just providing them with resources. There was abundant evidence of efforts on the part of community members to mobilize resources for the improvement of education. In one community, the Queen Mother had started an education endowment fund to ensure the sustainability of the SPIP. It was particularly impressive that some SMCs/PTAs with the help of teachers, had put their training to good use and written successful proposals and consequently obtained for example, bags of cement for school construction from a private company, Ghacem. Some community members had appealed to the DA and received scholarship awards for their children to attend teacher training colleges.

Relationships between CUs and DAs proved beneficial not only for community empowerment but also for the financial independence of CUs. CSOs in Nadowli received fees for helping the DA collect taxes from the communities and the CU in Kwabre won some contracts with the DA which generated income for them. The involvement of broad-based CSOs in education also had some

[145] QUIPS Final Evaluation Report, p. 87

direct benefits to school children. Several CSOs have made donations to pupils including cloth dusters by a tailors' union and scholarships for four pupils from another.

(c) QUIPS

In the QUIPS evaluation, some districts reported increased capacity to access funds from other agencies as a result of their QUIPS experience, permitting them to spread good practices emanating from QUIPS to other schools.

(d) BECS

"The members of (Yareya) community were able to use the lobbying skills imparted to them at BECS training workshops to convince Goldfields, a mining company, to build them a beautiful primary school (complete with six classrooms, office and storeroom), even though the community does not fall within the concession area of the mining company….The same Yareyeya shared its acquired knowledge and project ideas with Kwame Tsintsin, a neighbouring community of about the same size. The latter community got very interested in the BECS project and eventually worked its way into becoming a BECS community, and presented 3 CSOs for support, namely: Health and Sanitation Group, Women Farmers Association, and SMC/PTA."[146]

6.4.5.2. Challenges

Sustainability has been highlighted throughout this section as a challenge to economically oriented education assistance. The other main challenge when it comes to finance is transparency, which was highlighted in the evaluations of both QUIPS and BECS:

- "The community practice that appeared most resistant to change was transparency (or rather, the lack of it) in financial management and the ability of communities to effectively monitor and account for school funds." (QUIPS)
- "CSOs application of Innovation Fund disbursements must be constantly monitored to make the CSOs more transparent and accountable in their monetary transactions." (BECS)

Another challenge indicated by BECS was in getting the amount right:

- "The Innovation Fund was very useful, but was inadequate in most cases. Its usefulness consisted of the fact that it gingered many of the communities to initiate development projects. But due to its inadequacy, the money was in most cases used for completely different purposes than the projects proposed in their Actions Plans….Also, giving fixed amounts to every CSO irrespective of the total cost of projects outlined in their Action Plan sounds a bit like prescribing the same treatment for every ailment."
- "It is probably more effective to disburse substantial amounts of the Innovation Fund for the realization of fewer star projects than spreading thinly over many uncompleted projects…Inadequate financing is usually worse than no financing at all seems to be the lesson the many cases of misapplication of the Innovation Fund by the CSOs point to. But this is only to the extent that the disbursements have been misapplied and not that the money was of no use at all."[147]

[146] BECS final evaluation.
[147] Ibid.

6.5. Academic

	Critical intervention areas identified
1.	Making education needs-based
2.	Giving children the building blocks of learning: language, literacy and numeracy
3.	Providing adequate numbers of teaching staff and motivating teachers to stay at post;
4.	Promoting child-centred teaching methodologies;
5.	Streamlining the curriculum and making it more relevant;
6.	Integrating out-of-school children into formal education.

The initiatives discussed below are classroom-based, hence the use of the general term 'academic', and are thus more typically what come to mind when people talk about quality education initiatives. However they have not been placed at the forefront of this review because regardless of their technical virtuosity, their impact is limited when they operate in isolation from their socio-economic and political context. Indeed, most of the projects mentioned below belong to integrated initiatives which have already come up in the fore-going sections on socio-economic and political issues.

6.5.1. Improving teaching and learning in formal schools

6.5.1.1. Giving children the building blocks of learning: language, literacy and numeracy

Initiatives to improve learning outcomes in Ghanaian state schools through teacher training and improved classroom methodologies have come up time and again against a fundamental obstacle. Huge numbers of pupils in basic schools are *not* acquiring the building blocks of learning namely literacy, numeracy and mastery of the language of instruction.[148] After failing to acquire these in the first few years of school, they stumble through several more years of incomprehensible and therefore meaningless schooling and exit the system virtually uneducated. As pointed out by the QUIPS evaluation report, "Teachers are encouraged to teach to the class level syllabus in spite of the fact that children are functioning two or more classes below class level."

It is an inescapable fact that pupils cannot learn any subject on a formal curriculum without first becoming literate. It is equally inescapable that nobody can learn anything in a language which is foreign to them. Language and literacy are inextricably linked. Overcoming this fundamental, dual obstacle would solve almost the entire basic education problem in Ghana if its scope were merely academic. The QUIPS programme learned this lesson on a nation-wide scale: "Children, it has been found, develop basic literacy and numeracy by the third or fourth year of formal schooling. Yet most public school pupils in Ghana are not reading with meaning unto the fifth or sixth year. Math skills are also one and a half to two years below grade level….Given such delays in academic development, program planners and educators must not expect substantial achievement gains, especially for the upper primary grades, *without a specific literacy and numeracy enhancement effort*.[149] Such was not part of the QUIPS intervention….Two years of QUIPS interventions was simply not enough time to remedy this deficiency."

Educational experts have pointed out that current reading methodologies used in Ghanaian state schools are difficult because they do not use syllabic or phonic methods and that the instructional methods teaching teachers how to teach are outmoded.[150] Even more basic than this, the very language of instruction is inaccessible to most rural Ghanaian children. This barrier to learning

[148] This third 'building block' is so fundamental that it is generally taken for granted and not even classified as a prerequisite for learning.
[149] Italics added here.
[150] Interview with Lesley Casely-Hayford, education consultant, 2006.

towers over most others. English is not a first language for any child in rural Ghana.[151] For most of them, it is a language they only hear at school and effectively a foreign language to them. Attempts to teach literacy in local languages are undermined by the lack of teaching materials and by the cultural and linguistic heterogeneity of many Ghanaian communities.

These sobering obstacles to learning have been tackled by various initiatives, operating both inside and outside the formal education system. This sub-section reviews a sample of such initiatives working on improved language and literacy methodologies within the formal system. Complementary education programmes, which teach literacy outside the formal system, are examined in section 6.5.2.

(a) ASTEP (Assistance to Teachers' Education Project

A language and literacy project by GTZ from 1997-2003 which produced local language materials and trained teachers in TTCs. It suffered through the vagaries of GES policy change on the language of instruction. "In addition to the basic training, ASTEP designed, developed, and produced learner materials for the core subjects of mathematics, science, and reading in six Ghanaian languages for all schools in Ghana. It has prepared extensive reading materials for building reading habits, all in Ghanaian languages…Up to the year 2001 ASTEP concentrated on the improvement of teachers' performance for the first three primary levels (P1- P3) in the areas of reading, writing, mathematics, and science in the local language."[152]

(b) EQUALL – Reading Improvement in Primary Education (RIPE)

EQUALL began piloting this 6-year programme in 2004 with USAID/GES support, with a view to mainstreaming it into the Ghanaian formal education system under the ESP objective of ensuring literacy and numeracy in English and Ghanaian language (QE9).[153] There are 50 schools in the BTL pilot programme, 25 each in the Volta and Northern regions. RIPE is based on the 'Breakthrough to Literacy' (BTL) and 'Bridge to English' (BTE) methodologies, adapted from the South African Molteno Project. It has included the development of materials in three Ghanaian languages, Akan, Ewe and Gonja and additional languages are going to be added. With this approach, literacy is learned in the mother tongue with a phonic approach for one year in P1, and used as a means of bridging to English in the second year (P2). EQUALL has collaborated with District Teacher Support Team (DTST) members from each of the pilot districts for the training and monitoring of teachers in the methodology. The programme "breaks down the teaching process from A-Z, spells it all out for the teacher. This limits the trial and error process…otherwise it is not easy for teachers who are not well trained."[154]

(c) The Olinga Foundation

This foundation's 'Enlightening the Heart Literacy Programme' addresses the fact that many children are still illiterate even at the upper primary level, by targeting teachers of P4-6 with training in a 9-month remedial language/literacy programme. The programme trains roughly 100 teachers every year in two districts of the Western Region, equipping them with professionally developed textbooks for their students and the skills for teaching basic reading and writing in three Ghanaian languages namely Twi, Ewe and Dagbani. Classroom management is also taught to enhance the learning environment of their students. The programme takes place from September to June and DEOs choose curriculum slots into which schools can fit it, usually in the period for

[151] English is not even a first language for most middle class children living in urban areas. Vernacular Ghanaian languages are the mother tongue for the vast majority of Ghanaians across all social classes.
[152] Evaluation of the BTL and ASTEP Programs, USAID, 2004
[153] Another initiative under EQUALL towards this objective is the 'Literacy Learning Milestones' project which is assisting the GES develop primary school literacy learning standards for P1-6, to guide teachers on pupils' progress.
[154] USAID staff, interviewed 2006.

Ghanaian languages or English, or both. The programme is preparing to extend to the Afram Plains district where they are negotiating a cost-sharing arrangement with the DA, whereby the DA will pay training costs and the programme will pay for materials. The programme aims to work with all rural primary schools in its target districts.

Impact

ASTEP and BTL

A joint evaluation of ASTEP and BTL concluded that school staff and community members "agreed that these programs were far better than the traditional approach….District personnel agreed that the programs were suitable and relevant because they resulted in improved teaching and learning of the Ghanaian language, attitudinal changes on the part of pupils and teachers in the form of punctuality, regular attendance and increased enrollment in P1 along with more active participation of pupils in lessons. The majority of headteachers across BTL and ASTEP schools indicated that the program is suitable and relevant because it engages the pupils and improves their learning, gives them a positive attitude toward reading and confidence in their ability to learn, and it has increased parent interest in their children's schooling. Teachers noted that the programs are child-centred, encourage active participation of pupils, and improve reading and writing in Ghanaian languages."

In the case of BTL, "the combination of ongoing training and monitoring influenced teaching and learning positively in all classes/schools. The availability of many teaching learning materials (TLMs) also enhanced the program's effectiveness…teachers ….cited clarity of instruction, well-sequenced lessons, language that is appropriate for the learners, and useful teacher's guides as positive features. The one weakness cited… was the relevance of some of the materials to the local culture. The evaluation report also cautions: "The potential difficulty of reliance on a highly structured, pre-packaged program such as Molteno offers is that it may lead teachers to depend too heavily on the particular materials/methods of this program without fully appreciating the underlying principles and building on the approaches. If the training advances too rigidly or is conducted without accounting for local contexts, teachers will be tempted to abandon the program – or, more seriously for Ghana – be led to think that they cannot teach this way unless they have the specific and particular "BTL package." Since Ghana does not have the resources to outfit every school/classroom and then sustain the materials over time, the sustainability must not be linked to one specific set of materials."

The ASTEP materials are widely acknowledged to be of a high quality and to be culturally sensitive in their depiction of Ghanaian culture. However the targeting of teachers in training colleges as the ultimate implementation tool for the methodology seems to have been misdirected: "The implementation of ASTEP does not appear to have been as effective as that of BTL. The primary method of implementation was the training of tutors in TTCs, the results of which do not appear to have trickled down to P1 classrooms in the manner intended in part because few teachers trained in the ASTEP program appear to have been placed in key regions." Perhaps because of the reliance on training in TTCs, there was less effort to accompany the pupils' books with an instructional approach for teachers. According to EQUALL staff, ASTEP is not easy for teachers who are not well trained. A review workshop of BTL/BTE in 2005 recommended that its methodology be combined with that of ASTEP to form a GES mother tongue literacy approach.

Olinga Foundation

The foundation has been commended by the Wassa Amenfi West District Education Office for its work in literacy. An evaluation conducted in July 2005 showed that the illiteracy rate had dropped

from 75% to 37% in target schools. Thus roughly 40% of the children in the programme are breaking through to literacy.

6.5.1.2. Upgrading teaching methodologies and school management capacity

This has been done through upgrading teachers' skills in general teaching methodologies and providing them with on-going support by programmes like QUIPS, SCORE, VSO, Ibis, Action Aid, School for Life and LUTRENA among others. Some of these have also provided capacity-building to headteachers and to school supervision staff in DEOs.

(a) QUIPS

- In-service training sessions delivered on-site in primary schools for 2,202 teachers, 367 headteachers, 880 CSs with demonstration lessons, curriculum review and reporting to the community about the training.
- Support was also provided to 320 tutors in 38 TTCs, using the primary school teacher in-service course content that focused upon the use of TLMs in the classroom.
- Training of trainers was provided for 550 education officers and CSs on English language teaching strategies and to District Teacher Support Teams (DTSTs) in 35 districts.
- Manuals were prepared for teachers and head teachers for reading, TLM use, continuous assessment, lesson notes and weekly forecasts.

(b) SCORE

SCORE's in-service capacity building for teachers was implemented for them by the Primary Education Unit of Cape Coast University and consisted mainly of guidance on the following:

- Preparation of lesson notes.
- Use of child-centred methodologies with high levels of pupil participation and pupil-teacher interaction rather than 'lecturing' by the teacher as is the common practice in Ghana.
- Low-cost production and use of TLMs.

(c) Ibis - EfE

The Ibis programme is targeted at both qualified teachers and pupil teachers and is implemented jointly with the GES. Apart from improving the professional capacity of teachers it also educates them on their rights and responsibilities. In the East Gonja District, the programme also gave 133 head teachers in-service training in harmonized lesson preparation in the Sciences, Mathematics and English Language as well as training in school administration and management. They were tasked after the training to organize periodic but regular school-based in-service training for their teachers. The supervision division of the DEO was tasked to track the utilization of the new skills acquired from the two training programmes to ensure sustainability and further transfer of skills. The Assistant Director (AD) in charge of supervision was to oversee the tracking process and support both Circuit Supervisors and head teachers to perform accordingly.

(d) Action Aid Ghana

In collaboration with the GES, AAG runs 2-week training courses for kindergarten teachers and attendants. Much-needed teaching materials are supplied as part of the course. A beneficiary in the Brong Ahafo Region said: *"Aside from handling children properly in the classroom, it is possible now for me to identify problems like boredom in the class. I also now have the skills to prepare lesson notes and prepare teaching and learning materials. I must say that the training has been very helpful for the children and me because it has improved my ability to handle them properly. The children are happy to come to school."*[155]

[155] Action Aid Annual Report 2005, p.8.

(e) VSO/Ghana

VSOG places their volunteers as Teacher Support Officers (TSOs) in DEOs to work with DTSTs and Circuit Supervisors in providing continuous school-based support to teachers in basic schools. This includes sharing of skills on phonics as a teaching methodology for literacy; lesson observations, feedback and school/cluster based training and follow-up support for workshops run by partner NGOs. These activities have resulted in increased use of phonics by primary teachers, increased use of TLMs and more learner-centred teaching. Other activities have included in-service training and support for science teachers in Junior Secondary Schools in the focus districts. VSO also places volunteers as Management Support Officers (MSOs) in DEOs for capacity-building purposes. In each DEO in the focus districts, the MSO works with the DDE, the four front-line Assistant Directors (ADs) of Education, Circuit Supervisors and Headteachers of Junior Secondary Schools. Volunteers facilitate regular meetings of Senior Management Teams (made up of DDEs and their four front line ADs), organize bi-weekly meetings of CSs, develop simplified school plans and reports for use on school visits and provide support to Headteachers in the development, implementation and review of schools plans.

Challenges

The three most significant challenges for initiatives attempting to improve the skills of trained teaching staff in formal schools were as follows:

(a) As indicted by VSO: "Frequent transfer of teachers means that teachers who have gone through the training leave….resulting in loss of momentum."[156]

(b) Poor supervision of teachers undermined efforts to improve their technical skills. As experienced in QUIPS: "At the school level, key outcomes were…..training of teachers and headteachers. To some degree these outcomes did translate into a change in classroom management as well as instructional behaviour during QUIPS, but to a large extent these behaviours were not fully sustained where there was not strong head teacher leadership and support."[157]

(c) Ironically, teachers themselves often felt they had no stake in such initiatives and therefore lacked motivation to participate. Examples are given below.

SCORE

"One problem which SCORE has faced in its efforts to improve the quality of instruction is teacher dissatisfaction with their role in the project. Teachers have repeatedly complained that only the welfare of the community and the children have been taken into account by SCORE and not their own. Unfortunately they do not seem to regard the training they have received as a personal benefit…This attitude is likely to have reduced their potential contribution to the project….Clearly, teachers did not feel that they had enough of a stake in this project." This disengagement was reflected by the fact that teachers in the project areas maintained high levels of abuse of curricular time throughout the life of the project, making pupils perform all sorts of laborious tasks during school hours, even when parents were making an effort to stop due to awareness-raising activities by the programme.

QUIPS

"Incentives are key to adapting new practices. A key assumption of the ILP project was that teachers and GES staff would be intrinsically motivated to apply new ideas, innovations, and approaches in carrying out their professional responsibilities. QUIPS' experience under ILP suggests that there were a considerable number of teachers and other GES professional staff at the district, regional, and national level who were unwilling to put in the extra effort to adopt new

[156] VSO Ghana Education Programme, Draft Annual Review Report, April 2005-March 2006, p.11.
[157] QUIPS Final Evaluation Report, p. 84

practices without the provision of tangible inducements, such as additional benefits in the form of higher levels of per diem to participate in training, other in-kind benefits (e.g., study tours), awards for outstanding performance, opportunities for further formal education, and performance-based promotions….Unless there are attempts to affect systemic reforms by working directly with Ghana's formal teacher training system and to legislate policy directed to improving the integrity of the teaching profession…including recruitment and deployment, remuneration, incentives for teaching in remote regions, and other conditions of service…it is naïve to expect reforms in classroom instruction to be sustained."[158]

Indeed, it must be understood that trained teachers are usually outsiders in their communities of service. They often come from different ethnic groups, different social backgrounds and do not necessarily feel loyalty or obligation to their host communities.[159] Thus they do not consider themselves included as beneficiaries of initiatives which help their host communities, unless these comprise separately defined rewards unequivocally intended for them and attractive to them. The enhancement of their teaching skills without any attendant formal certification to advance their careers is essentially disregarded by most trained teachers and even resented as an uncompensated imposition on their time.[160]

Due to the problems recounted above, programmes to enhance skills of trained teachers without concurrent, effective initiatives to improve the supervision of them by headteachers and GES DEOs, and/or to provide tangible rewards to them, tend to have low sustainability as observed by QUIPS: "While QUIPS in-service training exposed teachers to a variety of specific child-centred instructional and classroom management strategies, few of these were observed in practice during the final evaluation."

6.5.1.3. Learning reinforcement assistance to pupils

(a) Action Aid Ghana: Mock examinations

AAG has been providing sponsorship through PTAs and SMCs for mock examinations to be held in some of their beneficiary schools. This has helped improve children's BECE results and for the first time, children in some of these schools have been able to qualify for senior secondary school.

(B) ISODEC: Vacation classes

ISODEC organizes holiday classes for pupils in Mathematics, English, Science and Pre-Technical skills.

6.5.2. Complementary Education Programmes

These alternative programmes, sometimes called 'shepherd schools', are designed mainly for out-of-school children, as a launching pad for integration into the formal system. Thus, they have a strong focus on language, literacy and numeracy. They have more freedom to design their pedagogical approaches as they are operating outside of the formal system. Local communities are often given a role in their management. According to Casely-Hayford, "There are three key elements that constitute an effective alternative education curriculum and instructional approach: 1)

[158] Ibid.

[159] On the contrary, there is sometimes disdain for their host communities on their part, arising from their superior education and social status. This engenders hostility from the host community.

[160] Many teachers engage in additional income-generating activities to supplement their salaries, such as farming or trading, or are pursuing courses of further study. They do not take kindly to extra, 'uncompensated' demands on their time.

learner-driven and learner-focused, 2) flexible and culturally appropriate, and 3) skills oriented/competency-based." Some examples are reviewed below:

(a) School for Life

School for Life pioneered the complementary education approach in Ghana, launching its Danish-funded programme in1995 in the Northern Region. With its entirely needs-based approach, it has been extremely successful in reaching out-of-school and dropout children, providing them with basic literacy and numeracy and then mainstreaming them into the formal system. "One of the most important components contributing to the success of SFL is the use of mother tongue ***both*** as the only literacy language ***and*** as the language of instruction. The value of mother tongue instruction is well established. It is optimally efficient as a teaching tool as the mother tongue is the tool of thought….contributes to self-esteem in the children and.…creates receptiveness of education in the communities."[161]

SFL restricts class sizes to 25 and the curriculum focuses on functional literacy and life skills dealing with recognisable aspects of everyday life for the children in the communities. "SfL has three focus areas: language (local); mathematics; and environmental studies – and these are integrated in the instructional reading materials so that there is neither a set of grades, nor specific subject areas. Rather the materials deal with topical themes integrating maths, language and science."[162] Children are taught skills they can use at home eg. hygiene, health, farming and protection of the environment. The texts are written in simple language and they take an outset in the known and proceed to the unknown, stressing on learning by doing and incorporating practices together with theory, thus "the children feel that their home and school work walk hand in hand, with classroom learning applicable at home."[163] All graphics are things familiar to children and local materials are used as TLMs, eg. seeds or pebbles as counters. The cultural knowledge base of the community is actively employed in teaching in the form of singing, dancing, traditional games, plays and storytelling and also through the use of audiocassettes in class work. The classes usually compose their own 'School for Life' songs, which make classes lively and fun.

SFL constitutes management committees in the local communities, to manage their literacy programme in conjunction with SfL staff (see section 6.2.1.2. for more details on this). Communities are involved in all aspects of the programme through the SfL committees and through frequent sensitization activities, and allowed to share in the success of children's achievement through the organization of graduation ceremonies in which their children demonstrate their literacy and numeracy abilities. Facilitators for the SfL programme are locally recruited volunteers identified by the community SfL committees. They receive three weeks' intensive initial training and SfL arranges refresher courses every three months and after a year of teaching, to update their skills and review the SfL approach. These courses are run by a core team of resource persons from within GES, who have been trained in the special SfL approach and teach in the languages of the facilitators.

The programme places a high priority on supervision: "A major component of the SfL approach is the efficient and frequent supervision and monitoring of classes that focuses on supporting the facilitators at the class-level to deliver quality instruction. Classes are visited at least once a month and facilitators are given on-the-spot training by the supervisor. The regular in-service training reinforces new skills and serves to improve the quality of the instruction. It rekindles the facilitators' commitment. Field staff are based in the district. District Supervisors supervise 25

[161] "School for Life: Functional Literacy and Capacity Building Programme" Briefing document
[162] EQUIP 2 – Case Study: School for Life, Northern Ghana. 10/5/04, p.9
[163] Ibid.

classes each and a District Coordinator carries out frequent monitoring of classes and coaches the supervisors. Management carries out random monitoring of the classes and facilitators as well as the field staff and hold discussions with communities."[164] Indeed, it should be well noted, that *supervision costs are the highest expenditure* in the SFL programme. Also striking is how low the expenditure on teachers is, in the SfL budget: "Whereas in public schools teacher salaries and benefits consume over 90% of the recurrent budget, in SfL, the facilitators are volunteers, receiving only a small amount (about $7) each month….representing only 6.3% of the budget."[165] In addition to this token cash allowance or 'soap money', SfL facilitators receive an annual incentive (equivalent to half the price of a bicycle) and in-kind donations pledged by the community that can take the form of foodstuffs, labour or cash. As additional motivation, remedial courses are arranged for SfL facilitators who have not been able to pass their Senior Secondary School Certificate (SSCE) examinations. A new component of SfL is to sponsor qualified and motivated facilitators' studies at TTCs through the DA's TTC student sponsoring programme, in order to diminish the serious shortage of teachers in the programme area.

Being strongly needs-based, SfL believes that education should be adapted to the people it is meant to serve, and therefore adopts a flexible school schedule: "The calendar of the SfL teaching cycles is adapted to the community, which the school is serving. In consideration of the farming cycle, the teaching cycles run from October to June, leaving the kids free when the farming activities are at their highest in the rainy season from July to September. Classes are usually held in the afternoon between 2.00pm and 5.00pm. This allows children to participate in household and farming work. It also allows SFL and GES to optimise the use of classrooms. The classes are run five days a week, three hours a day. The local SfL Committee determines the two off-days. These are usually market days and Fridays in Muslim communities and…Sundays in Christian communities…To change the parents' attitude towards education, it is stressed that by participating in the SFL class, children can still be available in the mornings to help with household and farming work. In addition, what they learn from SFL will actually help them in their chores. There is thus no reason why children should miss classes. In other words, contrary to parents' experiences and fears education can be immediate and directly useful."[166]

SfL has assisted some of its programme communities to apply to the GES for the establishment of 'wing' schools after the end of the SfL programme. Also known as 'feeder schools', these are small schools which only run kindergarten to P3 grades and are generally found in remote areas. They give the youngest children the opportunity to attend school without having to travel long distances. 16 such schools have already been set up in Gushiegu and Karaga Districts in the Northern Region. A recent development is the approval of a proposal for SfL in collaboration with Ibis, to help set up 80 wing schools within the GES framework, funded by DANIDA. Another recent development is the approval of a UNICEF-funded proposal for SfL, in conjunction with GES, to expand its programme to cover a two-year curriculum, to be used in the remotest areas. This would enable SfL educate children to an equivalent of P6 level, accredited by the GES.

(b) Action Aid Ghana - Shepherd School Programme

This programme evolved within the context of Action Aid's international approach to problems in basic education, known as ACCESS (Appropriate Cost-effective Centres for Education within School System) and was implemented from 1996 in northern Ghana. Action Aid's description of the principles of the programme is as follows: "Through its flexibility, the shepherd school concept recognises and addresses the conflict between the social responsibility of the child and the

[164] School for Life Functional Literacy Programme for Children: Components and Values. (Paper) p.5
[165] EQUIP 2 – Case Study: School for Life, Northern Ghana. 10/5/04, p.3
[166] Ibid. p.12

educational responsibility of the parent. The timetable is designed to allow children time to perform the socio-cultural responsibilities (farm work, domestic chores, babysitting and shepherding) as well as make time to attend school. All the schools are taught by community volunteers and managed by communities themselves with minimal external input designed to be appropriate to the local environment and act as an entry point to the formal school system. The programme covers a three-year period, after which the children are linked to formal primary schools for the continuation of their education….educational outreach centres provide four hours of intensive instructional time (7-11am) during which period facilitators,[167] using action-oriented teaching and learning techniques, work intensively to cover the same lessons provided in formal schools. The schools also enjoy the full participation of all stakeholders including beneficiary communties, SMCs, parents, GES, the DA and ActionAid."[168]

(c) EQUALL Complementary Education Programme (CEP)

EQUALL has "learned from QUIPS the importance of local languages in a programme,"[169] and is implementing its CEP through School for Life. Thus the programme shares a common approach with SFL as outlined above. It aims to "expand access to basic education, particularly for girls, improve reading and numeracy skills, increase teacher accountability, increase community participation in schools." and targets 31,500 out-of-school children in the Northern Region (out of which 40% are girls), with basic literacy.

Under the programme, out-of-school children aged 8-14 receive a nine-month, community-based, instructional course to master core literacy and numeracy skills to enable them transition to the formal school system. Teachers for the programme are preferably female volunteer facilitators who must have attended adult literacy classes as a minimum qualification. Some of them are not proficient in English. However, the ability to speak and write the indigenous language is important. They receive an initial two weeks of training in SFL methodologies and child-centred class management and a 2-week refresher course four months later. They are also supplied with TLMs and with small allowances of C60, 000 per month ('soap money').

The programme lasts for nine months, operating between October and June to avoid the main farming and harvesting seasons. This gives children the flexibility to fulfil their domestic obligations as well as attending school. The first seven months involve the teaching of literacy and numeracy in the mother tongue using active learning strategies. After this there is a two-month English component to prepare them for the transition to formal school. It builds on topics that pupils have studied in CEP. The 8-week syllabus introduces basic English vocabulary and grammatical structures as well as key vocabulary from the GES syllabi for maths, social studies and environmental studies. The English component is taught by Community Support Teachers (CSTs) from EQUALL's CST programme (reviewed below) and selected CEP facilitators who are proficient in English.

(d) Ibis 'Education for Empowerment Programme' (EfE)

Under the EfE Ibis is implementing a complementary education programme through PAPADEV, a local NGO in the Sawla-Tuna-Kalba District, where over 60% of children of school age are out of school. Based on the SfL model, it is a 9-month mother tongue literacy programme for out-of-school children between 8 and 14 years. 325 children in 13 Vagla Communities are currently attending the classes. The programme applies child-centred teaching methods, equipping pupils with literacy and numeracy skills with a view to integrating them into the formal school system

[167] There was an emphasis on recruiting women as facilitators.
[168] Brochure: Action Aid Ghana, "The Shepherd School Project: Empowering people for development"
[169] Staff of USAID's education office, interviewed in 2006.

after they have been tested and certified by the GES. They are taught by well trained and motivated facilitators through a specially designed curriculum and textbooks. The classes are held in the afternoon between 2-5pm, to allow the children to assist their parents with household chores or farming activities during the morning. Thirteen local committees, each made up of three women and two men have also been set up and trained in the 13 Vagla communities to ensure community participation, monitoring and supervision.

(e) Youth Education and Skills Project (YES)

The specific objective of YES was to develop and test a methodology to reduce hazardous child labor in cocoa production in Ghana**.** In addition to methodologies in radio social marketing, the pilot programme tested a functional literacy component to create public awareness of occupational health and safety for working children, using education as a means to combat abusive forms of child labor. Special education materials were developed for the project, which combined the dual function of teaching literacy and numeracy with instruction on general life skills, cocoa farming, occupational health and safety and child labour issues. Facilitators for these teaching courses were identified from within the communities and trained by the project. Although the majority of pupils were out-of-school children, there were also some schoolchildren taking the courses.

Impact

The various complementary education initiatives implemented by NGOs over the past decade have made such an impact that they are beginning to be adopted and mainstreamed by the Ghana Education Service. Specific recommendations on them have been made by the presidential reform review: "Shepherd school system is an innovative way of reaching all children of school going age….School time is made flexible to suit the occupation of the people so as to enable them to have access to quality education. More of this type of alternative education has to be replicated in rural areas where pupils find it difficult to go to school as a result of the occupation of the people."[170]

(a) School for Life

The SfL programme is one of the most successful grassroots-level quality education initiatives ever attempted in Ghana. It has been described by the Ministry of Education as "A role model for future changes in the primary schools of Ghana." This study credits its integrated approach of grounding a simple and locally appropriate teaching methodology within a strong, community-owned management framework as the key to that success.

The programme's strong emphasis on interactive supervision and monitoring is a crucial part of this approach and is rationalized among others by the following key considerations and basic values:

- "Supervision is crucial for quality education since it rekindles the commitment of learners, facilitators and community members in general.
- People without formal education can be supported and trained to teach.
- Frequent supervision almost eliminates absenteeism among facilitators.
- By frequent supervision, coaching and on-the-spot training, facilitators and classes do not feel isolated in spite of their 'hard to reach' surroundings.
- Problems and challenges among learners, families and the community are taken up while they are still manageable."
- Attachment to locality.
- Solidarity among key players (learners, facilitators, supervisors).[171]

[170] Presidential reform review, p.36

[171] School for Life Functional Literacy Programme for Children: Components and Values. (Paper), p.5.

SfL teaching methodology has also proved highly appropriate and effective - "The learning methodology is so much fun for children that they sometimes even get in groups to do it on their own after school."[172] 81.2% of SfL graduates are able to meet minimum standards for literacy and numeracy at P3 level and 66% of them have been mainstreamed into formal schools with some eventually even entering universities. [173] Evidence from GES Performance Monitoring Tests show that SfL graduates "perform, generally, in the upper 50% of the class on these tests of English Language and Mathematics…This reflects the assertion from the research that acquiring functional literacy in one's mother tongue provides a strong platform for acquiring literacy in a second language." Using the mother tongue also "contributes to the building of self-esteem, and creates receptiveness to the program by the local community." Interestingly, although SfL children have not been taught in English, they often perform much better than children who have had exposure only to the formal school system, thus both parents and some DEO officials have been recommending that "all pupils attend SfL before they enter the formal school system."[174] Parents and community leaders have been extremely responsive and appreciative of the programme's success and demand for it has always outstripped supply.

Seasonal migration of both facilitators and pupils is a challenge to the SfL programme. However the greatest challenge is the difficulty of the transition for pupils between SfL and GES schools. First of all, the transition is not always possible because SfL graduates do not always have access to formal schools. When it is possible, the differences in environment are great and challenging for the children. The cramped conditions, the absence of TLMs, differences in teaching methodology, the attitudes of GES teachers and the inferior supervision of GES schools can all come as a rude shock and be very discouraging to children.

SfL children usually perform above GES standards and it is often actually a setback for them to be mainstreamed. As pointed out by Casely-Hayford, "Complementary education systems provide structured programs of learning in a non-institutional environment: the programs are designed to eliminate both the defects and traditions of formal schooling." Clearly, protecting a child from these 'defects', only to transfer him/her to them later on, is going to be problematic. Thus the need to improve standards in formal schools is also a pressing one otherwise much of the benefit of complementary education programmes may be lost through the transition.[175] Many SfL facilitators have been retained by communities as pupil teachers after the end of the programme and a number of them have been employed as teachers in GES schools through the MMYE's Youth Employment Scheme which aims to boost teacher deployment in rural areas.

(b) Action Aid shepherd schools

Action Aid's shepherd school programme educated hundreds of children who would never otherwise have got an education, and mainstreamed many of them into formal schools. The model proved so successful that AAG's GES partners at the district level "took the bold steps of initiating moves for the integration of the schools in line with the FCUBE policy." Indeed, the integration of the programme was encouraged in the FCUBE policy which stated: "The government of Ghana will adopt a radical educational delivery system by adapting instructional time schedules and school terms to suit occupational patterns and needs of economically disadvantaged groups by replicating the Shepherd School model whereby out-of-school children and youths such as street vendors, porters, children working in market places and fishing ports, children of migratory farmers and

[172] USAID's education staff on the EQUALL/SFL collaborative programme, interviewed in 2006.
[173] This is according to a test that SfL requested the GES to conduct in 2003. Source: EQUIP 2 – Case Study: School for Life, Northern Ghana. 10/5/04, p.3.
[174] Ibid.
[175] Casely-Hayford, 2003, p.12

fishermen will be identified, put together and given lessons at night, using regular school facilities such as classrooms and teachers."[176]

(c) YES

Literacy improved across-the-board for children in this programme, especially for out-of-school children taking literacy classes. There were also improvements among children in school who were additionally taking literacy classes with the project. Some parents were so enthusiastic about their children's progress through the programme that they initiated their own adult literacy classes. Some of the challenges faced by the programme are listed below.

- Community members felt they could not sustain the project without outside support because they could not pay the facilitators on their own. Project staff felt that communities were sometimes not supportive enough eg. by freeing children from other tasks so they could attend classes, or providing lanterns for them to study at night.
- Learners and facilitators found the workbooks too complicated and indicated the need for them to be simplified. Project staff felt retrospectively that the scope of the materials was too broad and should have been restricted simply to literacy.
- Training provided to facilitators was of a good quality but insufficient. Projects staff felt with hindsight that more money should have been spent on the training of facilitators in the use of the books, and less on the production of them.
- The project did not provide enough assistance in facilitating the enrolment of graduates from their literacy course into mainstream GES schools.
- Teaching out-of-school and in-school children in the same classes was problematic. Out-of-school children lagged behind and felt embarrassed to answer questions in front of in-school children.
- It was difficult to motivate out-of-school children. They did not see the benefit of attending the classes as they knew their families did not have the resources to send them to formal schools. Thus they "wanted to know what they would get out of the project."[177]

6.5.3. Filling teacher deficits: deployment of local pupil teachers

One of the findings of the BECS evaluation was that "The provision of trained teachers in the BECS schools has not been achieved. Nevertheless, it is better to have a pupil teacher than to have no teacher at all." This study dares go a step further and suggest that in the most deprived and remote areas, it is actually *better* to have pupil teachers than qualified ones. There are many reasons for this.

Under its 'Quality of Education' objective, the MOE's Education Strategic Plan acknowledges that "…the average teaching life of a (trained) teacher is only 4 or 5 years, a considerable waste of public investment." Ghanaian state school teachers lack motivation due to poor conditions of service. Many also lack any true commitment to the profession and are simply using it as a stepping stone to tertiary education - "Many teachers are just trying the long route to university, watching the time and waiting out the two years."[178] They justifiably do not enjoy serving in areas with poor services and infrastructure where life is uncomfortable and sometimes even dangerous.[179]

[176] FCUBE document, - Vol.1, p.40, quoted in Action Aid Shepherd School brochure.
[177] YES evaluation report.
[178] Leslie Casely-Hayford, interviewed in 2006 for this study.
[179] The risk of contracting parasitic diseases like malaria, river-blindness, bilharzia, guinea-worm etc. is much higher in bushy areas with poor services and hygiene. Danger from animals like snakes and scorpions is also much higher and these risks are compounded by the fact that there are poor or no health facilities in remote areas.

Neither do they identify with people in such communities because they are often from different ethnicities, and there is the additional social divide of them being educated while most people in such host communities are not.[180] Indeed, as previously noted, teacher-community relations can be problematic to degrees that can sometimes be quite extreme, eg. in previously mentioned cases where community members have defecated in classrooms as a hostile gesture. Mutual mistrust[181] can also lead to teachers quitting their jobs as in a case cited by an ICI IP in Mpohor Wassa East District, where a teacher died and there were accusations that community members had killed him through witchcraft.

When all these barriers and frustrations are planted in an environment of low supervision and accountability, the end result is poor performance and sometimes abusive behaviour towards the children and parents in their host communities. Unfortunately, abusive teacher behaviour is not only allowed to happen but exacerbated by similar frustrations and inefficiencies in the bureaucratic government machine responsible for their supervision. "Teachers and GES authorities become an intimidating force seen as a stronger adversary rather than as part of a state machinery working for them" indicates Casely-Hayford, whose research in deprived communities of northern Ghana revealed that "Poor communities felt disempowered and helpless in the face of GES officers who were viewed as close colleagues of 'trained teachers'….the poor teaching culture…was also characterized by a culture of fear, ie communities were reticent in exposing high levels of absenteeism and viewed the teachers as 'untouchable'. Communities felt they should not rock the boat by making complaints or reporting teachers……Most communities were hesitant to report these teachers for fear that the GES would not post additional teachers to their communities thus forcing the school to be closed."[182] As indicated in 3.1.3.6, identical fears were encountered among communities in the Wassa Amenfi East district of the Western Region in research for this study.

The government of Ghana invests significant resources in the training of teachers and requires high qualifications for people to embark on teaching as a profession. However the realities of deprived areas and the inefficiencies of the whole state education machine make this indeed a wasted investment, a churning out of professionals who *simply do not fit the bill* of what is required by thousands of schools in this country. While the emphasis is on qualifications with little regard for the other issues mentioned above (like socio-cultural divides, conditions of service, the state of the supervision machine into which they fit), research is showing that all those qualifications amount to little difference in performance[183] between qualified and unqualified teachers. Indeed, as demonstrated in Chapter 3, untrained teachers are even capable of a far higher performance than trained teachers, when operating within a well supervised system.

This is the context which makes the growing move towards recruiting local pupil teachers or 'volunteer' teachers, so appropriate and so vitally important for deprived areas of Ghana.[184] Even if trained teachers could fit the bill for remote areas, there are simply not enough of them to go round. The deficit is enormous. As previously indicated, the QUIPS programme found that in trying to fulfil its requirements for full teaching complements in partnership schools, the GES was actually depriving other schools of teachers: "District officers claimed repeatedly that staffing of QUIPS

[180] These socio-cultural distinctions and the sense that trained teachers are arrogant, whether real or perceived, often create tension and hostility between trained teachers and their host communities.
[181] As pointed out by GNAT staff, sometimes teachers are intimidated by community members, not only the other way round.
[182] "Reaching underserved populations with education in deprived areas of Ghana: Emerging good practices." L. Casely-Hayford et al., 2003, p. 20.
[183] In terms of their output – ie, the performance of their pupils.
[184] Several terms for such teachers have now become familiar – 'REV', 'CST', 'volunteer teacher' etc. For the purposes of this study however, they will be termed 'local pupil teachers' or 'LPTs'.

schools was accomplished at the expense of other schools in the districts."[185] QUIPS also concluded that "With teacher mobility within and exiting the system as widespread as it is in Ghana, it cannot be expected that classroom reforms will be sustained without systemic change at least within the district."[186] Trained teachers quit active teaching in vast numbers and thousands of them can be found in administrative service, crowding already over-staffed GES offices. Thousands more quit the service altogether for further study and new careers, and the government's investment disappears with them.

Thus, to summarize the main arguments for local pupil teachers in remote areas:

- They are a far lower-cost investment and are culturally more appropriate for the areas in which they serve and therefore yield better results in remote areas.
- They boost critical shortages in teachers and notably, *female* teachers in deprived areas.
- Because they are locally based, there are fewer problems with absenteeism and closer relations with community members.[187]
- Bringing in volunteers breaks that 'collusion' between GES and trained teachers.[188]
- In view of deficits in GES capacity to supply and supervise teachers, it is more strategic and sustainable to build a teacher resource base and the capacity to supervise it, from the very grassroots level.
- Building this resource base of locally recruited pupil teachers *now* is crucial in order to accommodate and sustain the 15% nationwide increase in enrolment achieved through the introduction of the capitation grant.

There is a history of government deployment of pupils teachers[189] however again, supply has always fallen far short of demand. There is little motivation to become a pupil teacher because years spent in service as a pupil teacher do not count towards any professional qualification. Moreover the GES is too demanding in its criteria for pupil teachers, requiring them to have qualifications equivalent to those of candidates for teacher training colleges. In addition, GES pupil teachers in rural areas tend to be given study leave after two or three years, which is quicker than for those serving in urban areas. These are some of the reasons why there is such a shortage of GES pupil teachers in the rural areas.[190] When interviewed for this study, staff of the DEO in Wassa Amenfi West district said that their yearly quota for pupil teachers was only 40 and even out of that small number, they have already lost some. This is a typical picture of a district with a teacher deficit of hundreds if not thousands.

6.5.3.1. The approach to Local Pupil Teacher (LPT) programmes

Such programmes recruit mainly SSS leavers to become teachers in basic schools, and provide them with some training and orientation. They are motivated through small allowances and reward items either by the programmes or by communities or by a combination of both. These

[185] QUIPS Evaluation Report p.77
[186] Ibid, p.156
[187] Although dealing with trained teachers, CARE's SCORE programme noted that "In communities where the teachers live locally, there is more opportunity for them to develop cordial relations with the community….It is clear that the residence of teachers within the community itself has a positive impact which extends to the quality of teaching." Indeed, the positive relationships between teachers and community members were demonstrated by examples of community members constructing accommodation for teachers, providing farm labour for teachers and attending funerals of teacher's relatives where they made generous donations. (SCORE evaluation report).
[188] Casely-Hayford, op. cit.
[189] These have not necessarily been locally recruited, however.
[190] Basically, the only reason a secondary school leaver would opt for pupil teaching rather than teacher training college is lack of funds and as soon as they obtain enough funds, they quit their posts as pupil teachers, leading to high attrition rates of pupil teachers.

programmes also have a dual benefit of helping young school leavers to improve their skills by supporting them to re-sit secondary school exams and/or to enrol on the MOE's Untrained Teachers' Diploma in Basic Education modular course (UTT/DBEP),[191] which leads eventually to a professional teaching qualification. This serves as an excellent additional motivation and career opportunity for young people who might otherwise waste hard-won academic skills and qualifications. It was indeed discovered in some of the sample communities for this study that a high number of JSS leavers who have passed their BECE exam remain in the communities and become farmers for lack of opportunities to further their education. Action Aid Ghana was a pioneer in local, 'volunteer' pupil teaching in Ghana with their Rural Education Volunteer Programme (REV) however the concept has spread and is now recognized as one of the major solutions to the quality education problem in remote areas of Ghana. It has subsequently been taken up by numerous other organizations including EQUALL, Ibis, RAINS/CAMFED, World Vision, VSO, LUTRENA, and even by District Assemblies. A sample of these programmes is provided below.

6.5.3.2. Examples of relevant initiatives

(a) Action Aid – Rural Education Volunteer Programme (REV)

Initiated in 2000, the REV programme was implemented in the three regions in the north of Ghana and the Brong-Ahafo Region. It aimed to be a cost-effective way of sustaining the teacher workforce in the primary schools in remote rural communities. It responds to AAG's rights-based approach by giving children in remote areas access to quality education. Other benefits of the scheme are as follows:

- The investment in young men and women, who are given a productive activity and, at the same time, the opportunity to further their education, reduces their dependency on the already impoverished communities and fosters development in their areas.
- The scheme contributes to maximising the investment of the country in the education of young people, as well as the investment in rural primary school infrastructure and materials.
- The proportion of female teachers in rural areas rises.

REVs were recruited for a service period of at least two years and given four-week training courses designed by Teacher Training Colleges and consisting of practical, child-centred teaching orientation. This was complemented by regular refresher and on-the-job professional support. Communities supported and monitored REVs, providing accommodation and food when needed. GES participated in the selection, training, monitoring and evaluation of REVs. DAs supervised the scheme and shared the cost of it with AAG in both monetary and human-resource terms. Other NGOs participated in its implementation, evaluation and advocacy efforts. REVs were given the following incentives:

- A monthly allowance provided by AAG and paid through GES.
- Support to re-sit exams where applicable at their own pace.
- The opportunity of attending vacation classes and access to needed textbooks which they would otherwise be unable to afford.
- Merit awards, based mainly on pupils' test results.
- Bicycles and solar lamps after specified periods of service.

(b) Ibis, EfE Programme

In collaboration with the GES, Ibis recruited 60 Rural Education Volunteers during the 2005/2006 academic year and organized in-service training workshops for them. Ibis is supported with counterpart funding from the DA to pay their monthly stipends of C300,000. The programme also

[191] The UTTDBE modular course costs several million cedis spread over four years. Teachers enrolled on it go three times a year during the holidays to Teacher Training Colleges for three weeks of training at a time.

supports them to re-sit their secondary school exams and provides support for them to enrol in the UTT/DBEP programme. In the East Gonja District, the DA has now taken over the full responsibility of paying their salaries through the National Youth Employment Programme.

(c) VSO/Ghana, National Teacher Volunteer Programme

Under this programme, VSO supports the Ghana National Service Scheme to recruit graduates who have completed their national service, and retired teachers, to provide at least one year of service in basic and secondary schools. The numbers of volunteer placed has grown from 57 in 2003 to over 6000 in 2006. Although VSO's main focus is the northern part of the country this scheme includes teacher placement in southern Ghana and has received much support from the government.

(d) RAINS/CAMFED - CAMA Volunteer Teachers

CAMA is a CSO in the Northern Region of Ghana, originally composed of young women who benefited from RAINS/CAMFED scholarships. 180 CAMA members have been trained as LPTs for primary and JSS schools over the past three years. Given the extremely low numbers of female teachers in the region, this represents a significant contribution. CAMA advertised for candidates for the scheme at their meetings and the GES interviewed them and gave the successful ones a week of intensive training. They are paid C350,000 a month by RAINS/CAMFED. When the scheme first started, communities were invited to share or take over the cost, but they declined. RAINS/CAMFED assisted 109 CAMA LPTs to gain acceptance on the UTT/DBEP but did not provide financial assistance for the course. However CAMFED is considering starting to provide such assistance.

(e) EQUALL Community Support Teachers (CST)

Together with EQUALL's CEP initiative, the CST programme is also being implemented in conjunction with School for Life. It has trained and supported at least 400 Community Support Teachers (CSTs) to assist the GES in its policy objectives of deploying female teachers to rural deprived areas of the northern regions of Ghana. 50 underserved schools in the Northern Region were identified and selected in collaboration with the GES and the Department of Community Development. Volunteers with a minimum of senior secondary education were recruited as CSTs.

Volunteers were given three weeks of initial training in School for Life methodology, lesson planning and classroom management. This was followed three months later by a one-week refresher course on lesson planning and preparation of teaching materials. They were also supplied with materials to help them prepare TLMs. A separate training for head teachers of CST schools was also conducted to orient them on the SFL approach and to provide strategies for improving the learning environment and strengthening the partnership with GES for the provision of quality monitoring and supervision of the CSTs. EQUALL is also working with the District Education Office staff to spread the strategies to other teachers within the schools. Most schools participating in the programme are also benefiting from EQUALL's BTL/BTE programme and all are participating in the GAIT II programme. In addition, EQUALL provides training to other lower primary teachers in schools where CSTs are placed, but do not participate in the BTL/BTE programme.

EQUALL provides the CSTs with a monthly allowance of ¢130,000 and additional incentives in the form of T-shirts, caps and bags. Bicycles are given to CSTs who complete a full two-year cycle of the programme. However volunteers who drop out after the first phase are asked to pay half the cost of the bicycle. Most EQUALL CSTs have been enrolled on the GES's UTT/DBEP which will allow them to remain in service in the schools while becoming certified as professional teachers. In addition, some have been supported to re-sit their SSSCE exams and have consequently gained admission into the universities. This serves as motivation for other volunteer teachers.

6.5.3.3. EQUALL support to the UTT/DBEP

As mentioned several times above, the modular programme for untrained teachers (UTT/DBEP) has served as a useful tool to motivate LPTs and a practical way in which to set them on the path of professional qualifications while retaining their services in the classroom. It has actually been a component of the EQUALL programme to provide assistance for this process. This support was intended to assist the Teacher Education Division (TED) of the GES to operationalize its Open and Distance Learning programme (ODL) that will lead to certification for untrained teachers. However, since the TED has not yet completed its long-term plan for the ODL, EQUALL is in the meantime providing support to the UTT/DBEP including technical assistance for the writing of modules for the course by tutors from selected training colleges. EQUALL also provided support in the design and facilitation of training sessions for UTT/DBEP stakeholders, including field support staff and mentors for teacher trainees in 20 districts. As part of this collaboration, EQUALL drafted a training manual for Community Support Teachers. Apart from EQUALL's own Community Support Teachers, at least 4,000 other uncertified teachers are enrolled in the UTT/DBEP.

6.5.3.4. Impact of LPT programmes

(A) Successes

The main benefit of such programmes is that they help plug the deficiencies in teaching staff with locally-recruited people who are familiar with the setting and will not quit their posts as easily as trained teachers posted by the GES. They can also relate better to the pupils and serve as role models for them because they are from the same area. Illiterate parents are less intimidated by them because they are their own people and for the same reason, cultural acceptance is much easier on both sides. At the same time these young people gain tangible benefits for themselves in the form of occupation, income and career opportunities. Even their modest allowances, when translated into the harsh economic contexts in which they live, may represent the same as and sometimes even more than people's livelihood incomes.[192] These programmes thus represent a 'win-win situation' for children and youth in remote rural communities.

The motivation and commitment of LPTs has been credited with improving the overall image of teachers and restoring community faith in them: "Community members and School Administrators cited comportment of REVs, regularity at school and punctuality as having significantly improved the image of teachers in their communities. In appreciation of this, some communities are supporting REVs with foodstuffs, free accommodation and land for farming."[193] The various means used to motivate LPTs are likely an important contributor to their performance. This recalls and contrasts with the attempts by programmes like QUIPS and SCORE to improve the performance of qualified teachers without any attendant 'motivation,' which ultimately proved unsustainable.[194] The fact that some DAs are now taking over full responsibility for deployment

[192] Indeed, the concept of voluntarism must be adjusted to fit local economic contexts. What may represent a token allowance in Western countries often translates into the equivalent or more of a salary or livelihood income in poor rural areas of Africa. When allowances, performance rewards, provision of accommodation, community in-kind donations and support towards costs of re-sitting examinations and/or UTTDBEP enrolment for REVs are calculated, the whole package would likely equal or surpass the remuneration of pupil teachers on the GES payroll (C500,000) and might even approach that of newly trained teachers (C800,000)

[193] Casely-Hayford 2003, p.19

[194] On the premise that rewards are directly linked to performance, these programmes were assuming that the salaries of GES teachers already represented their reward for being taught to 'do their job properly.' The flaw in the assumption was the failure to recognize that when people become accustomed to being paid regardless of performance, the link between performance and remuneration is lost. They no longer see their salary as a reward but a right. They then come to expect additional rewards in return for doing their job properly because the extra effort involved in that has shifted

and payment of LPTs is another indicator of the success of this concept, and its relevance to current government policy.

Finally, the value of the increment in female teachers that LPT programmes have made possible is incalculable, as demonstrated by this excerpt from the RAINS/CAMFED evaluation report:
"CAMA girls reported many instances of parents who had changed their minds about sending their daughters to school as a result of CAMA activities. CAMA pupil teachers have been particularly inspirational as role models in this regard, as shown by the quotes below from CAMA pupil teachers in Bole District:

> *"Some girls who were out of school were inspired by me to return to school. Their parents told them I was even younger than them and yet I had succeeded in becoming a teacher. They had even been to Cote d'Ivoire and back (they were teenagers) but they enrolled in school, in P1 to start getting an education."*
> *"There is a man in the community of a school I teach in. He has 28 children but when I first met him none of them were in school. He once called me to read him a letter and I refused. I talked to him about the importance of education. Now eight of his children are in school."*[195]

(B) Challenges

(a) Integration of LPTs into formal schools
One of the main challenges with LPTs is that their performance, like that of GES teachers, is influenced by the quality of the system into which they are inserted and in particular, the supervision of that system. Action Aid found that "REVs were being adversely affected by the presence of poor-performing teachers" and that "where there were poor head teachers, REVs also lost their motivation and their performance dropped significantly." However, "where head teachers had created a strong culture of discipline, the school performed well and REVs were present and performing well in the classroom."[196]

Another problem indicated was "Lack of sound pedagogical training among REVs – eg. overuse of the cane for discipline"[197] Such a problem, although quite likely due to inadequate training, may also point to weaknesses in the overall functioning of schools where LPTs are placed because discipline works best when set within a structured, holistic system controlled by the school management. It is difficult for individual teachers to enforce discipline in isolation and the cane becomes the easiest solution under such circumstances. These problems indicate that benefits of LPTs can be eroded by the poor quality of supervision in GES schools, and that interventions to improve supervision will thus be necessary in order to make the most of LPT services. They also perhaps point to inadequate training of LPTs.

A further challenge with regard to the integration of LPTs into GES schools is that tensions arise between them and the GES teachers. According to observations from EQUALL and AAG, this stems mainly from GES teachers being envious of the incentives given to LPTs. It is also possible that GES teachers sometimes feel 'shown up' by LPTs, due to the latters' general reputation for higher motivation and better performance.

There has been resistance to the LPT concept by the Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT), who have complained that institutionalizing the concept undermines the quality of

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beyond the boundaries of what they have come to regard as their job description. For LPTs, the link between performance and remuneration is clear because their jobs and rewards are performance-based.
[195] RAINS/CAMFED Evaluation report 2006, p.42.
[196] Casely-Hayford 2003, p.19.
[197] Ibid., p.25.

teaching. It is understandable, especially in view of the points made above, that trained teachers and their representatives should feel threatened by the rapid growth and spread of the LPT phenomenon, and its mainstreaming into government education policy.

Scarcity of females

Female LPTs have proved difficult to identify and some communities within EQUALL's CST programme have had to request family members who had left the community to return in order to obtain qualified candidates.

Attrition

AAG pointed out that due to the informal nature of their employment, REVs could leave at any time, and often did because after receiving training through the programme, they felt equipped to chase other, 'better' opportunities. This represented a lost investment in their training and the support they had been provided to improve their SSCE grades.

Cost-sharing

AAG attempted to share the cost of the REV programme with DAs, however this proved difficult due to unwillingness of District Assemblies to contribute. This eventually led to the discontinuation of AAG's REV programme. However according to AAG, the MOE has recently agreed to take over the REVs.

6.5.4. Making education needs-based

For quality to be achieved and sustained, education must respond to the needs of the people. This means making it relevant to its socio-cultural context not only in terms of what is taught, but how and when it is taught. The QUIPS evaluation indicated that: "The relevance in the learning context is supremely important. The team's studies of what pupils were and were not able to do showed that mathematics story problems using common experiences of children were completed at higher grade levels…than basic mathematics operations."[198] Casely-Hayford indicates that "Programs reflecting local cultural traditions, customs, and experiences that respect the positive practices, belief systems and needs of community, and integrating them into curriculum and teaching style have had the most success."[199]

Several of the initiatives described above have been sensitive in this regard, in particular, the complementary education programmes, which have used locally relevant materials and methodology to teach literacy and life skills useful and applicable for the local environment and circumstances. They have also demonstrated socio-cultural sensitivity in education programming by making school timetables flexible to local needs and have recruited teachers from the ranks of the communities, ensuring maximum socio-cultural compatibility and prolonging the duration of teaching service periods. The recruitment of LPTs is also an example of a needs-based response.

6.6. Gender

1. Critical intervention areas identified
2. Promoting gender balance among teaching staff,
3. Addressing gender disparities which put girls at a disadvantage.
4. Addressing the enabling gender environment - traditionally low status of women.
5. Finding role models for girls.

[198] QUIPS evaluation report, p.153.
[199] Casely-Hayford 2003, p.10.

Gender has been one of the most challenging areas for the programmes described thus far. Even for the best planned and executed interventions, the many, interlinked barriers that militate against gender equity in this country, constitute a veritable battleground. Gender is such a cross-cutting issue that it requires a multi-sectoral approach and has thus already come up in all the previous sections of this chapter. As indicated by the QUIPS evaluation, "In order to be sustainable, effective promotion of girls' education cannot be limited to a single organization or sector of society. Several factors impinge on the promotion of girls' education. To be able to address the issues effectively and achieve the objectives of the project, a variety of relevant organizations and sectors must be engaged."[200] This section thus supplements what has already been written on gender in the foregoing sections of this chapter.

6.6.1. Overcoming barriers of access

Following are a sample of programmes which have attempted to surmount both tangible and intangible barriers to girls' education.

6.6.1.1. Socio-cultural and attitudinal barriers

(a) SCORE

As indicated in 6.1.2. SCORE made some impressive achievements in creating gender awareness through their IEC campaign. This impact filtered down to some entrenched traditional practices which militate against education: "The project has even gone as far as changing certain traditional attitudes such as men's lack of responsibility for their children, which according to some reports, is high in this area due to the matrilineal system"[201]

(b) LUTRENA

Among other programmes, LUTRENA has conducted sensitization of parents on the need to reduce girls' household chores in order to free them up for school.

(c) Ibis

Under its Girl child component, Ibis' EfE programme is partnering with the (GES) and the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) to implement a girl child education campaign in the Bole and Sawla-Tuna-Kalba districts. The programme has provided financial support for the GES to embark on sensitization of 40 communities on the importance of formal education and why it is important to give formal education to girls. This has contributed to significant increases in primary school enrolment and girls' enrolment in the two districts.

(f) BECS

Following is an example of a change in traditional attitudes achieved through the BECS programme: "In Aboso Nsuaem, there was an old custom that prohibited women and girls from crossing the river Bonsawire on Tuesdays. This taboo persisted into contemporary times and prevented girls from the other side of the river from going to school on Tuesdays and greatly hindered the social and economic activities of adult women. But thanks to the crusading campaign of the Assemblyman, Honourable Agatiba, and at the same time BECS Community Facilitator for the area, this outmoded custom has now been removed to the great relief of school girls and women."[202]

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[200] QUIPS Final Evaluation p.9

[201] SCORE Final Evaluation Report p.72

[202] BECS Final Evaluation Report. Incidentally this assemblyman had been motivated to contest for DA elections through BECS civil capacity-building activities.

6.6.1.2. Biological barriers

These are for example, the fact that toilet facilities are more important for girls than boys and that pregnancy is a condition only suffered by females. Several organizations including CRS are providing latrines in schools in response to this need. There are also interventions targeted at the teenage pregnancy problem, such as the example below.

ISODEC

ISODEC supports girls who have dropped out of school as a result of teenage pregnancy. Such girls are invited to a meeting and those willing to go back to school are enrolled and supported by the programme.

6.6.1.3. Economic barriers

Examples of these have already been given under the 'economic' section of this chapter (see 6.2.1.1.). Economic assistance specifically targeting girls is an integral part of many education programmes.

6.6.1.4. Geographical barriers

(a) UNICEF

Since 2001, UNICEF has supplied over 5,000 bicycles to girls under its 'Hayley's bikes for Ghana' initiative.[203] The girls targeted are in upper primary and junior secondary schools in the 40 most deprived districts of Ghana where girls' exclusion is as high as 67%. In such areas, girls have to travel long distances to school and this often militates against their education. A study on the impact of the programme has shown that school enrolment and attendance have increased, academic performance is better and dropout rates have reduced.

(b) ISODEC

In addition to their other forms of assistance to girl pupils, ISODEC also supplies them with bicycles in cases where absenteeism is as a result of distance.

6.6.2. Promoting and institutionalizing gender equity in education

(a) ISODEC

As mentioned in section 6.4, ISODEC organizes holiday classes for pupils. In these classes, the girls are separated from the boys to make them more assertive. They have found that this significantly improves girls' participation and performance.

(b) WUSC

This project works towards the integration of gender sensitivities into institutional practices. It has trained teachers and educational officials on approaches to improve girl-friendly teaching methods, and has gender-sensitized the GES curriculum, creating awareness of the need to treat girls with equal respect and dignity as boys. Under the programme a number of tools were created for use of both teachers and pupils to enhance the achievement of gender equity in basic schools. These include a series of eight different books on how girls and boys can grow up asserting their rights, entitled '*A Resource Handbook for Teachers in Basic Schools* and *Child Rights.'*

[203] Named for a New Zealand UNICEF ambassador.

6.6.3. Improving the enabling environment

6.6.3.1. Gender balance in teaching staff

The paucity of female teachers is an extremely serious problem in rural areas of Ghana. The BECS evaluation report suggests that "the possible explanation for this phenomenon is that ladies are often incapable of enduring the harsh conditions in very remote places, and….are less easily attracted to the farming opportunities that exist in such places. Besides, married women are usually not able to move far away from their families."[204]

An extremely male-dominated educational landscape is disadvantageous for many reasons. It promotes the idea of education being a male preserve and of females being less intelligent and less worthy of education than males. This propagates the status quo of socio-cultural beliefs militating against girls' education, and thus, of female subordination in leadership and in every aspect of social life. Having few or no educated role models and being under the domination of males at school as well as in the home, lowers the morale of girls and their faith in their own capacities as females. In proportional terms, male domination of school staffing also increases the risk of sexual abuse of pupils, especially girls.

As discussed in foregoing sections, this problem has been addressed by several programmes, through the targeting of females in recruitment both of local pupil teachers (LPTs) and of facilitators for complementary education programmes. In the case of Action Aid for example, "Over 90% of the REV teachers were women in the Sissala District. Action Aid is encouraging most of the districts to select females due to the positive impact they can have on girls education."[205] As previously mentioned, RAINS/CAMFED, being a girls' only programme, has provided exclusively female LPTs.

Based on the analysis of female teacher scarcity in 3.2.1., it is clear that what makes the deployment of reasonable numbers of female LPTs and CEP facilitators possible is the fact that they are (a) locally-based and (b) mainly single. Even if single LPTs get married and have children, the likelihood of them continuing or returning to serve as teachers in their local communities, is still higher than that of attracting non-native, married, qualified female teachers to such areas. Thus the LPT concept is an important tool for boosting numbers of female teachers in remote areas.

6.6.3.2. Provision of other role models

(a) Action Aid Ghana

AAG runs a major annual programme whereby 20 girls from each of their programme areas are brought to Accra for a 10-day camp during which they are given sensitization on gender issues and taken to meet female role models as well as girls who serve as a negative example, such as those engaged in head porterage in the markets, known as *'kayayii."*[206] The aim is to motivate the girls to stay in school and complete their education: "At the national level, the annual girls' camp strengthened the capacity of almost 100 girls from very remote areas, they were educated on their rights in schools and how to deal with issues of violence against girls in school….A post camp assessment showed that the girls' perception of jobs they could do in future had shifted from the normal female dominated jobs to male dominated jobs..."[207]

[204] BECS Final Evaluation Report.
[205] Casely-Hayford 2003, p.v
[206] Plural of *'kayayoo'*
[207] AAG annual report 2005, p.9

(b) ISODEC

ISODEC also organizes excursions for girls especially from Bawku, Bongo, West Mamprusi districts and the 'overseas' areas[208] to places of interest such as Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST). These excursions are mainly for the girls to meet women in such institutions who can serve as role models for them.

6.6.3.3. Towards empowerment, civic awareness and equity in leadership

The empowerment of women in rural communities is important not only for their own sakes but also as another means of providing role models for younger girls in the same communities and strengthening their faith in their own education.

(a) RAINS/CAMFED

As mentioned in 6.4.3.2. CAMA is a CSO originally composed of young women who benefited from RAINS/CAMFED scholarships. The programme has provided these women with capacity-building in advocacy as well as empowering them through credit assistance for small-scale businesses, employment as LPTs and training as peer health educators. They in turn are using their skills to empower other women and girls in their communities. An excerpt from the RAINS/CAMFED evaluation report is provided below:

"It is clear that CAMA has greatly boosted the confidence of its members by bringing them together in a mutually supportive network, by giving them access to the power structures through which change can be effected, and by providing a platform from which they can make their voices heard. This has been extremely empowering and quite literally, thrilling, for many CAMA girls. They in turn are passing on this confidence and excitement to other women and girls through their activities….

> *"Confidence has grown a lot…when we started in 2002 we didn't know anything, we were terrified! Now all the co-ordinators and CAMA members have no fear. We can talk to DCEs, Girls' Education Officers etc…. we can even talk to the president! We are not scared.""* *(CAMA co-ordinators)*

Attitudes of CAMA girls interviewed by evaluators show independent thinking, ambition and awareness of the need to plan for the future….most CAMA girls wanted to get married in their late twenties or thirties, and to have less than four children. They did not appear to have much faith in men's abilities to support children and were working towards their own financial independence." [209]

(b) ActionAid Ghana

Action Aid's Women's Rights and Gender Programme has interventions on three major issues: women and girls in leadership and decision-making, violence against women and girls, and economic empowerment of women as an issue of equity and justice. "Activities that have facilitated the achievement of gender rights include the identification and formation of women's groups, community mobilisation through REFLECT, radio discussions, and the strengthening of national and regional gender networks. In the North West Regional Programme, we provided training on leadership for young student girls in second cycle schools to enhance their assertiveness, confidence and ability to compete in a patriarchal society. We also dialogued with heads of second cycle institutions in order to form action groups to support girls in leadership in schools."

[208] Areas which are cut off during the rainy season and can only be reached by canoe.
[209] RAINS/CAMFED evaluation report, p.42.

Another way in which AAG has promoted women's leadership is by building women's capacity to stand as candidates in District Assembly elections. Topics discussed at training sessions also include human rights and violence against women. A participant from one of these sessions described herself as 'liberated from bondage' and said: *"I was someone who could not stand and address people in public, but thanks to…Action Aid International Ghana's programmes, I can,"*[210] This has led to the increase of women DA members as well as to the establishment of an Assemblywomen's forum in the Upper East Region, which has made assemblywomen "more assertive as they have gained skills in public speaking, debating, handling conflict….dealing with the media, lobbying and advocacy."[211] Action Aid's work has also assisted in enhancing the accessibility of Domestic Violence and Victim Support Units (DOVVSUs) within the police force, formerly known as Women and Juvenile Units (WAJU) in four districts of northern Ghana.

(c) GAIT II

As mentioned in 6.2.3.1., GAIT II has also enabled the election of women to DAs through their advocacy within Civic Unions. GAIT II has specifically promoted the empowerment of women through these CUs by encouraging the setting up of 'Women's Wings' (WWs) within them. These have taken on a life of their own, as demonstrated by a humorous but impressive example from the GAIT II mid-term evaluation report: "In South Tongu (district), the WW was so dynamic that the local (all-male) Fisherman's Association asked whether it might join the WW instead of joining the CU as a whole. The evaluation team was asked to advise the WW on this first-of-a-kind-request."[212]

6.6.3.4. Acknowledging and utilizing women's role as education stakeholders

Women play a major role in providing both financial and moral support for children's education: "Involvement of women, formally or informally, in the school is essential as the majority of support attained to ensure implementation and student enrollment and retention comes from female input."[213] However this is rarely acknowledged because traditional male hegemony makes it culturally insensitive to do so. Thus women in focus group discussions in rural areas will often play down their financial role in paying children's educational expenses. However, research suggests that they often contribute more than men, and are in effect hidden, voiceless sponsors of education, marginalized from its management at community level through their cultural disempowerment and their own illiteracy.

In the SCORE evaluation it was recognized that "there has not been enough gender focus in the project, in terms of including women on PTA executives, SMCs and PRA teams, or generally giving them a role commensurate with their social and economic importance as stakeholders in education." Thus there was a specific effort in SCORE's successor, BECS, to give women roles on the executives of PTAs and SMCs and this emphasis paid off, as demonstrated by one of the recommendations of the BECS evaluation: "The SMC/PTAs and the Women's Associations are the most reliable CSOs to concentrate development support on…because the women's groups and the SMC/PTAs give more direct benefit to children."[214]

This is now a common approach and has been adopted by most of the programmes in this review for both SMCs and the committees which run complementary education programmes, such as School for Life, which actually insists on the over-representation of women on SFL Committees.

[210] "Putting women first in Ghana", Action Aid website.
[211] AAG annual report 2005, p.10
[212] GAIT II mid-term evaluation report, p.20
[213] Casely-Hayford 2003, p.11
[214] BECS Final Evaluation Report.

6.6.4. Challenges

Impressive successes have been achieved by the above-mentioned programmes as well as by other which have tackled the gender issue. However they are hard-won, difficult to sustain and represent only a fraction of the problem solved. Accounts from all these programme indicate continuing difficulties through cultural resistance:

AAG – "women's participation in leadership and decision-making in the regional programmes has been very low due to deep-seated patriarchal traditions and norms as well as stereotypes that relegate women to the background."[215]

RAINS/CAMFED: "CAMA girls are young, mainly single women, who take on an advisory and counseling roles normally reserved for (mainly male) elders in the community. They give advice to people much older than themselves and they take a judgmental stance on traditional practices. They also talk about sexual topics to men. All these things are considered traditionally and religiously inappropriate given their youth, gender and unmarried status. Thus CAMA girls in the Northern Region of Ghana are ground breakers and it is completely natural that they should encounter some resistance and criticism."[216]

Kinship fostering[217] and early marriage are among the entrenched traditions militating against girls' education in many parts of Ghana. There is a whole host of others including FGM, ritual servitude and dozens of taboos which curtail the freedom, rights and activity of females. There is in addition, simply a low prioritization of females through centuries of subjugation, which makes it difficult for the simple idea that they matter, to take root in traditional societies. For example, when the BECs final evaluation was conducted and communities were asked which of the training courses[218] they remembered best, " 'Training in Gender Analysis' was not mentioned in any of the communities. This seems to lend credence to the Capacity Building and Gender Advisor's assessment that "some people could not just see the need and importance of the gender issue, rating it the most insignificant all the time."[219]

6.7. Sustainability: A cross-cutting issue

Programming for sustainability not only ensures that projects last after assistance is withdrawn. It also makes a difference in their ease of implementation during the assistance period. It is a consideration that must be factored in from the conceptualization stage, must be monitored during implementation and will prove itself – or not as the case may be - when the project is over. The whole exercise of reviewing other initiatives is most valuable in terms of the sustainability lessons that can be learned.

In this regard, some of the greatest successes in the foregoing review have resulted from the adoption of a needs-based approach. The benefit of making projects truly needs-based or demand-driven is that it procures them automatic ownership from their beneficiaries which is an important prerequisite for sustainability. It is however necessary from the outset to be extremely clear *whose needs* a project aims to fulfil otherwise it becomes difficult to target such an approach. If

[215] AAG annual report 2005, p.9
[216] CAMFED Ghana Evaluation Report, p. 44.
[217] Common all over Ghana but particularly strong among the Dagomba of the Northern Region, whose daughters are traditionally given for life, to their paternal aunts as helpers.
[218] There were 5 training modules namely, Management; Gender Analysis; Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA); Decentralization and Advocacy; SMC/PTA Functions. Each of these had sub-components and communities even remembered several of the *sub-components* of the non-gender modules.
[219] BECS final evaluation.

beneficiaries at multiple levels are to be seen as an operational whole, say, the country of Ghana as an overall beneficiary, then interventions targeting multiple levels[220] (community, district, regional, national) must be confident that these levels all *see themselves and each other* as an integral whole, striving for the same goal and willing to make sacrifices for each other and for that goal. If this is not the case, then splitting management capacities and responsibilities between levels for the sake of their respective empowerment and consequent trickle-down of benefit to the lowest, neediest level, will always have mixed results.

Another tricky question is *how much* need should a project take on responsibility for? Helping people help themselves, as needs-based projects do, is a tricky balance because even when assistance is well tailored to need, giving too much or too little can make a project unsustainable. Answering this question requires a long-term perspective and involves making decisions on how to balance financial and managerial responsibility between a project and its beneficiaries. And this of course, is complicated by the above question of the level or levels at which to target responsibility delegated to beneficiaries. These issues of scope, levels, management and collaboration are all crucial pieces of the sustainability debate. They are analysed below under four major areas, all of which have emerged through the preceding review of quality education initiatives. Structuring them in this way represents a compromise for the sake of practicality, as they actually all overlap with each other.

6.7.1. Scope

Ambitious in scope, the QUIPS programme learned many hard but valuable lessons about sustainability and these have been put to admirable use in the design of USAID's subsequent education-related projects, EQUALL and GAIT II. Thus QUIPS is the main example used in the lessons below on the importance of scope in project conceptualization. It should be noted that if misjudging scope – in the various ways outlined below - was an important lesson for QUIPS, a well-endowed project implemented on a national scale by a bi-lateral development partner, then it is all the more important for NGO programmes.

6.7.1.1. Geographic

QUIPS attempted to effect change through interventions at multiple actor levels. From a geographical perspective this proved problematic because "The attempt to introduce QUIPS in every district in the nation, rather than concentrating the approach in a few districts, meant that it was impossible to build the critical mass needed for systemic change and support for teachers to sustain classroom reforms."

6.7.1.2. Thematic

As already described in 6.4.1.1., QUIPS also learned that their teaching and learning interventions were too complex to be useful or effective given the virtual illiteracy and incomprehension of English of most of the primary school children they were working with. Their consequent restriction of such interventions to functional literacy and mother-tongue instruction through their BTL and BTE programmes under EQUALL, reflects this valuable experience.

6.7.1.3. Economic

Numerous examples have been provided in foregoing sections of this chapter, of attempts to distribute responsibility for economic and material resources between projects and their beneficiaries and to use resource provision as a tool to build managerial capacity and financial responsibility. Some have been more successful than others, but the basic lesson is that support

[220] ie multiple beneficiary levels. These are also referred to below as 'actor levels', and are essentially the same thing.

levels must be sustainable in relation to local realities. If the level of assistance given is not something that beneficiaries could later raise on their own, either from within their own ranks or through the collaboration of government agencies - contingent on those agencies shouldering their responsibilities - then it will not be sustainable. For this reason, for example, programmes providing local pupil teachers (LPTs) have tried to design their incentive packages in such a way that while attracting the needed numbers, they will be affordable to communities in the long term.

6.7.1.4. In relation to mainstream realities

One of the most important lessons learned through QUIPS was that "To enhance the sustainability of any school reform, development programs must work within existing systems. The QUIPS-targeted classroom reforms were not sufficiently mainstreamed to provide the reinforcement needed to sustain them."[221]

The reason for this conclusion was that significant gains in pupil learning (as compared with control schools), quickly eroded after the project ended: "...it was dramatic to witness the state of beneficiary stakeholder groups once external change agents and financing were withdrawn….Without the support available during the program, most QUIPS schools have begun to revert to their former states….follow-on analyses indicated that if the school improvements introduced under QUIPS were to be sustained, the achievement advantage of QUIPS pupils would increase over time. For these long-term learning outcomes to be realized, however, the classroom reforms, teacher supervision, and district and community support must be maintained also. If that does not happen, there is likely to be a return to the status quo."[222]

Particularly significant is the fact that more lasting results were felt where *non-QUIPS* teachers and schools had, of their own accord, adopted some of the best practices from the project, than at actual project schools where teachers trained by the project had not remained in place.[223] This latter conclusion points clearly to the fact that interest and initiative coming from the community level represents a ready-made mobilization capacity which can translate into a management resource, an ownership mechanism and in some measure, a sustainability insurance. This is what has been tapped by GAIT II and SfL through their 'application procedures' for inclusion in their projects, as described in 6.2.1.2.

The lesson here then is that projects must not depend for their success on the creation of an artificial environment, but must function within mainstream realities. For QUIPS learning outcomes to be achieved, a microcosm of a perfect state education system had to be manufactured whereby schools had full quotas of teachers who, along with everybody in the management chain above them, wanted to do their jobs properly for the benefit of children and the greater good of the country.[224] This chimerical model, dependent on the simultaneous functioning and goodwill of several actor levels, had value in demonstrating what was needed for the achievement of successful learning outcomes, which was after all, the thinking behind the 'model school'[225] concept. However it was completely unsustainable and indeed, collapsed like a house of cards when support was withdrawn.

6.7.1.5. Actor/ beneficiary level

Another valuable lesson from QUIPS regards the scope and level at which interventions should be targeted: "The sustainability of the community makes it a good center for activities designed to

[221] QUIPS Final Evaluation Report, p.150
[222] Ibid., pp.157-8
[223] Ibid., p.84
[224] While working under poor conditions of service with low remuneration.
[225] Also termed 'partnership schools' under QUIPS.

foster involvement in school management.[226] Indeed, if one considers the low commitment, low motivation and constant shifts within the civil service apparatus, there is a strong argument for trying to focus education management capacity as much within communities themselves as possible. They are after all, the direct beneficiaries and thus the most affected by the success or failure of schools. In the enduring traditional leadership system they have resident community management structures which do not change as often as political ones and which have a longer-standing commitment to the people.

On the basis that successful schools need a combination of (1) teaching capacity, (2) effective management and (3) material resources, the effective mobilization of all three elements *within* the community should lead to success, as in the case of the private school examined in chapter 5. Narrowing down the focus of education programmes in this way reduces the need for state intervention to a minimum. This is not an ideal scenario if one is trying to achieve large scale reforms. However for the needs of the remotest areas where effective reaching of government services is simply not yet a reality and may not be for some time to come, it may be the way forward in the interim.

6.7.1.6. Conclusion

For maximum sustainability it would thus appear that important lessons in determining the scope (in all the senses listed above) of education projects in deprived areas are:

- Restrict yourself as much as possible, to the level of greatest need in all terms – geographic, thematic, actor level etc.
- Align yourself as closely as possible with those needs.
- Find as much capacity as needed for running the project, *within that very level*. This cannot and should not preclude some interaction with MDAs and DAs but for this purpose, civic awareness and empowerment of communities is crucial.

6.7.2. Collaboration with key partners for ownership and management

6.7.2.1. Collaboration with government beneficiaries/partners

Despite the above-suggested practicality of limiting project management and activities as much within the community level as possible, a certain amount of engagement with local government and MDAs is indispensable and unavoidable, for the following reasons:

- State schools are controlled by central government and 'owned' by local government and therefore any involvement with them inevitably means some degree of interaction with these bodies at least at district level.
- All schools presenting pupils for public examinations – including private schools - must be registered with the MOE and thus need to conform to various state regulations and engage to some degree with the authorities.
- Despite the value of bottom-up approaches, operating with no recourse at higher policy levels within a system weak in regulation and accountability makes one vulnerable to various problems at intermediate levels, as experienced by the GAIT II project:
    - "the impact of staff transfers at district levels and above, hit the project much harder when there is no proper accountability of GES partners to senior level staff. This is one of the reasons why, for example, the progress of the project is so much at the mercy of the individual disposition of key GES staff at the district levels. A related point is that investment of GAIT II training in GES staff is less likely to be lost due to staff movement if

[226] QUIPS Final Evaluation p.159

there are mechanisms at higher levels to ensure that they transfer what they have learned to the new areas to which they are posted."[227]

- In communities where the mobilization of resources for education is truly challenging due to weak community cohesion, extreme poverty etc., the District Assembly is the only source of meaningful assistance that people can claim as a right. It also represents the most accessible political platform from which they can make their voices heard. Therefore they need to engage with their DAs.
- Making remote communities self-sufficient in quality education provision although optimally practical, can compound their isolation and distance them further still from their civil rights. Given the importance of bridging rather than widening this gap, it is important to empower them to engage with the structures through which and from which they can claim these rights, while simultaneously empowering those structures to respond positively to them.
- If/when the decentralization of the education system that is going to bring DEOs under DAs takes effect, a healthy engagement with DAs will be important for all education initiatives.

These are some of the reasons why the initiatives reviewed all place strong emphasis on collaboration with government, especially local government and district-level MDAs. Such collaboration has taken the form mainly of strengthening capacity of MDAs and setting up cost-sharing arrangements with DAs. These efforts have yielded some good results and as previously mentioned in this study, some DAs are now even taking up initiatives on their own which originated through such partnerships. However this collaboration is also fraught with difficulty not least the instability inherent in the very nature of the civil service due to constantly shifting personnel, shifting dates and shifting priorities. Poor accountability and a chronically inadequate resource base compound these problems. Accounts of such challenges in collaboration efforts with government partners are given below.

(a) QUIPS

- "According to the results from the evaluative field work, the involvement of the MOE and GES in implementation planning was far from adequate. This truly had implications for the ultimate spread and sustainability of QUIPS good practices."[228]
- "*High mobility*[229] of teachers and district personnel trained by QUIPS undermined the long-term effectiveness of in-service training for teachers.[230]
- "The training provided by QUIPS for DEO personnel enhanced their capacity to operate more effectively in management, supervision, planning, and M&E. Including district officers in training activities for teachers and SMC/PTA executives gave them learning opportunities and modelled effective ways to operate. Many of the activities that the district officers undertook as part of the QUIPS experience are no longer being done because *funds to support them are not yet forthcoming."*[231]
- "The evaluative fieldwork identified some sustainability in the individual human resource capacities built through the district grant mechanism particularly the M&E training, but this is challenged in the districts by *shifting priorities, limited opportunities to practice new skills, and limited funding."*[232]

[227] GAIT II Midterm Evaluation, p.28
[228] QUIPS Final Evaluation p.157
[229] Italics in these accounts have been added here for emphasis and are not from the original documents.
[230] Ibid., p.153
[231] Ibid. p. 154
[232] Ibid. p. 158

- "Use of non-project assistance is not an effective means of strengthening the policy/management environment of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports (MOEYS). Non-project assistance was supposed to provide financing to the government budget to support the reform of the primary education system and encourage policy changes. However, a lack of sustained policy dialogue between USAID and the MOEYS/GES *due to the high level of turnover of division heads within MOEYS/GES* meant that the government was unable to absorb and use the non-project assistance funds either efficiently or effectively. This resulted in the need to reprogram funds from non-project assistance to project assistance in order to target specific needs related to the QUIPS program in the field."[233]
- (On CSA, a component of QUIPS) - "…the lowest levels of performance at the time of impact assessment were observed in Cohort 5….Cohort 5 also represented the first cohort where a majority of the responsibility for implementation was transferred to the Ghana Education Service (GES) to increase sustainability….CSA returned to Cohort 5 with targeted interventions and gains in performance were subsequently observed."[234]

(b) EQUALL

With regard to their collaboration with government partners, three main challenges are listed in EQUALL's 2006 Annual Workplan, as follows:

1. "Opportunities for collaboration and effective integration of strategies with the MOES[235] are limited by the fact that MOES plans are often decided at the last moment and without awareness of the EQUALL team.
2. EQUALL's attempts to time the district work planning process has been hampered by *shifting dates* of MOES budget submissions and thus it is not clear whether EQUALL contributions at district level will be reflected within the GES budgeting process.
3. The greatest challenge for EQUALL in supporting MOE/GES goals as outlined in the ESP are the *low levels of commitment and participation* of GES staff in EQUALL activities. GES officers continue to see EQUALL activities as extra work for which they require additional remuneration. EQUALL staff feel that the basis of the partnership and operating procedures are not well communicated to beneficiaries at the district and school levels
4. Efforts to collaborate with GES across all project components have provided mixed results over the course of the year….there is frustration on both sides regarding participation and support….commitment levels seem low and participation of national GES representatives in critical EQUALL activities has been sporadic, at best. EQUALL continues to field *requests and complaints from GES headquarters and district level staff for remuneration* for participation in EQUALL activities, even those that directly support objectives and initiatives of the GES."[236]

(c) WACAP

WACAP collaborated with the MOE on their SCREAM programme (Supporting Children's Rights through Education, the Arts and the Media). However WACAP found that *"When collaborating with ministries you have to start over again and again because the staff turnover is high."*[237]

(d) CARE International

[233] QUIPS Final Evaluation, p. 7
[234] The Community School Alliances Project: Advancing the State of the Art of Community Participation in Basic Education" EDC, Global Learning Group: Project Monograph, p.7.
[235] Ministry of Education and Sports.
[236] EQUALL 2006 Annual Workplan, p.22
[237] WACAP staff interviewed in 2006.

CARE International formed an implementational partnership with the NFED of the MOE to produce curricular materials for their YES programme. This arrangement proved 'very challenging'[238] due mainly to poor quality and major delays in delivery of outputs. Collaborative partnerships were also set up by CARE with the DEO of the Wassa West District, in order to facilitate the implementation of both SCORE and BECS programmes: "the project assisted the District Directorate of Education in building its internal capacity. This took the form of donating a computer with accessories to the office, training some staff in decentralization and advocacy, and sponsoring a sandwich course for the District Director of Education at the University of Cape Coast for a Master of Philosophy Degree in Education Management."[239] All this investment yielded negotiable returns however, in terms of pro-active collaboration from the DEO resulting in any tangible benefits to CARE's programmes.

Conclusion

The above examples demonstrate how difficult it can be to strike a balance between co-operation with government and efficient participation or implementation from their side. One problem in collaborating with district level MDAs is that many district office staff are not even conversant with government policy and plans, especially recent ones. They frequently lack copies of policy documents or might have a limited number monopolized by senior staff. There is moreover a fear, endemic to bureaucracies, of taking any decisions without consulting higher levels. This results in stasis, rigidity and the inability to respond to particular needs of communities.

6.7.2.2. Collaboration with other local Implementing Partners (IPs)

Apart from collaborating directly with DAs and MDAs, the education programmes reviewed have also partnered with and worked through other local bodies, including project stakeholder committees, local NGOs, CSOs, and professional Implementing Partners (IPs). As seen in previous sections, some of these collaborations have been very successful, eg. the SfL committees. QUIPS and GAIT II have also had impressive results using National Service personnel as field officers and community facilitators – "The QUIPS program partnered with the National Service Secretariat to train and post more than 350 university graduates as community development workers with several local Ghanaian NGOs, to deliver community-based education improvement programs and with an education assessment NGO to design and implement a Monitoring and Evaluation Capacity Building Program." In addition to providing valuable manpower for project implementation, "building the capacity of local NGOs and working with the National Service Secretariat (NSS) strengthened Ghana's social development professional resource base."[240]

However there have also been challenges in the utilization of local partners for management, especially in the form of project stakeholders, because local capacity tends to be limited. Sometimes accountability is also a problem and when local project management committees are constituted at district level, they often lack cohesion because members do not have much to do with each other outside of committee meetings. In addition, such committees often feature high ethnic diversity and mixed agendas, as the different members are selected for what they can bring to the project by virtue of their belonging to a number of different organizations.

This was the experience of the RAINS/CAMFED programme with its project management committees known as CDAs. These were composed of about 50% assorted DA and district-level MDA representatives. The rest were NGO partners, traditional leaders' representatives, various CBOs including SMCs and PTAs, and teachers. "The CDA concept, although effective in many

[238] CARE staff, interviewed in 2006
[239] BECS Final Evaluation Report.
[240] QUIPS Evaluation Report.

ways, had a number of inherent problems including large and male-dominated memberships, diversity of agendas and poorly thought out membership regulations. Particular areas of difficulty that emerged in their implementation of duties were lack of efficiency and accountability and power struggles (and) alleged abuses of power..."[241]

Several projects which have involved people in project management at the community level have experienced that their capacity to deliver is limited. One example of this is SCORE: "*We trained SMC and PTA executives in PLA. They were able to do Focus Group Discussions but could not use the tools because their training was not enough. It takes time to convince uneducated people that they can hold a pen and do it. People need to be trained for at least 3 weeks. For illiterates there should be a refresher course after a week in PLA and facilitation skills.*"[242]

Indeed, PRA/PLA methodologies, as indicated in 6.1.2.1 (B), have proved extremely successful in building this kind of managerial capacity in communities. In the GAIT II programme, the positive impact of PRA activities was cited repeatedly by different stakeholders and they additionally indicated the follow-up training and visits by GAIT staff as extremely effective in building capacity and promoting sustainability. A recommendation from the BECS evaluation was that "Some training programmes, or aspects of them should be taken to the communities and conducted there to enable the course participants better imbibe the course content on the basis of the physical conditions of their own environment."[243]

6.7.3. Internal Project Management

Some internal management challenges from other initiatives are shared below.

6.7.3.1. Project Staff

For projects based close to their areas of implementation, it is always a struggle to maintain qualified staff. This was the experience of CARE International with their Western Region-based programmes: "BECS suffered a rather high staff turnover. Within its relatively short life span of four (4) years, the project lost three (3) substantive Project Managers, two (2) Assistant Project Managers, and three (3) Project Officers to resignations….Monitoring and Evaluation of BECS implementation was further weakened by the resignation of core members of staff some of who had, in fact, benefited from M & E training."[244]

Although such high turnover may have been due to other factors, the location of the project headquarters in Tarkwa, a district capital, was definitely less attractive to qualified staff than a regional capital, particularly Accra or Kumasi, would have been. This had also been a problem with SCORE and one which had been flagged by the evaluation report, which indicated the need for an attractive employment package for highly qualified professionals based in such areas. Another challenge in this regard is recruiting and maintaining female staff to serve in such areas. This leads to male dominated project implementation teams as was the case for both BECS and SCORE and for other such projects.

CARE International staff indicated that "*Project managers must immerse themselves in the project and go into the field often. Programming cannot be done from a distance because impressions can be superficial, for example, you can't tell if you are getting all the children in school.*"[245]

[241] RAINS/CAMFED Evaluation Report, p. viii
[242] Former SCORE project staff, interviewed 2006.
[243] BECS Final Evaluation Report.
[244] BECS Evaluation Report.
[245] CARE International staff, interviewed in 2006.

QUIPS found that "one of the positive aspects of the design of the QUIPS program was its integrated approach – but the integration often was difficult to achieve. One reason was a lack of shared vision and teaming needed to ensure that all implementing agencies worked together coherently."[246] Indeed this is a common problem of integrated programmes, whether partners are professional colleagues or project stakeholders (as discussed above). GAIT II has also had this problem because the highly integrated nature of the programme requires input from an assortment of different professional and stakeholder partner teams.

6.7.3.2. Project M&E

Several of the initiatives reviewed have had problems monitoring and evaluating their projects due to poorly designed M&E systems, poor data collection especially at baseline stage, and lack of uniformity of M&E tools over the life of the project. Some examples are provided below.

(a) BECS

"Poor M&E made it difficult to assess the qualitative impact of the project especially with regard to relationships between CSOs and government."[247]

(b) GAIT II

"Community Facilitators indicated a problem in fitting gains to indicators within the program's M&E system. Some found it challenging in cultural and even linguistic terms, to break down the training they had received into something that was easy for community members to digest. They also felt that reporting timelines were not always sensitive to local conditions and found it difficult to fit attitudinal changes into the rather rigid and complex M&E reporting system."[248]

These examples point to the need for M&E systems that are well designed, consistent over the life of the project and last but not least, appropriate and sensitive to their cultural context.

[246] QUIPS Final Evaluation
[247] BECS Final Evaluation
[248] GAIT II Mid-term Evaluation

6. Suitability of reviewed initiatives and current government programmes to the needs of cocoa growing areas

This chapter examines the suitability of the various quality education initiatives reviewed and of current relevant government policies and programmes, to the needs of cocoa growing areas as identified in Chapters 3 and 4.

7.1. Parallel models

7.1.1. Private schools

The contrast between the sample private school reviewed in Chapter 5 and neighboring state schools is startling. As a private enterprise it is entirely needs-based and as a model initiative, it addresses to some degree almost all the critical intervention areas identified in Chapter 4, as summarized by the table below.

Challenges	Successful responses
Socio-cultural	Community cohesion due to ethnic and religious homogeneity, promoting strong community ownership and support for the school and strong interest in education.
Cultural	
Economic	Flexibility in fee payments tailored to unstable income of cocoa farmers. Nature of the school as a private enterprise means that basic academic needs are provided. Private ownership also having direct positive impact on supervision.
Gender	*No particular advantage*
Governance/Political	Good leadership situation – chief of same ethnicity as majority population. Successful religious leadership also directly impacting the school.
Academic	Highly successful - concrete and systematic efforts being made on many fronts. Particularly impressive teacher situation and highly effective supervision.
Linguistic	Not a problem due to ethnic homogeneity.
Geographic	Teachers living on site. Evening classes helping compensate for missed instructional time.

Not all these successful responses can be attributed directly to the school itself, some derive simply from the nature and composition of the community and are simply 'their good luck,' one might say. To counterbalance that, however, one could cite their extremely low resource base, as evidenced by their poor infrastructure. There are two areas where particular credit can be given to the school. The first is economic – the sheer nature, flexibility and modus operandi of a private enterprise as against a state one, above all in its implications for ownership and supervision. The second – which derives to a large extent from the first - is their academic approach. As a profit-making enterprise and an individual's livelihood investment, it simply has to be performance-based. The only area where this school is at as great a disadvantage as the state schools is in gender. This indicates the difficulty of the gender problem and the fact that it is dependent on many wider factors which are difficult to address.

When asked about the differences between state and private schools some of the responses from parents and teachers in sample communities were:

- *"Private schools are better because the owners take interest in supervision and provision of children's needs."*
- *"Government school children are more likely to be engaged in child labour than private school ones. Those with children in private schools have invested money in their education so they will not waste children's time farming."*
- *"Those whose children are in private schools don't let them watch videos so much. Private schools have part-time classes in the evenings."*
- *"In private schools there is better supervision because they have teachers and the proprietor is around. In a government school you try and discipline the staff and then they go on transfer and you have to look for new ones."*
- *"The difference between the private and public schools is supervision. In the private school the proprietor is there watching the teachers. In the public ones the government is nowhere to be found."*

The watchword here is clearly supervision. Supervision makes teachers do their job. It makes pupils focus on their studies, it creates an enabling environment for quality to flourish and consequently, to be invested in. Evidently, the achievement of quality depends more on this enabling environment, than on capacity and qualifications. As we have seen in Chapter 3, teacher capacity can be virtually nullified by the wrong environment and the emphasis must therefore be shifted from the qualification of teachers to their supervision. The Nkansah case demonstrates clearly that unqualified teachers with good supervision achieve drastically better results than qualified teachers with poor supervision. The current scenario in poor state schools is the wasted resource of competent teachers on one side, the wasted resource of capable pupils on the other and in the middle, a blockage consisting primarily of poor management and supervision, stemming from a vacuum of ownership. The capacity of such a private school to operate self-sufficiently with adequate academic capacity and good management all at the community level, makes it a very suitable model for remote cocoa-growing areas.

7.1.2. Unit schools

With reference to the discussion on unit schools in 5.2., it is possible that Regional Managers take a more active role in the supervision of their schools because they are answerable not only the government but also to their churches or institutions. Community members in Bisaaaso #1 also said that the church helps when the teachers have financial problems and sometimes also donates foodstuffs to teachers. The case of unit schools thus appears once again to be an example of the cohesive role of religion promoting ownership and thus support and supervision of schools.

7.1.3. The importance of ownership, management and supervision

The importance of ownership as the source of effective management and supervision has been dramatically highlighted by the above-described contrasts, particularly between private and public schools in cocoa communities. The fact that children in ramshackle private schools with no qualifed teachers are able to achieve better results indicates that methodology, teacher training, infrastructure and other material resources all come second to the over-arching problem of supervision. This is clear because effective supervision is the only advantage private schools in poor areas have over state schools and it derives from the fact that ownership of private schools is unequivocal. If the school fails, the owner makes a loss. This simple equation does not work in the state system because it is not clear exactly who the owners of state schools are.

Thus the issue of ownership must be critically examined if quality education is to be attained. Fortunately, it has been recognized by the ongoing education reform process which has identified the same issues and reinforces the observations made in this chapter. On unit schools it notes:

"Although there have been some difficulties in inter-relationships between units and District Directorates at the district level, the general feeling is that Education Units should continue to operate. This is in recognition of the fact that the religious organisations are still playing an important role in the development of education in the country through the Unit schools."[249]

On private schools it clearly acknowledges the link between improved supervision and superior academic results: "It is a fact that the internal supervision in many private schools is very good. It is the belief that the quality of supervision is one of the major factors responsible for the high academic performance in many of the private basic education schools. Many of their products enter the best public senior secondary schools and the universities."[250]

7.2. NGO/donor programmes

7.2.1. Characteristics of most suitable initiatives

The initiatives included in the review of Chapter 6 were selected because they respond to the needs of cocoa communities identified through this study, thus it is understood that there is already a level of suitability in their concept and design. In addition, the review has identified challenges and weak points in their implementation, providing lessons on how to improve on them. On the basis of this selection and analysis, programmes considered particularly suitable for cocoa communities are those that:

1. Are needs-based, rights-based and work within mainstream realities;
2. Respond well to the geographical and resource challenges of remote communities;
3. Build capacity for all three elements necessary for quality education - (1) teaching, (2) management and (3) resources – as much *at community level* as possible;
4. Additionally, build community capacity to:
    a. advocate for quality education as a right
    b. be well represented in local government;
5. Address the leadership and governance challenges of culturally complex societies;
6. Strengthen CSOs (including SMCs and PTAs) for community leadership and education advocacy;
7. Address the enabling environment through adult literacy programmes, advocacy empowerment and gender sensitization;
8. Place a high priority on gender and treat it as a cross-cutting issue in all programming;
9. Have a high use of PRA/PLA methodologies in all aspects of programming;
10. Make the relationship between government authorities and community representatives positive and functional in both directions;
11. Emphasize supervision above all other prerequisites for quality education.
12. Improve basic literacy at primary level;
13. Provide complementary education programmes (CEPs) mainly in mother-tongue literacy;
14. Provide local pupil teachers (LPTs).

7.2.2. Programmes successfully integrating these characteristics

The programmes that respond best to these specifications are those which have an education focus, but are integrated. This is because quality education in deprived areas is an issue that needs to be addressed from many angles at once. These are summarized below and will be discussed further in the recommendations in Chapter 8. Given the extreme difficulty of the gender issue in remote

[249] Report of the President's Committee on Review of Education Reforms in Ghana, 2002, p.159.
[250] Ibid, p.173.

cocoa areas however, specifically gender-targeted initiatives have additional best practices to offer and for this reason CAMFED has been added to the list below.

Action Aid	Needs- and rights-based, well-integrated approach with empowerment and advocacy factored into all programmes, experience working in remote communities with complementary approaches; REFLECT an excellent tool combining adult literacy with community (and gender) empowerment through PLA techniques. Incorporation of PRA/PLA into all aspects of programming.
CARE	Experience working in cocoa communities within remote forest areas. Addressing education via the empowerment of communities through CSOs; good IEC outreach specifically targeting quality education issues in cocoa areas.
EQUALL	Mother tongue literacy initiatives, CEP programme in conjunction with SfL, provision of LPTs, involvement in provision of distance learning options for LPTs.
GAIT II	Needs-based, highly integrated approach, addressing education via the empowerment of communities, mainly through CSOs. Bringing stakeholder groups together through PRA/PLA activities, to facilitate the process of communities claiming their rights and government authorities responding positively.
Ibis	Needs-based, integrated approach, experience working in remote communities, new interest in working in cocoa communities, proposal to Danida for wing schools to serve remotest communities.
SfL	Needs-based approach, complementary education programme in mother tongue literacy well tailored to local context with strong emphasis on supervision and high level of community ownership and involvement. Experience working in very remote areas, upcoming programme on wing schools.
CAMFED	Committed to girls' and women's empowerment and the advancement of their education. Has gained experience in some of the most challenging areas for gender in Ghana, and is thus well-placed to respond to the needs of cocoa areas.

7.3. Current government policy in the relevant sectors

7.3.1. Education

In 1995, the Ministry of Education launched the ten-year Free, Compulsory, Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) programme as part of the national development plan of the time, Vision 2020, in response to constitutional requirements under the fourth republic of 1992. The broad strategic objectives of FCUBE have remained at the forefront of education policy and have been recast in the MOE's current Education Strategic Plan (ESP) 2003-2015 which has been designed in line with the Education for All (EFA) goals, the Millenium Development Goals and the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS) 2003-2005. Its broad objectives with their matching policy goals are given below:[251]

1. Equitable Access to Education	• Pre-school education • Access and participation in education and training • Girls' access to education
2. Quality of Education	• Quality of teaching and learning for

[251] As laid out in the ESP document Vol. 1 MOE 2003.

	enhanced pupil/student achievement • Academic and research programmes • Health and environment in schools and institutions • Prevention and management of HIV/AIDS
3. Educational Management	• Education planning and management
4. Science, Technology and TVET	• Technical and vocational education and training • Science and technology education and training

In the Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS II), 2006-2009, the education policy objectives have been carefully selected to inform the thematic areas of the ESP. The strategic shift in focus from GPRS I to II is from basic poverty alleviation to striving for middle-income country status. This is reflected in a new Education Sector Reform Policy which has raised the targets for the education sector and brought forward some of the achievement deadlines, exceeding the standards of the MDGs and other international conventions to which Ghana has subscribed. This is intended to reflect government's commitment to achieving middle income status by developing its workforce through education, as cited in the introduction of this study.

The intended reforms have been laid out in a report by a presidentially appointed review committee[252] and endorsed in a 'Government White Paper of Education Reforms,' to be implemented from 2007. These reforms are intended to build upon the ESP commitments and will make school attendance obligatory for all children for 11 years - from age 4 to 15, including two years of Kindergarten, and three years of Junior High School. Second cycle education will become more inclusive and appropriate for the diversifying Ghanaian economy, "with an emphasis on technical, agricultural and vocational education as a credible alternative to the general grammar education."[253] The reforms will also improve levels of teacher education.

Another important impending event for education in Ghana is the plan for the MOE to decentralize its management functions to the district level and bring DEOs under District Assemblies. This will make district educational directorates the primary management units directing and reporting on education service delivery. The move is intended to respond better to local needs and "to promote more responsive approach to educational service delivery at the district, community and school levels." The government recognizes that for this process to be effective, there is "a need to strengthen and build the capacity of structures, systems and staff at the district and schools to effectively undertake educational planning and management." [254]

Some of the ESP's policy objectives and matching strategies directly relevant to the needs of cocoa-growing areas are given below:

[252] "The Committee was tasked to review the entire educational system in the country with the view to making it more responsive to current challenges. Specifically…was required to examine the structure of education and discuss issues affecting the development and delivery of education, the constrained access to different levels of the educational ladder….in addition to other cross-cutting issues." White Paper on the Report of the Education Reform Review Committee, p.3.
[253] Preliminary Education Sector Performance Report 2006, MOESS, June 2006. p.16.
[254] Ibid., p.83.

Equitable Access to Education (EA)

EA6 Provide infrastructure and encourage the Private Sector, CBOs, NGOs, FBOs, IGOs and Development Partners to participate.

EA7 Provide equitable educational opportunities.

3. Support hard-to-reach children and complementary/alternative education programmes.
6. Design and implement programmes for the integration of complementary schools with formal schools.

EA9 Prioritise the disadvantaged in society.

2. Reach and integrate excluded children (out-of-school, hard-to-reach, truants) intra-cycle dropouts and adolescent mothers within the formal system where possible.

EA11 Promote Distance Education.

EA12 Promote gender equity in enrolment and retention.

EA13 Prioritise female education at all levels, including technical and vocational education.

EA14 Promote the recruitment and deployment of female teachers.

2. Support teacher deployment in deprived areas, particularly females.[255]
4. Support volunteer teacher programmes in rural areas, with an emphasis on local recruitment (esp. of females).

Quality of Education (QE)

QE4 Develop a motivated teaching cadre for all levels with support from the Private sector, CBOs, NGOs, FBOs and Development Partners;

QE5 Improve the relevance of the curriculum at pre-tertiary levels.

1. Review national curricula at all levels in collaboration with key stakeholders to ensure relevance to national needs and conditions and remove bias (related to gender or special needs for example.)

Educational Management (EM)

EM5 Ensure effective decentralization and community ownership and participation;
EM6 Strengthen the involvement of civil society in education management;
EM9 Increase private sector participation in the education sector.

With regard to the needs of cocoa communities as identified in this study, current government policy and intended reforms are highly encouraging, in particular the recognition of out-of-school and 'hard-to-reach' children, the emphasis on private sector participation and civil society involvement, on teacher deployment, the cross-cutting gender focus, and the unprecedented embracing of complementary/ alternative education approaches including recruitment of LPTs. The decentralization of the MOE to District Assemblies if successfully carried out, should also be advantageous for the needs of remote communities because it will concentrate all state education responsibility within one body which has representation at community level and in relative terms, is more accessible to the people than the traditional MDAs. Improving the relevance of the curriculum at pre-tertiary levels and emphasising agricultural education could potentially also be positive for cocoa growing areas.

[255] This is repeated under the Quality of Education strategic objective under QE3 (2&4)

7.3.2. Labour

7.3.2.1. The MMYE's National Programme for the Elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labour in Cocoa 2006-2011 (NPECLC)

The NPECLC constitutes a component of the larger National Time-Bound Programme for Eliminating the Worst Forms of Child Labour (National TBP), being developed with assistance from the ILO's IPEC programme and the USDOL, which, in turn will be implemented as an integral part of GPRS II.[256] Within the framework of the TBP, the NPECLC will focus on the extension of child labour elimination interventions to cover the entire cocoa-growing area of Ghana within the shortest possible time.

The NPECLC is a comprehensive programme targeting all angles of the child labour problem including education, which is the fifth of seven objectives and which, at 36.5%, has the programme's second highest budgetary allocation. Specifically, Objective 5 is the: "Promotion of universal basic education and human resource development among cocoa growing communities." Its success indicator is "By 2011, all school age children below 15 years in cocoa growing areas will be attending school, and an increasing proportion of those completing basic education will be going on to senior secondary or equivalent technical or vocational training." Objective 5 breaks down into ten 'main interventions,' listed below:

5.1 Sensitize cocoa-growing communities on the need to send their children to school.

5.2 Mobilize/involve communities, especially chiefs, elders and community structures, to enforce the policy on compulsory basic education.

5.3 Contribute to, and involve the community in, the provision/ improvement of school facilities to increase the accessibility and quality of schools in cocoa-growing areas (including the implementation of gender-sensitive measures, such as sanitation facilities responding to the needs of girls).

5.4 Implement measures to identify children who are out of school and those at risk of drop-out, utilizing the community monitoring mechanism and other methodologies used in existing programmes.

5.5 Implement a programme to integrate children who are out of school in mainstream primary or junior secondary schools, non-formal education programmes, or vocational/skills training programmes as appropriate, adopting and expanding best practices and materials developed by GES, ILO and others.

5.6 Develop and implement measures for increasing the demand for education in cocoa-growing areas (including increased quality and relevance of education to the labour market and the overall economy in the cocoa growing districts.)

5.7 Examine the causes of school drop-out in cocoa growing areas and implement measures to address it, including interventions for enrolling and retaining children in school and for rehabilitating dropouts.

[256] The NPECLC also constitutes a major component of the government's Social Protection Strategy and will be closely linked to other national efforts for protecting orphans and vulnerable children (OVCs).

5.8 Design and implement measures for improving the quality of rural education, including the relevance of school curricula and content, as well as extra-curricular activities, to the rural populations of cocoa-growing areas. Possible measures include the introduction of cocoa farming practices into the school curriculum, remedial reading programmes and classroom discussions on child labour concerns. Also needed are measures for increasing the number of qualified teachers in rural schools, through training and retention (e.g. adoption of Action Aid, VSO and GES Access modules).

5.9 Expand existing vocational/skills training programmes to provide training opportunities for adolescents in cocoa-growing areas. For this purpose, develop linkages with the technical and vocational training components of the National Youth Employment Programme and those of other organizations such as Don Bosco.

5.10 Introduce vocational training courses/programmes focusing on the needs of the cocoa sector (integration into existing institutions where possible; establishment of new programmes/ institutions where needed, eg. Bunso Cocoa College could design special programmes for school leavers as prospective farmers, of say one year's duration. The programme will also draw on the experience, approaches, tools, lessons and other contributions from the STCP Farmer Field Schools in the design and implementation of this training programme).

Clearly, these objectives share much common ground with those of the MOE's ESP because both programmes are derived from common national policies and this bodes well for collaboration between the two sectors. Like the ESP and in line with current government strategy, the NPECLC is based on a multi-sectoral approach which requires the commitment and contributions of a variety of partners and stakeholders including government, civil society, development and industry partners at local and international levels. "Its implementation will be based on subsidiarity, the principle that a central authority should control only those activities that cannot be satisfactorily controlled at a more immediate or local level."

Consequently, the programme will combine a non-centralized implementation including coordination at the district level, while MDAs at the central level largely play a policy and national coordination role. "Programme implementation will emphasize community ownership and participation" [257] and one of three guiding principles is that "Interventions designed under the programme are prepared with the local communities and authorities (participatory approaches and local ownership)."[258] However the MMYE acknowledges that the need to develop technical and organizational capacity at central and sub-national (especially district and community) levels for such implementation, will be a major challenge.[259]

Apart from its directly education-related objectives, the programme also targets other aspects of the cocoa farming lifestyle that impact indirectly on education such as the low incomes of cocoa farmers: "…besides continuing efforts to increase average yields of cocoa farms, measures that help increase earnings are needed, such as the exploitation of other parts of the cocoa crop besides the beans, the development and marketing of new cocoa-based products so as to increase demand, and the promotion of new marketing strategies such as branding and fair trade initiatives…The promotion of cocoa consumption with a view to expanding domestic and external markets can help ensure attractive international prices for cocoa, a condition for improving farmers' incomes."[260]

[257] NPECLC policy document, p.ix.
[258] Ibid., p.17.
[259] Ibid., p.14.
[260] Ibid., pp 12&15.

As the NPECLC has been designed specifically for cocoa-growing areas, its relevance to the needs identified through this study is in-built. However it does not adequately recognize the poor quality of education as a cause of child labour in deprived areas, and overemphasizes poverty and lack of awareness in this role. Thus it places much emphasis (in terms of both design and budget) on interventions which are perceived as separate from the quality education problem. It also has a heavy reliance on the successful implementation of other government initiatives for its own success. These issues will be examined further in the recommendations section.

7.3.2.2. The National Youth Employment Programme (NYEP)

This MMYE programme has ten components of which one is a teaching programme. Under this programme, the MMYE recruits secondary school leavers who have passes in English, Mathematics or Science and passes them on to the MOE for posting as LPTs to needy schools within their districts of residence. Their salaries are paid by the MMYE.

8. Conclusions and Recommendations

8.1. The enabling environment: socio-cultural, political, economic

ICI is already addressing many of these issues though its YDK programme and it will be important to integrate or synchronize education interventions smoothly with other activities.

8.1.1. Being needs-and rights-based

The over-simplicity of poverty as an explanation for child labour, low enrolment and other social problems has already been mentioned in this study. To steer away from this trend, ICI/MMYE are advised to adopt a needs-based and rights-based approach to their education interventions. Action Aid Ghana is a model for this approach:

"Our focus on power was based on our belief that, too often, poverty is not experienced as a lack of access to resources, but rather as powerlessness caused by unequal power relationships. Thus…we more consciously began to facilitate communities to develop alternative sources of power…through training, access to information and support with immediate needs. Recognising that power is also derived from working with others, we strengthened 'power with' through support to networks and coalitions. Finally, in appreciating that low confidence in self, coupled with self deprecating beliefs about self, are often an unconscious and invisible barrier to climbing out of poverty, we strengthened the 'power within' of groups…by exposing them to positive role models and facilitating them to adopt more positive belief systems about themselves." Working with this approach, Action Aid has been "Facilitating the emergence of more empowering relationships within communities, between citizens and government and between developing countries and more endowed countries."[261]

This philosophy is also in tune with government's current emphasis on a sector-wide approach to development. Making programmes rights-based thus means empowering communities through:

1. Information and capacity-building; including -
    a. Making them literate
    b. Empowering them to advocate for their needs as rights
2. Formation of collaborative networks -
    a. In particular through the strengthening of CSOs.
3. Building their self-esteem -
    a. This is particularly important in cocoa growing areas due to the low image of communities, low community spirit due to cultural diversity and the low image of cocoa farming as an occupation.

Making programmes needs-based means:

1. Designing them on the basis of a thorough knowledge of beneficiary communities,
    a. In the case of communities high in migrants, it is particularly important to have a good understanding of their cultural, political and leadership complexities.
2. Designing them with adequate input from communities and ensuring that in communities of high diversity, all sectors are represented in such input.
3. Utilizing local resources and local culture in the design of interventions and activities.
4. Ensuring that communities take natural ownership of and (at least partial) responsibility for them. Some ways to do this are:

[261] AAG Annual report 2005 p. 3.

a. By founding projects on existing initiatives by the community;
b. By making communities compete or go through application procedures to benefit from projects (as in the case of SfL and GAIT II). ICI/MMYE could institute such a procedure for their education programme and give communities guidelines for the application process.

Useful tools for rights-and needs-based programmes:

1. Adult literacy programmes. Action Aid's REFLECT methodology is particularly recommended because it combines both literacy and advocacy empowerment and has a strong gender emphasis.
2. PRA/PLA methodologies. Again, REFLECT is recommended for being entirely PLA-based. However there is no shortage of models for PRA/PLA and ICI is already using it in the YDK programme. The use of PRA/PLA is recommended at every stage of a programme's life – feasibility, data-gathering, design, implementation, training and M&E. Action Aid is a good example of an organization which uses PRA/PLA in such a cross-cutting way.
3. IEC tools. Some of the IEC approaches used by CARE International are also recommended, in particular the making of films which feature community members or, as in the case of RAINS/CAMFED and The Learning Circle, films which involve local people in both production and acting. These are capable of tremendous impact.

8.1.2. Addressing the socio-cultural complexities of cocoa farming communities

These have not been directly targeted by any of the quality initiatives examined however it is recommended that ICI/MMYE take steps to address them in order to improve the enabling environment for its existing programme and its future education interventions. This would involve designing activities to examine and address:

1. The challenge of achieving representative and effective leadership in ethnically diverse communities.
2. The need to involve traditional leadership fully and not just ceremonially, in matters of education (and development in general) and to ensure cooperation and collaboration between them and local government structures at the community level. This is because local government structures are weak in remote areas and subject to constant shifts while traditional ones are often stronger, in addition to being more static and stable. However, in the modern set-up it is the local government structures that represent the official channel through which people must pass in order to claim their rights and resources, while the traditional system is basically cut out of the process, hence the importance of close collaboration between the two.
3. The low sense of pride, belonging, common purpose and the unwillingness to invest in such communities.
4. The low status of cocoa farming as a livelihood and the sense of dispossession and detachment that goes with smallholder tenant farming.

8.1.3. Strengthening CSOs

As BECS and GAIT II have shown, SMCs and PTAs are not the only CSOs whose empowerment can improve the quality of education. GAIT II has illustrated in particular, the dramatic impact that the strengthening of general CSOs and Civic Unions can have on bringing the voices of rural communities to the District Assemblies, and in improving their representation (including in gender terms) on DAs. The following is thus recommended for ICI/MMYE:

1. Provide capacity-building to local CSOs including cocoa cooperatives; link up where possible with Civic Unions established through the GAIT programmes and encourage the formation of new ones in cocoa-growing areas.
2. Involve these bodies in all awareness-raising activities, PLA activities/capacity-building etc. related to education.
3. Bring general CSOs together with SMCs and PTAs as much as possible and make SMCs and PTAs members of Civic Unions.
4. Facilitate links between CSOs/Civic Unions and DAs/MDAs.
5. Help CSOs and Civic Unions become financially independent eg. by assisting them to set up their own businesses and by facilitating their links with DAs.[262]

8.1.4. Having a cross-cutting gender focus

Gender in education is not just a school-based issue but a community-wide, institution-wide and ultimately, universal issue. An indirect but crucial element of improving the quality of education for girls is the improvement of the enabling environment. This includes:

1. The need to recognize women's role as major education sponsors and stakeholders.
2. The need for mothers and other female care-givers to acquire the capacity to engage with female pupils' educational experience.
3. The need to promote women in leadership.
4. The need for local female role models.

ICI is encouraged to facilitate these things through the formulation of a clear gender policy in its YDK programme (currently missing) and in its new education intervention under the NPECLC. The fact that gender is "a tough nut to crack" in these remote rural areas must be recognized and dealt with in a systematic fashion, making it a cross-cutting issue that runs through every aspect of programming and is as prominent in community-based interventions as in school-based ones. ICI/MMYE should also take note that women's church fellowships are an important target for gender awareness-creation and mobilization. These comprise huge networks of well-motivated women with a ready-made organizational structure and spirit of voluntarism which, outside religion, is difficult to find in Ghana.

8.1.5. Attaining a high level of self-sufficiency at community level

It is advisable for communities to become as self-sufficient in the provision of their educational needs as possible, in view of the following:

- Accessibility problems of remote communities;
- Neglect of remote areas by government authorities;
- The fact that the state education system just does not have enough resources to go round;
- The fact that communities are the most stable and sustainable force for development.

Aspiring to self-sufficiency means building the capacity for all three elements necessary for quality education - (1) teaching, (2) management and (3) resources – as much at community level as possible. This approach does not let the government 'off the hook,' on the contrary, one of the resources that it seeks to develop within the community is the human resource capacity to advocate to government for educational needs as rights, and to compete for scarce resources. However, it encourages communities not to sit back and watch the degeneration of educational quality in their schools while waiting for government and other external forces to deliver the solution. The approaches and activities already suggested above are all important in achieving this goal. Other specific ways in which ICI/MMYE can help build their partner communities' self-sufficiency in achieving quality education are:

[262] Civic Unions formed through GAIT II were able to generate income through performing services for DAs, which strengthened them in terms of both finances and advocacy capacity.

1. By giving communities an oversight and/or managerial role in projects as with the various complementary education programmes reviewed.
2. By helping re-constitute and revitalize existing but inactive structures intended for community-level involvement in and management of state schools, namely PTAs and SMCs. In communities with high migrant diversity it should be ensured that all parties are properly represented on such bodies. Moreover, representatives of traditional rulers should be drawn actively into the executives of these groups.[263] In addition to providing capacity building for these structures, ICI should also bring them together with and integrate them into other community committees, CSOs and Civic Unions. This will put them in a stronger position in their relationships with DAs.
3. By providing communities with clear information on government education policies, changes, new developments etc. For example, there has been much confusion over the introduction of the capitation grant, its purpose, what it does and does not cover, etc.[264]
4. By clearing the blockages in communication channels between community members and the bodies that are supposed to represent them at various levels. This is because for example, SMCs often forget or conveniently ignore their representational role and function with little consultation with the wider community.
5. By strengthening communities to generate their own resources. Some suggestions for achieving this are:
    a. Training communities in the education planning process. ICI's YDK programme has already trained them in the drawing up of action plans. Under their education programme, specific and detailed education action plans can be drawn up and integrated into the wider CAPs;
    b. Training communities in proposal writing and giving them lists of potential funders.[265] There should be a systematic involvement of teachers in such training because they are valuable resource people for this exercise.
    c. Using infrastructure projects as a means to build community planning and project implementation capacity. In addition to contributing labour and/or resources, communities should supervise construction projects in a transparent way.
    d. Designing interventions or initiating collaborations to address the unstable economics and money management of cocoa farmers;
    e. Enhancing community capacity to be well represented in local government by facilitating their involvement with DAs especially through their CSOs and CUs.

8.1.6. Material resources: infrastructure, services and educational facilities

Some of the hardest resources for communities to procure are major infrastructure and services such as roads, clean water, and electricity and these have direct and indirect impacts on the quality of education with particular gender implications. In order to assist their partner communities in this respect, ICI/MMYE are advised to:

1. Advocate at the relevant MDAs and DAs for the timely provision of government-obligated services and infrastructure to remote cocoa growing areas.
2. Build community awareness and capacity to engage in the sorts of application procedures necessary for the procurement of these services. These can be complex and require the bringing together of technical capacity (eg. literacy skills) and effective community representation, which is often a challenge in small, remote communities which have inactive

[263] It is often the case that these members of PTAs and SMCs play a representative but fairly uninvolved role and are often marginalized by the more educated and more ambitious members of the executives.

[264] This type of confusion has been extremely counterproductive as many parents have bought the idea that education is now totally free and do not understand why they should pay for volunteer teachers, stationery or anything at all related to their children's education. Their resultant lack of cooperation has actually been a setback to initiatives working to improve the quality of education.

[265] Some GAIT II communities have done this successfully and procured their own educational resources from the private sector and from NGOs. Teachers provided much assistance in this process, as SMC members.

Unit Committees and little contact with their assemblyman/woman. Traditional leadership tends to be marginalized from these application processes due to the need for literacy and for influence within the local government system and given their weak local governance situation, this puts small remote communities in a losing position.

3. Encourage cocoa industry partners to donate such infrastructure (eg. in the form of solar lighting and borehole pumps) to remote cocoa communities.
4. Investigate low-cost, local building technology options such as using bamboo to create 'roofing tiles', for school infrastructure and teachers' accommodation.
5. Encourage communities to raise funds from their citizens living in cities and abroad. Proposals can be written to individuals and to citizens abroad associations.[266]

8.1.7. Advocacy and assistance to improve government response to educational needs

As pointed out above, building communities' self-sufficiency does not mean reinforcing their marginalization by government authorities. Moreover, "NGOs must not…take over the responsibility of governments for education but rather, together with other stakeholders, stimulate the government to take the overarching responsibility for the education system…."[267] ICI/MMYE can help improve the government's response to educational needs at district and national policy levels as outlined below.

8.1.7.1. At district level

This involves making the relationship between government authorities and communities positive and functional. Activities which can facilitate this are:

1. Bringing together community members and representatives of DAs and DEOs for PLA training as in the case of GAIT II.
2. Facilitating links between CUs/CSOs and DAs as suggested in 8.1.3.
3. Entering into cost-sharing agreements with DAs for complementary education programmes including deployment of LPTs.[268]
4. Advocating for DAs to fulfil their educational responsibilities and to shoulder costs of uniform and stationery for school children.
5. Bringing together the different district level bodies involved in education. The splitting of financial and managerial responsibilities for education between the DEOs and the DAs is part of what makes education delivery difficult in remote communities. As cautioned in the GAIT II evaluation report, "DEOs do not take the initiative on funding matters, but are prepared to involve their trained staff if funds are available. DAs on the other hand, are used to funding education infrastructure but not activities centered around community mobilization for education management. There is the danger of each one sitting back and waiting for the other to take the initiative…."[269] Facilitating effective collaboration between these bodies through joint training opportunities, discussion fora, workshops etc., is particularly important in view of the impending decentralization of the education system that will bring DEOs under DAs.
6. Playing a facilitating role in DA sponsorships of teachers.[270]

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[266] In Apegya (Adansi South District, a YDK community) they raised 14 million cedis from citizens in the UK which was used to build a JSS school.

[267] "Child labour, basic education and international donor policies: A challenge to conventional wisdom." Campaign 'Stop Child Labour – School is the best place to work,' October 2004

[268] However such agreements must accompanied by a strong commitment from DAs since there have been cases of them not honouring them, eg. with Action Aid Ghana's REV programme. Perhaps involving traditional leaders as 'witnesses' of such agreements and giving them some ceremony and publicity might help prevent disappointment by DAs.

[269] GAIT II mid-term evaluation report.

[270] These involve DAs paying teacher training costs for local secondary school graduates under a bond which requires them to return and teach in their local communities for a period of years.

7. Helping bridge the gap between district and policy levels by facilitating links and information flows. School heads and DEO staff are as mentioned earlier, not always well informed about government policy. The different levels through which policy change must trickle are not well aligned, and also due to lack of supervision, individuals can choose *not* to implement policy change within their boundaries of responsibility. Many fear to make any changes without permission from higher levels and are discouraged by the bureaucracy of the system which can be slow, unresponsive and uncooperative even when they take the initiative. This leads to a situation whereby even existing opportunities for flexibility are not taken advantage of, or are wrongly implemented. Communication to remote areas also makes it hard to be up to date with policy changes. Examples of this are given below.
   a. Although schools are permitted to change their timetables from the standard one if there is the need, and this is even spelled out in the headteachers' handbook, few schools avail themselves of this opportunity. School staff in sample communities were asked if they were even aware of this option. Some were and others were not. Some expressed interest in making use of it during the peak farming season and market days, however none had actually done so.
   b. There is also the option for schools to introduce flexibility into their termly schedules. If there are good reasons, DDEs in consultation with their District Assemblies can change the schedule for the term for schools in their district, and then inform the GES headquarters. However this is almost never attempted even in areas where rainfall brings education to a virtual standstill for several months of the year.
   c. An example of problematic implementation of a policy provision for flexibility is the option for children to attend school without uniforms. As related in Chapter 3, although this is now widely permitted, children without uniforms are often shamed, sometimes punished, and continuously harried to procure them, which is unfair because it is beyond their control as children, to do so. In one of the sample communities, we were told "The children were previously allowed to attend without uniforms but the PTA took decision this term to sack those without uniforms."[271]

   Many problems of access could be mitigated or solved if these flexibility provisions in existing education policy were properly made use of. Cocoa-growing areas would benefit especially, given their serious geographical and other obstacles to educational access. Adjusting termly schedules might be one way to address the problem of children in remote hamlets having to travel to school during the rainy season.[272]

8.1.7.2. At policy level

ICI/MMYE should advocate for changes to improve the quality of education in cocoa growing areas, and particularly for the most remote areas. Suggestions on advocacy areas are given below.

1. Improved services and infrastructure (roads, water, electricity) for cocoa-growing areas as previously suggested.
2. Increased quotas for GES pupil teachers, and the lowering of qualifying criteria for such teachers.
3. Accelerated establishment of wing schools in remote cocoa-farming hamlets and deployment of LPTs to serve in them.
4. Recognition of conditions in remote cocoa communities by government, so that for example, pupils who have had no teaching in certain subjects are not forced to take public exams in them.

[271] Research community in Adansi South District.

[272] There is no easy solution to this problem. UNICEF has provided bicycles to children in remote villages in northern Ghana however bicycles cannot manage the terrain of forest areas in the rainy season.

5. Reduction in the number of subjects on the basic education curriculum. Despite imminent revisions in line with the current reform, the curriculum remains overloaded. This is in context of the fact that just attaining functional literacy is a major challenge in present day state schools in deprived areas.
6. Making 'FCUBE' truly free by government efficiently shouldering the costs of minimum stationery (especially exercise books - the cost of the minimum number of these per year is virtually equivalent to the annual value of the capitation grant per child as indicated in Chapter 3), and either abolishing uniforms or paying for them.[273] Such basic costs still represent a huge obstacle to education for many children and this does not make sense in a country with the kind of basic education crisis that Ghana has, a crisis which is not compatible with the country's aspiration for middle income status under GPRS II.

8.2. Teaching and Learning

8.2.1. Complementary Education Programme (CEP)

As has already been mentioned, academic interventions must place an overarching emphasis on supervision and be firmly embedded within integrated programmes which also feature community capacity-building. For this reason, School for Life's approach is highly recommended and ICI/MMYE are encouraged to make use of the fact that SfL actively encourages other organizations to adopt it and provides guidelines to help set it up. ICI/MMYE should dialogue with SfL about establishing it in cocoa communities and should also find out more about SfL's recently approved plan to add a second year to their course, to take out-of-school children up to a GES-accredited P6 level. This would be extremely useful for children in remote cocoa farming hamlets.

ICI/MMYE should also investigate the possibility of adding a 'bridging' stage to SfL's mother tongue literacy programme. This would comprise some English teaching along the lines of EQUALL's 'Bridge to English' (see 6.5.1.1.(b) on EQUALL's RIPE/BTL/BTE methodology), as well as a basic introduction to the subjects on the GES curriculum. This would facilitate the transition to formal school as well as be a motivation for parents.[274] ICI/MMYE should investigate the possibility of using GES teachers from local schools as resource persons for the 'bridging' stage of the programme.

8.2.2. Wing/feeder schools

ICI/MMYE should assist remote cocoa communities apply to the GES for wing schools. It can be part of the long-term plan for communities where ICI/MMYE establish complementary education programmes, that wing schools are established shortly after such programmes end. Such schools could potentially serve clusters of hamlets and will increase access for the younger children for some of whom distances to school are too long, even in the dry season. ICI/MMYE should enter into dialogue with SfL and Ibis on this issue.

8.2.3. Deployment of LPTs

ICI/MMYE should design a programme for the deployment of LPTs in cocoa communities, along the lines of those being implemented by several initiatives described in Chapter 6. LPTs should be viewed as a rolling and renewable resource of young people who give a period of teaching service

[273] The argument that parents should be able to shoulder this cost does not work for the poorest areas because the cost of uniforms and school footwear is far beyond the normal clothing budget of parents. In such areas, children's normal attire is rags and either bare feet or rubber slippers.

[274] One of the quality education indicators most often cited by illiterate parents is that 'children can speak English.' This is understandable given their limited capacity to judge quality otherwise, due to their own lack of education. It therefore builds their confidence in education standards and serves as a huge motivation when they hear their children speaking English. This is an important additional reason for schoolchildren to acquire English as soon as possible.

to their local areas and then move on to develop themselves further, and are replaced by a fresh crop. ICI/MMYE should thus require a minimum 2-year service period while ensuring the furthering of LPTs' skills by sponsoring their re-sitting of SS exams and supporting them, at least partially, to take the UTT/DBEP modular course. The importance of orientation and refresher programmes for LPTs has also been highlighted by GNAT. In addition, such training will serve as an important motivation for LPTs. Other incentives like bicycles etc. should be tied to performance. In addition to providing pre-service and refresher training, ICI/MMYE should also sponsor their LPTs to participate in the in-service training courses organized by GES for its own pupil teachers.[275] At the end of their service period ICI/MMYE should facilitate the sponsorship of LPTs as well as facilitators from their complementary education programme to TTCs by their DAs, as SfL does.

ICI/MMYE should investigate the possibility of tracking down SS leavers who are children of migrant farmers and who completed their basic education in the cocoa communities but were then sent to their parents' hometowns for senior secondary school. This will increase the potential pool of LPTs and hopefully of female ones in particular as these are scarce in cocoa areas. Female teachers are badly needed especially at kindergarten level where in some communities men are teaching at this level.[276] Assistance could be sought from GES to identify and trace such people through their enrolment, attendance and examination records.

ICI/MMYE should also consider assisting some of the JSS graduates from remote communities to further their education with a view to becoming pupils teachers, or sponsored teacher trainees who will return and teach in their communities. This is because there is currently a pool of JSS graduates in cocoa communities who are not continuing or making use of their education and represent a wasted resource when one considers that another few years of training could put them in a position to render some desperately needed teaching service to their communities, and at the same time develop themselves further. In Bisaaso #1 for example, it was discovered that in 2004 out of 16 JSS passes (only 4 of which were girls), 6 continued their education and 10 remained in the community. The opportunities for people remaining in such communities are limited mainly to farming and make little use of the education they have acquired. Thus the education of such children represents a largely wasted investment and an untapped resource that, with a little further investment, could boost teacher quotas in areas with significant deficits. It is particularly unfortunate to lose the potential of such girls when they are in such short supply and have overcome so many obstacles to reach that level of education.

ICI/MMYE should also investigate the possibility of obtaining national service teachers for remote cocoa communities. These are young university graduates who provide one year of service. They tend to be highly motivated and are often commended by the communities they serve. For this purpose ICI/MMYE should initiate dialogue with the National Service Secretariat.

A monitoring system should be put in place whereby a support officer visits these teachers on a regular basis to find out how they are doing, (physical, emotional welfare etc.) gives motivation and helps solve problems, in the style of voluntary service type organizations such as Peace Corps and VSO. This can probably be set up as an extension of the monitoring and supervision system for the CEP. Collaboration with the MOE and with GNAT will be important in the setting up of an LPT programme. See 8.3.5. for further details.

[275] GES includes teachers recruited by communities in their ISTs but doesn't pay their expenses as it does for its own pupil teachers.

[276] Especially in view of cultural norms whereby it is mainly women who look after infants, it is not ideal for men to teach at this level.

8.2.4. Quality Interventions in GES schools

Complementary education programmes must always serve as a bridge to formal education otherwise they run the risk of institutionalizing a system in which it is acceptable for children to work and thus be at risk of 'child labour.' Moreover, EFA can only be achieved through improving the quality of education at nation-wide levels, which means working with state systems. Thus, as indicated by the 'Stop Child Labour' campaign, "Although formal public education sometimes is of a bad quality, this is no reason to implement a part-time 'alternative system' for working children but requires improving the quality of the entire educational system."[277] In view of this and of the difficulties faced by children transitioning between complementary and mainstream education systems, ICI/MMYE are advised to design a programme to be run in partner communities concurrently with their CEP, which will improve conditions in state schools and create links between them and the CEP. One aspect of this will be the provision of LPTs to state schools as already discussed above. Other suggestions are:

1. Create opportunities to bring GES teachers together with LPTs and CEP facilitators operating within the same communities, in training and animation activities and provide performance-based motivation to GES teachers also. This will hopefully minimize envy and tensions between them as mentioned in 6.5.3.4.(B), and reduce the 'shock' in methodology differences for pupils transitioning between the CEP and formal schools. GES lower primary teachers should be invited to participate at least to some extent in the literacy training provided to CEP facilitators and to LPTs. They should learn about mother-tongue literacy teaching and phonic methodologies.[278] In some of the LPT training sessions, GES teachers could serve as resource persons, giving accounts of their own teaching experiences, which will make them feel an integral part of the process and give them the chance to get to know the LPTs before they become colleagues. It is recommended that some PLA activities are included in such training sessions, to strengthen solidarity between these different categories of teachers.
2. Motivation for GES teachers can be in the form of sponsorship of further studies (which many of them are already trying to do by individual means on a distance basis or during vacations), and/or useful items like bicycles or mattresses. However these should be strictly tied to performance and should be as similar as possible to motivation items provided to CEP facilitators and LPTs. Community participation should be sought in the provision of incentives to GES teachers concurrently with those provided to CEP facilitators and LPTs.
3. Expose GES school heads also to some of the training activities mentioned above, so that they know what is going on and can supervise teachers and LPTs effectively. They should also be included in the performance-based motivational awards mentioned above, which for them will depend on the performance of the school as a whole.
4. Encourage a two-way, or reciprocal collaboration between school management and community leadership structures, ie., links between the two should not be limited to the token representation of chiefs and Unit Committees on SMCs. Instead, chiefs should additionally be encouraged to invite headteachers as guests to sit in on some of their meetings with their elders. Unit Committees should also invite SMC/PTA reps to some of their meetings and Assemblymen/women should make special efforts to interact with them and introduce them at the DAs.

[277] "Child labour, basic education and international donor policies: A challenge to conventional wisdom." Campaign 'Stop Child Labour – School is the best place to work,' October 2004

[278] As pointed out by VSO, "…in the new English syllabus for Primary schools there is a section on Phonics; however, the teacher skills for implementing this are lacking." VSO Ghana Education Programme, Draft Annual Review Report 2005, p.17.

5. Include GES teachers and school heads in the monitoring visits by support officers, as suggested for LPTs and CEP facilitators. It must be borne in mind that they are usually 'outsiders' to their communities of service and can easily feel isolated and depressed by their harsh surroundings and in that sense, require such support even more than LPTs and CEP facilitators, who are usually indigenous.
6. Hold PLA awareness-raising activities for GES staff together with SMCs/PTAs and community leaders, on the need for both parents *and teachers* to stop abusing children's curricular time. This is particularly important in communities where teachers have become settled farmers themselves and use children for farm labour on a regular basis.
7. Foster strong links between the community-level bodies which play monitoring roles for state schools and for the CEP. This would include PTAs, SMCs and the supervisory committees for CEPs. ICI/MMYE should advocate to these committees and to community leaders, to organize social events that will bring GES teachers, LPTs and CEP facilitators together, eg. Christmas parties or 'teacher appreciation days' during which they can be presented with gifts from the community (eg. foodstuffs).[279] The latter could be combined with award presentations by the programme, to all three categories of teachers simultaneously. Such events could be timed to coincide with national teachers' day.
8. Make GES teachers feel like stakeholders in the community. This would mean ensuring their participation in community awareness-raising and mobilization events and promoting dialogue and negotiation between them and community members, eg. communities building accommodation for teachers so they can be locally resident and more punctual. Teachers can also be drawn in to assist communities in writing proposals for resources, as in the case of GAIT II, and rewarded with in-kind gifts from the community.

8.2.5. Support to private schools

Under the new education reforms the role of private education is being encouraged: "Private participation in the provision of basic schools in the country is not a new phenomenon, and has increased greatly over the years. It has helped in expanding access to many children especially in urban areas. There is the need to encourage religious bodies, NGOs and other private school providers to provide schools in deprived areas of the country."[280] In view of the remarkable difference that private schools can make in remote communities, as demonstrated in Chapter 5, it is recommended that ICI/MMYE support private education initiatives in cocoa communities, especially in the most inaccessible areas. Specifically, ICI/MMYE should:

1. Conduct a mapping exercise of registered and unregistered private schools in remote cocoa growing areas.
2. Identify cases in which interest already exists in establishing new private schools and where prior attempts have been made to do so. eg. as recounted in 5.1.1.8. ICI/MMYE should contribute financial support and capacity-building to help in the establishment of private schools in such communities. ICI/MMYE could invite donations and/or supportive partnerships from interested cocoa industry partners for this purpose. As demonstrated by the humble trappings of Pastor John Kumah Preparatory School in Chapter 5, high quality private schools can be established on a surprisingly small capital base.
3. Assist unregistered private schools in cocoa communities to register with the GES. The proliferation of unregistered private schools has led to a call by the Ghana National Association of Private Schools (GNAPS) on the government to close down all unregistered

[279] It should be noted however, as pointed out by ICI IPs, that cocoa communities sometimes find it difficult to motivate teachers with foodstuffs because they grow mainly cocoa. Thus other options can be investigated such as community labour on their farms.
[280] President's Committee on Review of Education Reforms in Ghana, p.38.

private schools operating in the country because some of these are charging exorbitant fees and deceiving parents by failing to register pupils for public examinations: "There is a total breakdown of licensing, registration and monitoring processes. Indeed, there is no law and order and it appears there is no controlling body in place."[281] Such a move could have unfortunate consequences for genuine schools that are providing urgently needed quality education in remote areas, but have not yet been able to fulfil the requirements for registration and complete the process.

4. It is thus recommended that ICI/MMYE take timely action to assist in the registration of genuine cases of unregistered private schools in remote areas, based on information gathered through its mapping exercise. Such a move should be well in tune with the reform process and hopefully facilitated by efforts to simplify the registration process as recommend by the reform review committee: "Government should support NGOs and religious bodies to establish private schools in rural and deprived areas to increase access, through tax incentives and more flexible regulations."

ICI/MMYE are however advised to ensure that there is a solid base of existing support and commitment in communities which want to establish and/ or register private schools. A religious base is ideal if it is genuine and credible, and was, as previously mentioned, the genesis of formal education in this country. This will provide a backbone of moral and financial support and will also guard against unscrupulous financial exploitation. Support and investment from citizens in urban areas and/or abroad would also be a good foundation for private schools in remote areas. In the absence of these, evidence of vibrant and unified community support, and in the case of existing schools seeking registration, an active PTA, will also be favourable indicators of viability and potential sustainability.

8.2.6. Promoting gender equity in education

Given the pronounced gender inequities in education in these areas, the extreme shortage of female teachers in the remoter communities and the high rate of teenage pregnancy among JSS girls, the following measures are recommended:

1. Special additional incentives to attract female teachers to remote communities and improve the gender balance in teaching staff. These should be provided for all categories of teachers, - GES, LPTs and CEP facilitators and should be in addition to standard incentive packages provided for male teachers. Such a drastic measure is warranted by the total absence of female teachers from many cocoa communities. It cannot be overemphasized how negative and unhealthy this situation is with regard to gender equity in education.
2. Anecdotal evidence suggests that there is a relatively high incidence of female teachers experiencing sexual harassment in their host communities.[282] Indeed, given that many or most female teachers serving in remote areas are likely to be young and single, this is not an unlikely prospect. This issue should therefore be incorporated into awareness-raising activities with communities and into teacher training sessions, in order to reduce its incidence.
3. Gender approaches and sensitivities should be incorporated into institutional practices through the training of GES teachers, LPTs and CEP facilitators, and into educational materials for complementary education programmes.
4. Priority should be given to the provision *and maintenance* of toilet facilities in schools to make them more 'gender-friendly.'

[281] Godwin Sowah, President of GNAPS quoted in "Close 'Em Down, GNAPS tells govt." - Article in Daily Graphic Newspaper, 15 February 2007, p.1.
[282] GNAT staff indicate that this is common especially by chiefs.

5. Tackle the issue of teenage pregnancy directly and in context of the broader gender issue, through PRA and IEC awareness raising activities with school children and parents. The use of purpose-designed materials such as WUSC's child rights series and UNICEF's 'Sara Initiative' kit is recommended.
6. As previously recommended, any efforts to improve services and infrastructure in remote communities should automatically improve gender equity in education. These should be complemented by awareness-raising activities to promote awareness of the impact of household work on girls' education: "Special attention for, and a more direct approach towards 'girls labour' is absolutely necessary ….The work of girls is hardly visible and contributes to the large 'gender gap' in education today. An important problem is that working in one's own or even somebody else's household, even if this is interfering with the right to education, is often not considered as child labour."[283]

8.2.7. Reaching out-of-school children

8.2.7.1. A holistic approach

It has been pointed out that educational initiatives aimed at removing children from child labour need to target all children, both in and out of school. As experienced in India, "While MVF[284] started by 'targeting' certain groups of children in the worst forms of child labour, they soon discovered that to make an impact on eliminating child labour as a whole or even withdraw children from hazardous work, they had to deal with the whole population of out-of-school children. Without the existence of a norm that 'No child should work and every child should be in school,' bringing one group of children to school would mean that another group would soon replace them."[285] The replacement of one set of child labourers with another is a real fear in Ghana also and might theoretically even lead to an increased incidence of trafficked children in the cocoa sector. It is thus recommended that ICI/MMYE –

1. conduct data gathering exercises on numbers of out-of-school children in their partner communities, possibly using PLA techniques.
2. take steps to ensure that all out-of-school children are enrolled either in formal school or in the complementary education programme.
3. provide or solicit scholarships for children who complete the CEP but whose parents cannot afford to send them to formal schools.

8.2.7.2. Trafficked children

Trafficked children are an extremely difficult category to deal with when it comes to education, for the following reasons:

1. They are difficult to identify.
2. The people they work for are mostly not their kin[286] and have no interest in them beyond their economic productivity. Therefore they will resist sending them to school because they have invested in them as a labour force and are thus unwilling to bear either the cost or the opportunity cost of their education.
3. Their expatriation, their ethnic difference and the alteration in their status through their transfer, means that they are in effect no longer members of *any* community. They are put in a position where they cannot gain anything to replace what they have lost and are thus alienated from both past and present homes. This excludes them as beneficiaries of

[283] "Child labour, basic education and international donor policies: A challenge to conventional wisdom." Campaign 'Stop Child Labour – School is the best place to work,' October 2004. P.7
[284] Mamidipudi Venkatarangaiya Foundation, an Indian NGO
[285] "Child labour, basic education and international donor policies: A challenge to conventional wisdom." Campaign 'Stop Child Labour – School is the best place to work,' October 2004. P.3
[286] They are often not even from the same ethnic group.

development processes featuring a high level of community participation, such as quality education. Sadly, they are thus excluded both in their host communities *and* in their home communities making them 'fall between the cracks' and effectively move beyond the reach of quality education or indeed, of any education at all.

For these reasons the lack of access of trafficked children to education cannot be addressed effectively in their host communities. The absence of their support network of parents and home community that have been identified in this study and others as being so crucial to the attainment of quality education, makes it impossible. Thus all programmes to address the child labour problem in cocoa, including through the education angle, must embrace the inextricable, if disagreeable relationship between cocoa communities and the distant communities which supply trafficked children as labourers. Although these children appear to represent a minority of children on cocoa farms, they are the most deprived, the most rights-violated and as such, must be given priority. It is therefore recommended that the education intervention of ICI/MMYE target not only cocoa-growing areas but also areas identified as sending sources of trafficked cocoa child labourers. These are mainly in northern Ghana as well as in neighbouring countries. Fortunately, SfL, LUTRENA and other potential collaborative partners are already working on quality education interventions in some of these areas. Prevention is the only real cure for child trafficking and poor quality education in northern Ghana is just as much if not more of a spur to child labour,[287] as it is in the cocoa growing areas. Thus initiatives to improve the quality of education in sender communities are and will be just as pertinent to the cause of reducing child labour as those targeted at actual cocoa-growing areas.

8.2.7.3. Fostered children[288]

Unlike trafficked children, fostered children are mostly under the charge of their own relatives.[289] However similar rules apply with regard to education because they usually also represent a labour force that is not intended to be sacrificed to education. With the weight of tradition behind it kinship fostering is a formidable adversary to educational access and is still practised to varying degrees by many ethnic groups in Ghana. It is likely that a high proportion of the out-of-school children in this country, are fostered children. It is also likely that many or most trafficked children started out as fostered children in their home communities. To get fostered children enrolled in school or on the complementary education programme will require pressure from community leaders[290] and/ or mentality changes and willingness to adjust their farming and domestic labour arrangements on the part of community members. PLA and IEC awareness-raising activities will be important for this. RAINS/CAMFED have experience in advocacy on this issue[291] and have produced some IEC materials, including an excellent film made by their partner organization, The Learning Circle.

8.2.8. Making the curriculum more relevant

Community members in research communities were asked if they would like their children to learn about cocoa farming in school. There were mixed responses. Some said 'yes' and some said a definitive 'no' because they did not want their children to become cocoa farmers. Others said it might improve the image of the profession in the children's eyes by making them think *"that cocoa farming is not only for illiterates."*[292] The most frequent response was that they did not want their

[287] and by extension, to child trafficking.
[288] This refers to the traditional practice of kinship fostering as defined in 2.4.
[289] Not parents but uncles, aunts or more distant relatives.
[290] There have been cases of communities enacting bye-laws threatening to expel anyone refusing to send their children to school. If effective, such measures might be able to reach fostered and even trafficked children, however they would likely be difficult to enforce.
[291] But with a gender bias.
[292] Community members interviewed in one of the sample communities.

children to become cocoa farmers but would like them to learn about cocoa in order to help them (their parents). In Akotreso parents suggested that children should also study other income-generating activities like fish farming and the rearing of snails, grasscutters etc. In addition to raising the image of the profession and making children capable of helping their parents, lessons on cocoa farming might also represent a good opportunity to teach farm safety practices.

It is thus recommended that ICI/MMYE incorporate some instruction on cocoa farming and farm safety practices into the curriculum for their complementary education programme. ICI/MMYE should investigate materials produced through initiatives like CARE's YES project as a potential resource. As far as GES schools are concerned, it should not be difficult to find appropriate sections of the national curriculum under which cocoa farming could be studied. At the upper primary level, it could be slotted into the Integrated Science syllabus. At JSS level it could come under Integrated Science and/ or Agricultural Science. At the senior secondary level cocoa farming actually already exists as an option within the syllabuses of three subjects namely Integrated Science; General Agriculture; Crop Husbandry and Horticulture.

However, although cocoa farming and farm safety practices would not be difficult to work into the national curriculum, such an endeavour is not considered a priority for ICI/MMYE because, as has already been pointed out a couple of times, it is not so much the syllabus or methodologies that are a problem but rather the capacity and skills to teach them. More basic still, the sheer availability of teachers is a problem. Given the struggle for children in cocoa communities to attain the very basics of education, ICI/MMYE are advised to focus for now on programmes targeted at the basic education level and specifically at the attainment of basic literacy and numeracy.

8.3. Collaboration with other stakeholders in Ghana

The current favoring of a multi-sectoral approach by the GOG and its unprecedented willingness in recent years to adopt and mainstream NGO approaches in responding to grassroots-level needs, makes the timing ideal for ICI to begin an education programme in Ghana aimed at mitigating child labour, in partnership with government and other NGOs. As recommended by the presidential reform review, "multi-sectoral approaches have a much more effective and sustained impact in the elimination and prevention of child labour, combining the involvement of relevant government line ministries, social partners and civil society.[293]

8.3.1. GOG

The MMYE has invited ICI to be a partner in the implementation of the NPECLC. This offers ICI an opportunity to respond to the needs of children in cocoa communities as a participant in a multi-sectoral process whose sustainability prospects are increased through being owned by the structures in charge of mainstreaming it. MMYE has recommended the drawing up of an MOU between itself and ICI for collaboration on the NPECLC and has suggested the integration of interventions designed in response to this study, with the education objectives of the NPECLC. ICI has thus been provided with a ready-made collaborative link with GOG in its education programme. The process of official dialogue and collaboration between the MMYE and the MOE for the integration of their joint education objectives is an important and imminent process. As an NPECLC partner, ICI is advised to form the required links with the MOE for its education programme, within the framework of this impending ministry-to-ministry collaboration. The same is advised for links with MOWAC, which is also a collaborating government body for the NPECLC and an important partner in gender and child labour issues. ICI's collaboration as an MMYE partner is important in view of the government's sector-wide approach which discourages independent, uncoordinated

[293] President's Committee on Review of Education Reforms in Ghana, 2002.

development interventions: "….extensive 'off-budget' support, through uncoordinated projects and inputs, whether from donors, lenders, non-public sector NGOs, CBOs, FBOs or the private sector can make it difficult to plan properly and to use resources effectively."[294] The MMYE's willingness to collaborate with relevant NGOs and its interest in this study as an informative process bodes well for a healthy and consultative partnership.

8.3.1.1. MMYE

(A) ICI collaboration on the NPECLC

Discussions have been held between the consultant for this study and the Deputy Minister of Manpower on ICI/MMYE collaboration on Objective 5 of the NPECLC, which is: "Promotion of universal basic education and human resource development among cocoa growing communities" MMYE is open to ICI selecting the particular 'main interventions' under this objective, that match ICI's education interests. These have been listed in full under 7.3.2. and are in their entirety, broadly responsive to the areas of need identified through this study and recommended for attention. In total there are ten main interventions and they feature a certain amount of overlap. Most of them will be addressed through the types of activities already recommended to ICI in this chapter. Given this and the fact that some of them are also being addressed through ICI's existing YDK programme, ICI is advised to embrace all ten of them with the following emphases and precautions as guidelines:

1. Give priority to the basic education level because this is where need is most urgent and the greatest volume of child labour occurs. Interventions at secondary and vocational levels should not be for the first phase of ICI's education project except perhaps with regard to the National Youth Employment Programme (see #6. of this list).
2. Emphasize poor quality of education as a *cause* of child labour that takes precedence over poverty and ignorance.
3. NPECLC intervention area 5.1 is on the sensitization of cocoa-growing communities on the need for education and 5.2. is on the mobilization of community leaders and structures to enforce the policy on compulsory basic education. These activities must be approached sensitively. With reference to 2.2. of this study, awareness-raising activities should not be premised on the assumption that people choose labour over education for their children due to ignorance, poverty or callousness. This approach amounts to treating a symptom rather than a cause. Animation activities with communities should be conceptualized less as the 'sensitization' of, by inference, 'insensitive', or 'un-sensitized' or ignorant people, and more as -
    a. information-sharing eg. on their rights, on government policies and generally on things they genuinely do not know about;
    b. capacity-building – for advocacy for their own welfare, and for increasing their own self-sufficiency in provision and management of educational needs.

    This process should be founded on the recognition of their disempowerment and attendant lifestyle choices, rather than on their ignorance. It should be an integral part of a programme strategy that aims to give such people the tools they need to address their disempowerment, and thereby the ability to make informed and decent life choices that correspond to their rights. Above all, the fact that they are dissatisfied clients of the public education system must be acknowledged and addressed side by side with any attempts to enforce 'compulsory' policies on education.

[294] ESP Vol. 1 MOE 2003, p.36.

4. NPECLC intervention area 5.8 includes "Design and implement measures for improving the quality of rural education, including the relevance of school curricula and content, as well as extra-curricular activities, to the rural populations of cocoa-growing areas. Possible measures include the introduction of cocoa farming practices into the school curriculum, remedial reading programmes and classroom discussions on child labour concerns." In the more deprived communities the concept of 'extra-curricular activities' is problematic because curricular time itself is already so abused and mismanaged. Putting the requisite teacher capacity and supervision in place just to implement the basics of the curriculum is in itself a challenge and this must be prioritised before extra-curricular activities. In addition, the need for children to have proper breaks in the school day when they are allowed to eat and relax without being made to do other learning or sent to farm or do other work for their teachers or parents, needs to be emphasized. With regard to "the introduction of cocoa farming practices into the school curriculum and classroom discussions on child labour concerns," as mentioned in 8.2.8., the inclusion of cocoa farming in the curriculum is a worthwhile undertaking although not a top priority in the broad spectrum of things as they currently stand. However, the treatment of child labour concerns in depth with children rather than their parents is not particularly recommended. Given the nature of parent-child relationships in rural Ghanaian societies, child labour is an issue under the exclusive control of adults and making children vocal on the topic might actually earn them punishment from their parents. Such targeted 'sensitization' for children is ahead of its time. At this stage, their effective acquisition of literacy and the restoration of their parents' faith in education will do more to protect them from child labour than giving them lessons about it. However, ICI/MMYE should investigate with MOE's BED and CRDD, whether child labour issues are or will be included under 'Citizenship Education' at upper primary and 'Social Studies' at JSS level and if not, advocate for their inclusion because these are the appropriate contexts within which children should learn about these issues. Any additional or external efforts to make children aware of child labour issues should be conducted together with (and jointly targeted at) parents.
5. NPECLC intervention area 5.8 also includes "measures for increasing the number of qualified teachers in rural schools, through training and retention (e.g. adoption of Action Aid, VSO and GES Access modules)." Clarity is advised in the use of the word 'qualified' to designate categories of teachers required because what have been termed 'LPTs' in this study are not formally qualified but are highly recommended for cocoa communities with high teacher deficits and turnover.
6. NPECLC intervention area 5.10 includes expanding vocational/skills training programmes "to provide training opportunities for adolescents in cocoa-growing areas. For this purpose, develop linkages with the technical and vocational training components of the National Youth Employment Programme…" Linkages with the NYEP are indeed recommended not only for the technical and vocational components but also for the teaching component which is playing an important role in the supply of pupil teachers sponsored by District Assemblies. A linkage with this component is recommended as an integral part of ICI's collaboration with MMYE on the NPECLC. However, the MMYE will have to take measures to address the current problematic conditions of service of the NYEP, in particular late payments, in order to avoid a bad reputation for the scheme. A participant from the Kpando District questioned in a recent newspaper article "whether it is really an employment or a punishment? This is because close to seven solid months now we have not received our allowances, not even a penny has been paid us. Meanwhile, we are on the field doing the work."[295]

[295] Alfred Korsiga Kwame, Kpando District in Daily Graphic article entitled 'Youth employment or punishment?', 19/03/07.

Looking beyond the education objective to the NPECLC as a whole, an additional guideline is for ICI to be circumspect about the various assumptions and conditions upon which the programme partially relies for its own success, as described in the sections of the programme document quoted below:

"Programme design and targets are based on the assumption that the agricultural modernization, employment and income growth, rural infrastructure, social service delivery, human resource development and good governance goals contained in GPRS II, including measures targeting vulnerability and exclusion, will be achieved on time, thereby creating a very favourable environment for the rapid elimination of the WFCL in Ghana."[296]

"In the light of the very favourable conditions being created by the full implementation of the FCUBE policy, particularly the abolition of fees and charges for public primary and junior secondary schools and the various measures for improving the quality of education, as well as other pro-poor initiatives such as the NHIS, the full rollout of these strategies to cover all cocoa-growing districts in the first two years of the programme, is expected to lead to a reduction of at least 50% in the incidence of WFCL in the cocoa sector by the end of 2008, relative to the baseline that will be established in 2006. Such a substantial decline in a relatively short period is possible as many child labour cases involve children who are out of school for reasons related to parents' inability to pay fees and charges, or those involved in hazardous work for lack of awareness about its consequences."[297]

- "The ongoing development of school infrastructure, provision of text books, curriculum reforms and teacher training programmes will all contribute to the improvement of the quality of basic education in public schools, which should help increase the demand for education.
- The increasing availability of credit for the poor through micro-finance schemes eg. interventions planned under GPRS II.
- Land tenure reform through the Land Administration Project (LAP)…can help to adderss the critical land access and inheritance issues that militate against the development of agriculture.
- Planned improvements to rural infrastructure under GPRS II, aimed at modernizing the agriculture sector is expected to make rural residence and farming more attractive to the youth…"[298]

Apart from being optimistic, some of these assumptions are also founded on the over-simplified sorts of notions about the relationship between poverty, ignorance and child labour which have already been flagged in relation to the NPECLC intervention areas and elsewhere in this report. Thus in the design of a collaborative programme with the MMYE, ICI will have to be mindful of the guidelines suggested to modify these approaches, and in addition, tailor its plans according to how much faith it has in all these assumptions and conditions being fulfilled as projected.

(B) Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between ICI and MMYE

MMYE has recommended the drawing up of an MOU between MMYE and ICI for their collaboration on the NPECLC and has requested that ICI define the areas of the country in which it would work. ICI is advised to respond by recommending the holding of a consultative planning process by MMYE that would bring together representatives of:

[296] NPECLC Programme document Annex 1 p.1.
[297] Ibid, p. 17
[298] Ibid pp. 13-14

1. initiatives currently working on quality education in cocoa areas *and* in areas identified as sources of trafficked cocoa child labourers,
2. organizations that are in the process of proposing or designing such initiatives,
3. NGOs identified by MMYE as collaborative partners on the NPECLC,
4. relevant and collaborating MDAs and DAs,
5. private schools from remote cocoa areas,
6. GNAT, GNECC, NNED and other relevant education coalitions.

This process could take the form of a broad consultative forum followed up by one or two smaller, more targeted planning exercises. This would enable MMYE/ICI to design their education intervention in a highly consultative manner which would avoid both thematic and geographic duplication of existing or planned interventions by other organizations.

The MOU would thus be drawn up on the basis of:

1. the needs analyses and matching recommendations of the review in this study,
2. their alignment with the MMYE's education objectives, informed by the suggested guidelines,
3. the consultative process proposed,
4. the resulting joint plan between ICI and MMYE.

(C) Geographic scope of ICI/MMYE collaboration on NPECLC

Apart from the avoidance of duplication through a consultative process, some additional recommendations on geographic scope are:

- As previously suggested, the inclusion, if practicable, of areas not involved in cocoa farming but known to be sources of trafficked cocoa child labourers. The quality education problems in such areas are likely to be just as bad if not worse than in cocoa communities. This would involve working in northern Ghana and possibly also forming collaborative links to work through programmes operating in neighbouring countries which send such child labourers to Ghana.
- Communities already involved in ICI's YDK programme should be included because activities under that programme will provide a good base of strengthened community capacity, upon which the new interventions can be built. This will be useful for early monitoring and evaluation to guide the programme.

8.3.1.2. MOE

As previously mentioned, ICI's main platform as a GOG partner will be through its partnership with MMYE on the NPECLC. Given that relationships between different MDAs can sometimes be complex, ICI has already been advised to approach its relationship with other relevant MDAs from within the framework of its partnership with MMYE. Thus it will be best to hold off on formal contact with the MOE until official links have been established between MMYE and MOE on behalf of the NPECLC. Once this is done, ICI should, in consultation with MMYE, initiate formal discussions with the MOE to share the findings of this study and to collaborate on the design of its education programme for cocoa growing areas.

In the meantime however, ICI is advised to acquaint itself well with the various divisions and sub-divisions of MOE/GES that would be likely involved in the implementation of the NPECLC. The MOE/GES is a huge and complex state apparatus with numerous divisions and sub-divisions which feature periodic shifts in schedule and frequent shifts in personnel. It will be important for ICI to have a good knowledge and understanding of the functions and capacities of the various of its divisions likely to be involved in the NPECLC, their hierarchical and decentralized structures, technical and funding capacities and communication channels. Some of these divisions are and have already been involved in collaborations with WACAP, LUTRENA and TBP. ICI should not

just follow set patterns of existing collaborations with child labour and cocoa related programmes without first ensuring that they are fully relevant to its own needs.

With reference to the MOE's SWAp, ICI also needs to be aware of the systematic process spelled out in the ESP for the coordination of stakeholder activities, including specifically, NGO activities: "Growth in the external support to education, while generally welcomed by beneficiaries….can place a heavy institutional burden on a line ministry such as MOE (such as):

- continuous visitations and numerous progress reports and reviews
- duplication of efforts
- parallel management units
- lack of country ownership
- poor sustainability.

…..The considerable diversification of support to the education sector makes it necessary to co-ordinate stakeholders and development partners within a single broad but flexible approach to sector development."[299] The government has thus taken pains to designate a coordinated role for NGOs which will ensure their commitment to and alignment with its goals, and allow them some input at the policy level. This includes the following elements:

- Efficient communication of NGOs with MOE/GES. ("The absence of communication between the MOES and NGOs is …leading to inefficiencies on two fronts – (1) Programmes being undertaken by NGOs will be discarded once the MOE activity is introduced, or (2) Successful programmes being piloted by NGOs may not come to the attention of the MOES, and therefore….such programmes will not be replicated across the country.")[300]
- Establishment of an NGO desk at the MOES to coordinate NGO activities, mainly to facilitate links between NGOs and relevant District/Regional Education Offices;
- NGO representation on the Education Sector Technical Advisory Committee (ESTAC), [301] and on its four thematic groups, which correspond to the focus areas of the ESP.
- Participation of NGOs in the development of Annual District Education Operational Plans (ADEOPs)[302] in their target districts. ("At the district level, there is the need to create structures and mechanisms that will ensure that the local NGOs participate and assist in developing ADEOPs to guide and ensure effective implementation of programmes and activities at the district level…..Activities undertaken by all NGOs in a particular district should, as far as possible, be in line with ESP and GPRS priorities. NGOs should establish strong links, which should be reciprocated, with the DEOs, and not just with the District Assemblies.")[303]

In light of the above, the following recommendations are made for ICI:

1. Solicit membership of the 'Equitable Access' and 'Education Management' thematic groups of the ESTAC.
2. Sponsor workshops for DEOs in partner districts to facilitate the process of drawing up their ADEOPs. This will give ICI the opportunity to incorporate the activities of its education programme into the ADEOPs.
3. Set up functional communication links between its programme and DEOs, ensuring that its project reports are shared with DEOs on a regular basis. ICI should also note that with

[299] ESP p.36
[300] Preliminary Education Sector Performance Report 2006, MOESS, p.101
[301] This group has overall responsibility for advising and following through on the proposals in the ESP.
[302] These are district level versions of the Annual Education Sector Operational Plans for the implementation of the ESP.
[303] Preliminary Education Sector Performance Report 2006, MOESS, p. 101

MOE/GES it is important to coordinate activities at the district level with upward communication flows to the headquarters, in order to ensure smooth and continuous collaboration at all levels.

8.3.1.3. District Assemblies

ICI/MMYE should aim for maximum collaboration with the District Assemblies in whose districts they will be working and to seek cost sharing arrangements with them as much as possible for its education programme. ICI should also inform itself as much as possible about the impending decentralization exercise that will bring DEO functions under the DAs, and the implications of its implementational process in ICI/MMYE's actual and potential partner districts.

8.3.2. Donor and NGO colleagues

8.3.2.1. Consultation and collaboration

Some recommendations have already been made on specific donor and NGO initiatives with which ICI/MMYE should seek consultation, collaboration and/or replication. A summary of these is provided below:

School for Life	Replication of complementary education model in close consultation with SfL. Consultation on other relevant initiatives eg. Wing schools.
Action Aid	Replication of REFLECT adult literacy/advocacy empowerment programme. Consultation on other relevant initiatives.
EQUALL	Consultation on the RIPE (BTL/BTE) project for possible addition of a 'bridging' component to SfL CEP.
GAIT II	Linking up CSOs with Civic Unions established through GAIT II, in districts where GAIT II is active. Learning from GAIT II experiences in building capacity of CSOs and strengthening their links with DAs. Replicating 'town hall meeting' concept (see 6.3.4.1.a).
Ibis	Initiate dialogue about on-going design of a quality education initiative for cocoa-growing areas to be funded by TOMS, a Danish chocolate company and find out if there is any potential for collaboration and ensure the avoidance of duplication. Ibis is additionally recommended for potential collaboration because they have experience in several areas relevant to the needs analysis of this study and will be collaborating with SfL on a wing schools project.
CARE Int.	Initiate dialogue about 'Rural Education Project,' a pilot project begun in October 2006 and funded for a year by Cargill, to improve educational quality in 30 communities in the Brong-Ahafo Region. Find out if there is any potential for collaboration and ensure the avoidance of duplication.
CAMFED	Initiate dialogue on the possibility of CAMFED including cocoa-growing areas in its projected new Ghana programme[304] and collaborating/ coordinating with ICI/MMYE esp. on provision of female LPTs and other gender-specific areas.

8.3.2.2. Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT)

Collaborative links with GNAT as the national teachers' trade union are important for ICI/MMYE considering the proposed interventions with regard to teachers. GNAT is well decentralized and can therefore be an important ally. In addition to its national headquarters in Accra, GNAT has

[304] CAMFED ended its collaborative partnership with RAINS in 2005 and aims to re-design its Ghana programme with possible interventions in new areas (and not just the north as previously). CAMFED has been advised in its 2006 evaluation to consider cocoa-growing areas due to the seriousness of their gender problems.

regional and district directorates. It also has voluntary local executives at the circuit level and a GNAT representative among the teachers in every school. This potentially represents a useful collaborative network for ICI/MMYE. Specific recommendations for ICI/MMYE in this regard are to investigate the possibility of:

1. using GNAT to identify retired teachers willing to serve as volunteer teachers in rural areas.
2. using GNAT representatives as support officers/supervisors in the monitoring role suggested for teachers and LPTs under 8.2.3. GNAT already has a history of responding to teacher concerns.
3. making use of GNAT's 'credit mall'[305] facility in ICI's motivation/incentive scheme for teachers and LPTs.
4. using GNAT representatives in PLA awareness-raising activities on education policies etc for communities and teachers. GNAT already plays an information-sharing role by running programmes to brief teachers in remote areas about their activities.
5. Ensuring that LPTs are full members of GNAT.

As previously mentioned, GNAT has shown some resistance to the LPT concept and wishes its official position on this issue to be recognized. Some of the reasons given by GNAT are that unqualified teachers lower the image of the profession and also that these schemes do not liase closely enough with them or with the GES: *"When NGOs set up such schemes all on their own and their volunteer teachers have problems in the schools, there is no-one to defend them because they are not officially recognized either by GES or GNAT."*[306] This is a legitimate concern and a good reason to advocate for involvement of GNAT in LPT monitoring. At any rate is certainly makes more sense to have GNAT as an ally rather than an adversary in LPT schemes.

8.3.2.3. Networking

The need for coordination in NGO activities has already been emphasized above in the context of government policy and is in the interest of NGOs themselves and of their beneficiaries, as indicated by VSO Ghana: "There is the urgent need for greater collaboration among development organizations such as VSO, ActionAid, PLAN Ghana, School for Life and World Vision, which are all implementing strategies for addressing teacher shortages in schools. This enhanced collaboration is required to avoid duplication of efforts in the same districts, sending conflicting messages to GES and District Assemblies and to help work towards sustainable solutions to the teacher shortage issue."[307]

The MDBS and sector-wide approach have had an indirect effect of bringing NGOs in Ghana closer to the policy-level than in the past. This is because NGOs have to some extent taken over a programme implementation role that donors used to play and this in turn has brought them into closer contact and collaboration with government as joint implementers of development interventions. As a result, and through the activities of coalitions like GNECC and NNED, the voice of NGOs at the policy level and their role in advocacy, are getting stronger. These coalitions play an important role in representation, advocacy and information sharing, as previously mentioned.

ICI is thus advised to join GNECC, and if it extends its activities to northern Ghana as has been recommended in the context of trafficked children, then it should join NNED also, and any other

[305] A scheme whereby teachers can buy items like mattresses, TVs, solar lamps and other things useful needed for their postings, on credit.
[306] GNAT staff, interviewed in 2006.
[307] VSO Ghana Education Programme, Draft Annual Review Report, 2005-2006, p.20

relevant education coalitions, including at more decentralized levels. It is additionally recommended for ICI/MMYE to set up a forum of NGOs collaborating on the NPECLC.

8.4. Additional Research

Suggestions for additional consultation/research to inform ICI/MMYE's education programme are given below:

1. Detailed profiles on partner or potential partner communities which include information on land ownership patterns, leadership situation, population composition (migrant proportions etc), ethnic profile and other details which give insight into the socio-cultural situation.
2. Investigation on supervision of unit schools by church units to find out if there are any lessons to learn from them.
3. Comparative research on enrolment data provided by GES.[308]
4. Research on numbers of out-of-school children in target communities.
5. Research on the proportion of income remitted/donated by migrant farmers to their home communities and what strategies could be devised to attract more of it to their communities of residence.[309]
6. Investigation of the links between kinship fostering, out-of-school children and trafficked children.

8.5. Use of existing resources

Many useful tools and materials have been produced by quality education initiatives over the years and might be useful in the design and/or implementation of ICI's education programme. Some noted in the course of this study are:

1. QUIPS database: "Longitudinal measures of change in pupil achievement and targeted behavioural change in instruction, head teacher support, parent involvement, and community practices are critical to measuring learning outcomes and their source. The model of an integrated database that QUIPS provided is exceptional and is recommended for any school quality reform program."[310]
2. Reports from GES district mapping exercise on ICI/MMYE's current and potential partner districts.
3. SMC Handbook and Training Manual produced by CSA under QUIPS.
4. WUSC - 'A Resource Handbook for Teachers in Basic Schools and Child Rights Series.'
5. UNICEF's 'The Sara Initiative' resource kit (for gender activities).
6. CARE International YES Project functional literacy materials for cocoa areas.
7. Films by The Learning Circle (partner to the RAINS/CAMFED programme).
8. Film made for CARE International's SCORE programme.

8.6. What next?

"Farming is difficult. We don't want to do it. Our parents do it because they could not go to school."

[308] Suggested by staff from an ICI IP, who complained that GES figures are not reliable.

[309] A case study on major 'hometown' festivals of migrant populations would be of particular interest. One question would be, how much support are migrant farmers providing to education in their communities of origin as compared with their communities of residence? Another is, should schools in their communities of residence be included within the ambit of 'education in cocoa farming communities', since many of their children (and a proportion of their incomes) are in those communities.

[310] QUIPS Final Evaluation Report, p. 160

This statement by school children in a research community is being recalled in order to introduce an issue which is beyond the scope of this study, but will be a direct consequence of its recommendations, if successfully implemented. The quote is perfect because it encapsulates a dichotomy which is at the heart of the issue. And the issue is, that *as things stand,* giving children in cocoa communities a quality education under EFA ideals will effectively remove the next generation of cocoa farmers[311] from the cocoa areas and from the profession. The image of the livelihood is so low that some parents interviewed in research communities said they wanted their children to be 'anything but farmers' and some children said they did not even want to be rich cocoa farmers.

In realistic terms, a *quality* education even to P6 level, will be enough to set a child's (and his/her parents') ambitions beyond cocoa farming. Unpleasant as it is to acknowledge, there is a strong dependency between low quality education and the regeneration of the cocoa labour force, that is to say, the type of cocoa labour force we have in Ghana today. It is this link that makes poor quality education a cause and a perpetuator of child labour. Failure to acknowledge this link will make other attempts to eliminate child labour meaningless.

For this reason, any genuine effort to improve the quality of education for children in cocoa areas will have to be matched by an effort to improve the conditions and image of the profession or to alter the nature of it such that a large human labour force will no longer be necessary. What that will take is beyond the scope of this study, however, the GOG has indicated willingness to address this issue through the NPECLC and other interventions in line with GPRS II. Tackling the economic ramifications and trade implications however, will be an international issue.

[311] 'Farmers' here refers to the actual people who do the work on the farms, not necessarily the owners of cocoa farms.

Annex 1

International Conventions on Education

The aims of education, from the Convention on the Rights of the Child, Article 29 (1)

1. States Parties agree that the education of the child shall be directed to:
   (a) The development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential;
   (b) The development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations;
   (c) The development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values, for the national values of the country in which the child is living, the country from which he or she may originate, and for civilizations different from his or her own;
   (d) The preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin;
   (e) The development of respect for the natural environment.

EFA Dakar goals

1. Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children.
2. Ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities have access to complete free and compulsory primary education of good quality.
3. Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life skills programmes.
4. Achieving a 50 per cent improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults.
5. Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005 and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to (and achievement in) basic education of good quality.
6. Improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills.

Millennium Development Goals

Goal 2. Achieve universal primary education

Target 3. Ensure that by 2015 children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling.

Goal 3. Promote gender equality and empower women

Target 4. Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and at all levels of education no later than 2015.

Annex 2

Critical objectives for quality education initiatives in cocoa-growing areas	
Socio-cultural	1. Addressing parental illiteracy, ignorance of civil rights, disengagement with education; 2. Promoting parental ownership of schools and involvement in school management and supervision, building their confidence as educational stakeholders; 3. Promoting parental responsibility for children's education. 4. Finding role models for children, preferably among their own communities. 5. Promoting cultural unity, sense of belonging, desire to invest in cocoa communities.
Political: issues of leadership and policy engagement	6. Addressing issues of governance and leadership in culturally heterogeneous communities; 7. Strengthening community capacity to participate in local governance structures. 8. Bringing about closer relations between communities and government authorities by strengthening CSOs, including PTAs and SMCs. 9. Strengthening government capacity to respond to needs of communities.
Economic	10. Addressing the poverty, unstable economics, money management of cocoa farmers; 11. Building community capacity to advocate for own resources. 12. Improving services and infrastructure in remote communities to reduce their inaccessibility and the burden of domestic drudgery; 13. Improving and increasing educational infrastructure; 14. Fulfilling basic quotas of educational resources.
Academic	15. Making education needs-based 16. Giving children the building blocks of learning: language, literacy and numeracy 17. Tackling linguistic barriers arising from illiterate background and multi-culturalism 18. Providing adequate numbers of teaching staff; 19. Motivating teachers to stay at post; 20. Promoting child-centred teaching methodologies; 21. Streamlining the curriculum 22. Integrating out-of-school children into formal education.
Gender	23. Promoting gender balance among teaching staff, 24. Addressing gender disparities which put girls at a disadvantage. 25. Addressing the enabling gender environment - traditionally low status of women. 26. Finding role models for girls.
Geographic	27. Overcoming barriers of access for children - long distances, harsh terrain and climate; 28. Addressing the significant loss of instructional time caused by annual rainfall.

Annex 3

Summary of initiatives reviewed

Organization	Summary	Key relevant initiatives
Action Aid/Ghana (AAG)	Action Aid was established in Ghana in 1990. It operates mainly in the north of the country with a rights-based, integrated approach to development. It has been a pioneer in quality education delivery in some of the remotest, most deprived areas of Ghana, and its initiatives are now being widely replicated by other NGOs and even by GOG.	• 'Shepherd School' complementary education programme. • Rural Education Volunteer Programme (REV) – deployment of local pupil teachers. • Adult literacy (REFLECT) programme. • Youth Alive street children's vocational programme with literacy and numeracy. • Gender advocacy. • Infrastructure provision.
CARE International/ Ghana: School and Community Oriented Education Project (SCORE)	3-year programme from 1997-2000 based in Wassa Amenfi District, seeking to improve the quality of education by heightening the awareness and building the capacity of all players in the educational process, with regard to their roles and responsibilities as education stakeholders.	• Revitalizing school-community relationships. • Improving the quality of instruction. • Building education management capacity at GES. • Improving gender access.
CARE International/ Ghana: Basic Education and Civil Society Project (BECS)	4-year project to improve the capacity of CSOs to influence the education and development process in Wassa West District.	• Strengthening the institutional capacities of 160 Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) to play a more proactive role in the provision of quality basic education and other social services. • Provision of financial assistance to help CSOs implement self- initiated development projects in their communities.
CARE International/ Ghana: Youth Education and Skills Project (YES)	2003-2005. Strategic interventions in formal and non-formal education to prevent and eliminate abusive child labor in cocoa growing areas.	• Radio social marketing (IEC). • Non-traditional methodologies in provision of education services to working children with an interactive functional literacy/life skills curriculum to combat WFCL.
Ibis, Ghana: Education for Empowerment Programme (EfE)	Ibis' West Africa's thematic education programme was launched in 2004. In partnership with stakeholders in Ghana, it focuses on children's (esp. girls') rights and access to quality education in 4 districts. National policy and advocacy is supplemented with direct engagement with civil society partners and district-level government structures.	• Supply of Rural Education Volunteers (REVs). • Complementary Education programme. • Gender advocacy. • Training of DEOs in education management and supervision. • Professional development of teacher capacity. • Supporting interface between CSOs and public sector in education.
Integrated Social Development Centre (ISODEC)	Ghanaian NGO formerly a programme support unit to the British NGO Water Aid. Independently established in 1987 to provide capacity-building and empowerment to local and underprivileged communities. Education one area under integrated programme.	• Capacity-building to make communities advocate for their rights in education. • Complementary education initiative – extra lessons for children in school holidays. • Girls' scholarship program to boost enrolment and retention. • Excursions for girls to meet role models.
ILO/IPEC/Ghana: Campaign against Child Trafficking in West and Central Africa Project	Programme active in 12 West- and Central-African countries to improve conditions in order to discourage the trafficking of children from poor areas. Ghana programme (2002-2007) working in partnership with local NGOs in 6 districts in Northern, Upper East and Greater Accra Regions.	• Identifying children at risk and trafficked children. • Rehabilitating and enrolling them in school. • Providing basic education needs to keep children in school. • Working with MOE at community, district and regional levels. • Awareness raising of parents.

(LUTRENA)		• Income-based support to needy parents.
Northern Network on Education and Development (NNED)	Education coalition/umbrella organization for NGOs working in education in the Northern Region. Also engaged in some programmatic interventions.	• Fostering collaboration between NGOs in the implementation of their education programmes. • Advocacy for education through traditional leaders. • Strengthening community responsibility for education and capacity to engage with district authorities for improved GES supervision of schools. • In-service training for teachers.
Olinga Foundation for Human Development	Supported by the International Bahai community and NAWA. Active since 2000 conducting a child literacy campaign in the Wassa Amenfi and Wassa Akropong districts of the Western Region, reaching 6,000 children.	• Enlightening the Heart Literacy programme for mother-tongue literacy and moral education.
RAINS/CAMFED	Girls' education support programme established in Ghana in 1997 and based in Northern Region. Programme implemented jointly between CAMFED (a British NGO) and RAINS, its Ghanaian counterpart from 1997-2005.	• Bursary scheme to support educational needs of girl pupils. • Supply of female pupil teachers. • Establishment of vocational training centres. • Building enterprise and leadership of young women school leavers. • Creating enabling environment of cooperation and advocacy at community, district and national levels.
School for Life (SfL)	Northern Ghanaian NGO established in 1994, working in partnership with a Danish sister organisation. Developed a highly effective native language CEP. Also working in partnership with USAID's EQUALL programme under a 5 year sub-agreement.	• Complementary Education Programme teaching functional literacy in local languages. • Training some GES teachers in SFL methodology. • Provision of educational infrastructure.
USAID/Ghana: Quality Improvement in Primary Schools Project (QUIPS)	A complex, nation-wide integrated program from 1996-2004 supporting the MOE's FCUBE programme, designed to demonstrate the conditions and processes necessary for improving standards throughout the education system by establishing Partnership School/ Communities (PSCs). Featured targeted improvements in teaching practices and school management, community involvement in education, and national education policy support of quality primary schooling.	• Improving Learning Partnerships Project (ILP) for improving teaching and learning and education management through in-service training of teachers, head-teacher management capacity and provision of educational resources. • Community-School Alliances Project (CSA) for building community-school collaboration and education management, including capacity-building of SMCs and PTAs.
USAID/Ghana: Education Quality for All Project (EQUALL)	A 5-year project designed to support the MOES/GES to achieve ESP goals. It aims to increase access especially for girls, reading instructional practices and education management practices. It has an integrated approach with various simultaneous interventions designed with the cross-cutting themes of gender, literacy and teacher development.	• Complementary Education Programme (CEP). • Community Support Teacher Programme (CST) • Support to distance learning for teachers. • Reading Improvement in Primary Education (RIPE) using BTL and BTE language and literacy methodologies.
USAID/Ghana: Government Accountability Improves Trust Project (GAIT II)	Democracy & Governance and education program 2004-2009. Overall goal to improve the social and economic welfare of the population in 25 districts through increasing effective citizen participation in local governance and school management.[312] A successor to the 'GAIT' (I) Project which had no education component.	• Strengthening CSOs and CUs for advocacy. • Strengthening links between communities and govt. authorities. • Capacity-building for SMCs and PTAs.
ILO/IPEC/Ghana: West Africa Cocoa Agriculture Project (WACAP)	Implemented in 5 West African countries and aimed at eradicating WFCL and FL in the agricultural sector. Has 5 components including social protection under which education is an objective. Ghana programme 2002-2006.	• Together with other IPEC projects, WACAP advocated for increased access and quality of education for children on rural farms and worked in conjunction with educational authorities and communities.

[312] GAIT II builds upon the experiences of GAIT I, which strengthened citizen advocacy at the local level. GAIT II adds a specific focus on key governance institutions at the local level and basic education

Voluntary Service Overseas/Ghana (VSOG): National Teacher Volunteer Programme	Operating in Ghana since 1958 in the provision of foreign volunteers donating technical expertise to local communities, including teaching in secondary schools, vocational/technical colleges and TTCs. In recent years there has been a major strategic shift away from service delivery and towards capacity-building with a focus on the three northern regions. The development of the National Teacher Volunteer Programme in conjunction with the National Service Secretariat has been part of this shift.	• Contribution to policy formulation on education through support to GES, GNECC, etc. • Placement of Teacher Support Officers and Management Support Officers in DEOs to support teachers and strengthen planning and supervision of the state education system. • Capacity-building with communities, CSOs and DAs for education development and facilitation of dialogue between them.
World University Service of Canada (WUSC)	WUSC has worked across the three Northern Regions of Ghana for 7 years (1997-2002) implementing a successful gender equity program which has improved the access and retention rate of girls through PLA and community empowerment techniques.	• Sensitization of teachers and educational officials on girl friendly teaching methods • Gender-sensitization of curriculum. • Provision of micro-finance for mothers in support of girls' education. • Institutional capacity building of national, regional and district structures of the GES to achieve gender equity in basic education. • Promoting collab. between state and CSOs. • to achieve gender equity goals in education.

Annex 4

List of people interviewed

ICI IPs

PDA
Kofi Sarkodie
David Mensah
Joshua Baidoo
Sebe Soadwa
Emefa Gavor

Codesult
Mr. Obiri-Yeboah
Philip Bosompem
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Hope for Humanity
Joshua Appiah
Bridget Ameleke
Richard Adjzanyo
Samuel Richardson Nsiah
Christiana Quansah

SCMPP
Martin Kofi Acheampong
Emmanuel Y. Maxwell

Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment
Hon. Frema Osei Opare, Deputy Minister
Rita Owusu, National Co-ordinator, NPECLC

Ghana Education Service

Headquarters
Michael Nsowah, Ag. Director General

Wassa Amenfi West District Education Office
Nana Osei Bobie (AD, Supervision)
P.S.K. Mensah (AD, Planning)
Charles Yankey (Budget Officer)

GNAT
Sampson Yenu, Assistant Secretary
Jacob Anderson, Head: Membership Educ. Dept.

Action Aid, Ghana
Dorothy Konadu, Education Policy Advisor.
Yakubu Saani, Programme Manager, Northern Region Development,Tamale

CARE International
Ian Willis, Asst. Country Director and Programmes Coordinator
Elsie Menorkpor, Former Field Supervisor for SCORE

DFID
Don Taylor, Education Officer

Ibis
Lise Soerenson, Education Officer
Sulemana Afia, Programme Assistant, Salaga

ISODEC
Mrs. Rosemund Kumah, Coordinator, Northern Ghana Programmes, Tamale
George Akundikiya Regional Manager, Upper East Region

LUTRENA
Matthew Daly, National Programme Co-ordinator.

NNED
Charles Songtaa, Advocacy Officer

Olinga Foundation
Lesley Casely-Hayford
Also interviewed as an education consultant and as School for Life's evaluator.

School for Life
Helena Horsbrugh
Alhaji Malik, Savelugu District Coordinator
Sulemana Saaka, Program Director, Tamale;
Ahmed Alhassan Hushein, Principal Educationist, Tamale

USAID
Larry Dolan, Team Leader, Education
William Osafo, Deputy Team Leader, Education
Elsie Menorkpor, Education Specialist

EQUALL Project
Andani Alhassan, CEP/CST Coordinator
Peter Yaw Wadja, Educationist
George Yidana, District Coordinator, Gambaga
Baba Akolabsi, District Supervisor, Gambaga

UNICEF
Madeez Adamu-Issah, Assistant Project Officer, Education

VSO
Dora Amoah-Bentsil, Programme Manager

WACAP
Ahn Ly, Regional Co-ordinator
Rita Owusu, Former National Co-ordinator
Nana Nti

World Bank
Eunice Dapaah, Education Officer

Research Communities
Chiefs, elders, Unit Committee members, PTA,SMC members, general community members, teachers and pupils of:

Wassa Amenfi West District
Woman-No-Good
Bisaaso #1
Nkansah

Adansi South District
Akotreso
Menang

Suhum-Kraboa-Coaltar District
Otwebedidua
Obomofodensua
Abisim Adjatey

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Annex 6

Terms of Reference for this study

TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR A REVIEW OF EDUCATION INITIATIVES

INTERNATIONAL COCOA INTIATIVE

1) Purpose

This study will review the existing proven approaches to quality education that may be applicable to address the needs expressed by the communities engaged in the pilot programme of the International Cocoa Initiative (ICI) in Ghana. It will make recommendations about the conditions under which the different initiatives might be best applied and the methodology and partners who are able to implement them.

2) Background

The International Cocoa Initiative (ICI) is a foundation with a mandate "to oversee and sustain efforts to eliminate the worst forms of child labour and forced labour in the growing and processing of cocoa beans and their derivative products". As part of this effort the ICI has engaged in a pilot programme that seeks to develop an approach that will effectively eliminate the worst forms of child labour (WFCL) and Forced labour (FL) in the cocoa sector in Ghana. This pilot follows an approach which engages certain cocoa producing communities in a process of sensitisation and dialogue, informing them about the hazards of the cocoa farming practices to which their children are currently exposed. Equally importantly, ICI learns from them about their concerns and needs, and the whole process leads to the formation of Community Action Plans designed to eliminate these practices. The pilot programme is being implemented by local NGO partners.

Each community action plan aims to encompass the various initiatives that will drive change in the community with respect to unacceptable practices. The initial plans and observations suggest that the availability of accessible, quality education is a key component to the efforts that will eliminate the child labour on cocoa farms.

The education system in Ghana is receiving significant investment and is a clear priority for the Government of Ghana. However in the more remote rural areas where cocoa is grown, the conditions of the education system are often less than ideal and reportedly not attractive to children or their parents. Furthermore there are few if any opportunities for those children who have never attended school or who may have dropped out before completing their basic education.

ICI would like to be able to respond to the expressed needs of communities to improve their education options through working with the Ghana Education Service and with communities themselves. In addition, ICI is aware that there are many successful non-formal education initiatives in Ghana and the sub region which are proven and may well be appropriate for the cocoa communities concerned.

Alignment with government strategy on child labour

The Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment (MMYE) has designed a five-year National Cocoa Child Labour Elimination Programme (NCCLEP) beginning in 2006. This is a comprehensive programme targeting all angles of the child labour problem including education. The MMYE has shown much interest in collaborating with stakeholders in the design and implementation of this programme, and has invited ICI to align the objectives of this study with those of the NCCLEP for collaborative purposes.

There is excellent scope for collaboration with Objective 5 of the NCCLEP. As articulated in the draft programme document, this objective is the "Promotion of universal basic education and human resource development among cocoa growing communities." It breaks down further into ten 'main interventions' of which four (5.5-5.9) directly overlap with the objectives of ICI's quality education study. These are:

5.5. Develop and implement a programme to integrate children who are out of school in mainstream primary or junior secondary schools, non-formal education programmes, or vocational/skills training programmes as appropriate.

5.6. Develop and implement measures for increasing the demand for education in cocoa-growing areas (including increased quality and relevance of education to the labour market and the overall economy in the cocoa growing districts.

5.7. Examine the causes of school drop-out in cocoa growing areas and implement measures to address it, including interventions for rehabilitating dropouts

5.8. Design and implement measures for improving the quality of rural education, including the relevance of school curricula and content, as well as extra-curricular activities, to the rural populations of cocoa-growing areas.

5.9. Expand existing vocational/skills training programmes to provide training opportunities for adolescents in cocoa-growing areas. For this purpose, develop linkages with the technical and vocational training components of the National Youth Employment Programme.

MMYE would like ICI to define the geographical coverage of its projected interventions on these topics. This study will make recommendations which will facilitate this process.

3) Scope of work

This consultancy will inform ICI and its partners of existing education-related initiatives; will provide an analysis of their various merits and potential for applicability within ICI's programme area in response to the expressed needs of the communities concerned. It will furthermore identify which agencies or organisations are best placed to implement such practices in partnership with the ICI and how best to integrate ICI's interventions into the NCCLEP.

This study will include the following components:

- A desk review of available information mainly but not exclusively from Ghana and the West–African sub-region.
- Interviews with ICI IPs and target communities to determine the perceived needs for quality education.
- Interviews with key individuals and beneficiaries of the education initiatives that appear most appropriate.
- Recommendations for any further field assessment of specific initiatives as considered necessary to effectively understand the potential for application to the ICI programme.
- Interviews with MMYE staff to investigate areas of potential collaboration.

In conducting this work the following considerations should inform the consultant's review process.

- ✓ Initiatives, materials and techniques that make the classroom more child friendly.
- ✓ Gender balanced education environments.
- ✓ Girl-friendly teaching practices.
- ✓ Teaching and learning materials based on locally available materials.
- ✓ Training of teachers to create such materials.
- ✓ Effective and appropriate frameworks for testing pupil performance.
- ✓ School management and community involvement.
- ✓ Multi level teaching.
- ✓ Supporting and motivating teachers, enabling them to focus on teaching.
- ✓ Incentive schemes to enhance performance of pupils and teachers
- ✓ Parallel education methods for school "drop-outs"
- ✓ The use of "para-education" resources, eg volunteer teachers, or child-to-child methodologies.
- ✓ Pre-school initiatives.
- ✓ School supervision
- ✓ Initiatives that address older children.
- ✓ Addressing the need for "Life-skills" and vocational education.
- ✓ Flexible timetables to accommodate (child-appropriate) farming needs
- ✓ Initiatives for teaching in local languages
- ✓ Any other initiatives that accommodate the cultural diversity of children in communities with high migrant levels, to promote equity in learning.
- ✓ Integration of cocoa farming, child-appropriate farming practices and child labour issues into the curriculum

- ✓ Initiatives to enhance the enabling environment by encouraging and facilitating parents' access to non-formal literacy programmes
- ✓ Addressing cultural beliefs/practices that might hinder education of children in general and girls in particular and building on any that might promote it

This list is not exhaustive and the consultant should identify other key areas through the work undertaken.

4) Deliverables

The main deliverable from this consultancy will be a succinct report on options for improving the quality of education for children in target communities, with reference to various initiatives that exist. This report should include but not be limited to the following:

- o An executive summary.
- o A brief recap of the purpose of the work and the approach.
- o A description of the expressed needs and conditions with respect to education in the pilot communities.
- o A review of each education initiative, project or programme, their merits and characteristics and their specific contribution to the enhancement of quality in education.
- o An analysis of the potential for each initiative to respond to the expressed needs of the communities in the ICI pilot programme.
- o A review of the potential partners and/or implementation methodologies that would be required.
- o A set of recommendations on which initiatives should be adopted and a plan on how to do this.
- o Recommendations on how to integrate ICI's work on quality education into the NCCLEP and on the signing of an MOU between ICI and MMYE for cooperation on specified aspects of the NCCLEP.
- o A summary of each initiative in tabular form as an annex.
- o Reference materials.

An interim report shall be submitted recording progress and any initial findings.

5) Timing

This consultancy is expected to take no more than three months to complete and should be started as early as possible.

6) Resources

The consultant should indicate the resources required to complete this work to a high standard of quality in the time indicated.

7) Budget

The consultant should develop and propose a budget for the full costs of undertaking this work for consideration by the ICI