A HISTORY OF SCHOOLFEEDING PROGRAMME (SFP) IN KENYA, IT'S IMPACT ON EDUCATION AND THE CHALLENGES IT HAD FACED: 1966-2009

BY

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Declaration

This project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any university.

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Dedication

To my loving children; Caroline Nzisa and Hannington Vati

*'Honour your father and your mother, so that you may live long in the land the LORD your God is giving yo*u'

(Exodus: 20:12)

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List of Abbreviations

ASAL	Arid and Semi-Arid Land
ASFs	Animal Source Foods
BOM	Board of Management
CADP	Comprehensive Africa Development
CP	Country Programme
EFA	Education for All
EMPOP	Emergency Operations
ESFP	Emergency School Feeding Programme
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization
FBO	Farm Based Organization
GoK	Government of Kenya
GoT	Government of Tanzania
GSFP	Ghana School Feeding Programme
HGSFP	Home Grown School Feeding Programme
KCC	Kenya Cooperative Creameries
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoEST	Ministry of Education, Science and Technology
NCCK	National Council of Churches of Kenya
NEPAD	New Partnership for African Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NSFC	National School Feeding Council

PCD	Partnership for Child Development
PL	Public Law
RAD	Recommended Daily Allowance
SFP	School Feeding Programme
SMC	School Management Committee
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency of International Development
WHO	World Health Organization

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Abstract

The study discusses the historical development of the School Feeding Program, its impact on education and the challenges it faced in Kenya between 1966 and 2009. Historical method of study was used. The study is based on an analysis of both primary and secondary data. The study is a contribution to the intervention measures undertaken by the Government of Kenya to realize universal primary education in this country.

The study begins by discussing the history of school feeding program worldwide, in Africa and then in Kenya. The first SFP was launched in Kenya in 1966 under the stewardship of the National School Feeding Council. This first SFP was started in Central Province and some parts of Nairobi were participating by 1967. The SFP expanded between 1970 and 1978 to serve children in the arid regions according to the two National Development plans ending in 1978. In 1979, there was the Milk scheme and it had a positive impact on education. The enrolment and attendance improved significantly. The WFP school feeding was implemented in 1980 and it was active until 2009. In July 2009, the Government started the Home-grown School feeding programme.

The impact of the School Feeding Programme in Kenya was found to be positive on education. The SFP impacted positively on education in Kenya during the study period. The enrolment increased significantly in the participating schools. The attendance trends also improved in the participating schools while the drop- out rates went down from 33% in 1966 to 13% in 2009. The performance of children in the National Examinations was another impact of the SFP on education. The performance trends indicated a positive impact on schools participating in the SFP during the study.

The study further discussed the role played the SFP on attention and participation of children in class. The study found out that attention and participation were in resonance with good health and attendance to school. The children in schools participating in SFP were attentive in class and were active during the learning process.

The study finally documented the challenges that faced the SFP between 1966 and 2009. The challenges had impact on the full realization of the goals of the SFP. These challenges included; funding challenges, poor and inadequate infrastructure, insecurity, HIV/AIDs orphans and poor climate. The poor climate brought the challenge of water scarcity and poverty in general.

The study concludes that the SFP made significant impact on education in the country during the study period. Despite the challenges, the SFP had a positive impact on education between 1966 and 2009.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Education plays a pivotal role in both individual and societal development (World Bank, 2002). A study by Schulz (1961), asserted that education is crucial for long-term social and economic development in a country. Schultz further explained that educational investments yields high private and social returns in primary education. According to the United Nations Human Rights Charter (1948), education was declared a basic human right. In 1989, the Convention on the Rights of the Child Article 28, section 1a, declared the child's right to free and compulsory elementary education (United Nations Child Rights Convention, 1989).

In 2015 Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) found that 805 million people in the world were hungry. Out of these, 66 million were primary school age children who attended classes hungry across developing countries, with 23 million in Africa (FAO, 2015). These numbers suggested that various efforts related to achieving the right to education and child rights were not to be met in the near future. The persistence of hunger among primary school age children was strongly linked to poor school enrolment, attendance and high dropout rates (Rosso, 1999).

Policy makers were faced with the problem of hunger and malnutrition among primary school age children and they used social safety nets to address the problems. One of the many interventions was the School Feeding Program (SFP). The earliest School Feeding

rogram was traced as early as 1790 in Germany, 1867 in France, 1900 in the Netherlands and in 1946 in USA. In France, the National Paris Guards established a fund for providing needy children with lunch at school to encourage them to come and stay in school (FAO, 2005). The Norway School Feeding Program was introduced in 1897 where children were served with Oslo Breakfast (FAO, 2005). In the Netherlands, the School Feeding Program was introduced in 1900, when local governments were authorized to make meals available to school children who were unable to attend school regularly due to lack of food. President Harry Truman of the United States of America signed the National school lunch Act in 1946. The Program was assisted by the federal government and operated in public schools, private schools and childcare institutions. In the United Kingdom, Scotts carried out a study in 1953 on malnutrition and education. He found out that malnourished children hardly benefitted from education. However, action was not taken until 1960 when SFP was introduced. These School Feeding Programs were used as incentives in schools to improve attendance and alleviate short-term hunger among children (FAO, 2005).

The implementation of these School Feeding Programs yielded positive results in different countries. For instance, in the Netherlands, the introduction of the SFP resulted to a 32 percent increase in enrolment (FAO, 2005). In the United Kingdom, the provision of a school meal on controlled trials revealed improved classroom participation, attendance and attention among the children with school meals than those without school meals (Richter, Rose and Griessel, 1997).

In Africa, the School Feeding Programs were introduced in many countries. A study conducted by the World Health Organization (WHO) in 1961 revealed that hunger in the continent was affecting 72 percent of school-age children (WHO, 1964). As such, the School Feeding Programs were introduced to address issues related to irregular attendance of school by children and to reduce drop-out rates. For instance, in Lesotho, SFP was started to eliminate malnutrition following the 1961 (WHO, 1964; Ngome, 2002). In Ethiopia, with help from the World Food Program, the government provided the regions of Amhra and Tigre with food in the 1960s (WFP, 1964). In Uganda, SFP was introduced in schools in 1993 (Onyimbo, 2007). In Somali, the World Food Program introduced take-home rations to the girl-child who attended school regularly. They took food home to their parents in an aim to encourage their parents to allow them to attend school regularly (Lamberas, 2009a).

In Kenya, The Kenya Education Commission (Ominde Report) was appointed in 1964 to set a framework for education. In support of education, the Ominde commission recommended that every child was entitled to at least seven years Free Primary Education from 1965-1971 (GoK, 1964). The Ominde commission was a long-term development plan and it laid down the educational needs of the country. Although the commission did not talk about food, it stressed compulsory Free Primary Education and to achieve it, the barrier of hunger among children had to be addressed. Moreover in 1964, a survey was conducted on the feeding habits and nutritional status of primary school children in Kenya which revealed that 50- 70 per cent of the children were suffering from malnutrition (Bohdal, Gibbs and Simmons, 1964). As a result, the government

established the National School Feeding Council of Kenya (NSFCK) and mandated it to organize a national school- feeding program. The first school feeding program was introduced in 1966; the program initially covered 32 districts in the country. Central Province was chosen to pilot the program. The school meal comprised of maize, beans and 'supro', an industrial product consisting of barley flour, yeast and skimmed milk (GoK, 1966; Mugiri, 1995).

In 1968, another survey on nutrition was carried out and recommended the launch of a uniform SFP in the whole country regardless of food habits (GoK, 1969; Bohdal, Gibbs and Simmons, 1969). The recommendation was not met since the NSFCK did not have the funds to implement a national SFP (Mugiri, 1995).

In 1971, the Government built low-cost boarding schools in marginalized districts with free feeding program. This increased enrolment significantly in various districts, for instance, in the following districts the enrolment rose as follows; Samburu by 31 percent, Wajir by 71 percent, Isiolo by 23 percent, Marsabit by 20 percent and Tana River district by 26 percent. These levels were higher than the national level, which stood at 6.8 percent. These high levels were attributed to the SFP among other factors. Such low-cost boarding schools numbered 86 by 1973 (GoK, 1973). The National Development Plan (1974-1978) noted that SFP be recognized as an efficient network for distributing food to pre-schools and primary schools (GoK, 1974). The SFP was successful to a certain degree but it could not cover the whole country due to shortage of funds (Ngome, 2002).

In 1979, retired President Moi, via a presidential directive, introduced the National School Milk Program. The main objective of the program was to boost the health of school children. The government funded the program which targeted children aged between 5-13 years. 4.3 million children in over 11,000 schools benefited from the milk program. However, the program was faced by a number of grave challenges such as high costs in milk distribution, low accountability and poor road infrastructure, which led to its collapse in the 1990s (GOK, 1979; Bogonko, 1992).

Closely to milk program, the Government of Kenya and the World Food Program introduced school feeding programs in arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs) which were collectively known as Regular School Feeding Program (RSFP) in 1980. The WFP-assisted program targeted 220,000 pupils at the pre-school and primary school level. The primary objectives of the program was to increase enrolment, attendance rates for pre-primary and primary school children and to address short term hunger caused by drought and food shortages. This program was managed by the WFP with the assistance of the Ministry of Education for five years until 1984. During that period, the program was successful and 56 percent increase in enrolment was witnessed among primary school children (GOK, 1984; WFP, 1980).

However, in 1984, Kenya experienced drought which resulted into a temporary food shortage. A nutritional study on the effects of severe temporary shortages by Galler, Ramsey and Salimane (1984) revealed that there was a significant decline in primary school going children energy intake, age appropriate weight, activity level and classroom

attention. As such, the World Food Program in conjunction with the Ministry of Education implemented another 5 year school feeding program from 1985 to 1989 (GoK / WFP, 1984). In 1990, the World Food Program carried out an evaluation on the net worth of the school feeding program in Kenya from 1980 to 1989. The evaluation report revealed that the SFP improved primary school enrolment from 50 percent in 1980 to 95 percent in 1990 countrywide.

A national policy in 1995 articulated that school meals were to be compulsory in all primary schools in Kenya (MOEST, 1995). However, due to shortage of funds, WFP expanded the School Feeding Program to cover an additional 19 districts in the Rift Valley, Coast, North Eastern and Eastern Provinces and targeted 360,000 children (WFP, 1995). The main objectives of the school feeding were stabilising school attendance, improving the attention span of the children and alleviating short-term hunger in the identified food insecure districts. The program was operational for five years until the year 1999. An evaluation carried out by the WFP on the impact of SFP from 1980 to 1998, revealed that WFP school meals had benefitted over 13, 600, 509 children since its inception. Moreover, the same WFP report found out that hunger levels reduced and the nutrition for students receiving school meals increased significantly (WFP, 1999).

The government of Kenya requested WFP to integrate school feeding into its 5-year Country Program (CP) cycle. The SFP was implemented for 5 years from 1999 to 2003. During this period, the WFP provided school meals to approximately 517,000 beneficiaries annually, with 41 percent being girls. In addition, this program utilized

nearly 84,000 metric tons of food at a cost of US$24.5 million (WFP, 2004). Global School Feeding Report (2004) noted that there was significant improvement in enrolment, attendance and performance of children participating in the program.

In the year 2003, following the introduction of free primary education in Kenya, the WFP-assisted feeding program was expanded to meet the nutritional needs of increased enrolment of children witnessed in schools (MoEST, 2003). This led to the initiation of WFP School feeding components of Emergency Operation (EMOP) between 2004 and 2007 as the WFP country program. The emergency operation was to maintain the increased enrolment of 7,400,000 children as result of the introduction of free and compulsory primary education (WFP/GoK, 2008)

The School Feeding Program in Kenya received the Government's acknowledgement in enhancing the health and nutrition of primary school children in 2005. This was included in the 2005 Session Paper on Policy Framework for Education, which was approved by Parliament. This highlighted the need for school meals. It also called for the expansion of the program and provision of mid-day meals to needy children (GoK, 2005).

In the beginning of 2008, the WFP country office developed an all-inclusive and data-intensive methodology for identifying the priority districts for SFP assistance. This was as a result of decreased funding of the School Feeding Program due to the global food crisis of 2007 that increased the price of staple food to unparalleled levels (WFP, 2008). The priority schools were identified based on low educational performance measures and high poverty levels. In addition, schools in informal urban settlements were also

identified to benefit in the SFP. This move was initiated to support the most vulnerable children to enhance access to school and keep them there.

In 2009, the government introduced the Home Grown School Feeding Program (HGSFP), as a way of reducing heavy foreign aid and conditional management that characterised previous school feeding programs in the country. In that year, the government of Kenya transferred over 500,000 primary school pupils from the WFP in the ASALs to HGSFP (MoE, 2009). The transfer ensured that logistics of implementing HGSFP were placed under the School Management Committees (SMC). The SMC comprised of parents, teachers, and community members. The SMC was also placed in charge of purchasing food from local farmers, cooperatives, and traders. This differed with the previous school feeding programs where WFP agents procured foodstuffs and distributed meals to participating schools. Free Primary Education was present in the country and the Government wanted to maintain it. The most appropriate measure to maintain the Free Primary Education was the School Feeding Program. (MoEST, 2009).

Although various studies have been conducted on the effect of the School Feeding Program on education since its existence in 1966, no study known to the researcher was done on the history of the School Feeding Program in Kenya, its impact on education and the challenges it faced in Kenya between 1966 and 2009. This study therefore documented chronologically the development of the School Feeding Program in Kenya, its impact on education and the challenges it faced over the years between 1966 and 2009.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

School Feeding is a social safety net that was, and still is, used globally as a means to increase enrolment and attendance rate among school going children. In Kenya, school feeding was introduced in 1966 and was in existence for the last 43 years. While there was a lot of valuable literature on school feeding in Kenya, most of the studies focused on either the impact of SFP on education or on children and school attendance or participation. This study focused on the history of the School Feeding Program in Kenya between 1966 and 2009, its impact on education and the challenges it faced. It investigated the contributing factors to the initiation of the School Feeding Program such as dietary habits, Presidential decrees, droughts, conflicts and Education policies and its impact on education.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The following were the specific objectives of the study:

i. To document the development of the School Feeding Program (SFP) in Kenya with specific reference to the period between 1966 and 2009.
ii. To document the impact of the School Feeding Program on education in Kenya between 1966 and 2009.
iii. To document the challenges that faced the School Feeding Program in Kenya between 1966 and 2009.

1.4 Research Questions

The following research questions were investigated:

i. What factors led to the inception and development of the School Feeding Program in Kenya between 1966 and 2009?

ii. What was the impact of the SFP on Education in Kenya between 1966 and 2009?

iii. What were the challenges that faced the School Feeding Program between 1966 and 2009 in Kenya?

1.5 Significance of the Study

Although there is much literature on the School Feeding Program in Kenya, the historical perspective evaded scholarly attention. While most of the literature reviewed discussed about its impact on education, some only mentioned a brief history of the programs. Furthermore, existing literature focused more on the School Feeding Program on primary school age children attendance, participation and the benefits to the family. Yet, the historical development of the School Feeding Program presented an opportunity to find out if the intended goals had been achieved and challenges identified had been addressed. The study also contributed to a new knowledge on development of history of education in Kenya.

It is hoped that the findings of this study will benefit the government and education stakeholders by showing how the School Feeding Program evolved and the impact it has had on education in Kenya. In addition, it is hoped that the government will find the findings of this study useful to formulate new strategies for the Home Grown School Feeding Program (HGSFP) currently in place in the country.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study documented the historical development of the School Feeding Program, its impact on education and the challenges it faced in Kenya between 1966 and 2009. The study covered a period of 43 years. The year 1966 was taken to be the entry point for this study because it was the time when the Government of Kenya first introduced the School

Feeding Program in the country. On the other hand, 2009 was considered appropriate to end the study because it was when the Government of Kenya took over foreign aided School Feeding Programs under the Home Grown School Feeding Program (HGSFP). Although there are many safety nets, the study concentrated on the School Feeding Program in Kenya between 1966 and 2009 only. The study also concentrated on public schools receiving the School Feeding Program only. The study further confined itself to documenting evidence chronologically in order of occurrence and in line with the specific objectives of the study.

1.7Assumptions of the Study

The study had the following assumptions;

(i) Some primary schools in Kenya had access to the School Feeding Program.

(ii) That the School Feeding Program had positive impact on education.

(iii) That the School Feeding Program was faced by challenges.

1.8 Limitations of the Study

Searching for the full details of historical development of SFP in Kenya was a challenge that faced the study. This was because the information was not contained in a single document and searching for the information was involving.

1.9 Definition of Operational Terms

Access: Refers to the opportunity available for a child to enroll and complete primary education

Attendance: This refers to pupils being present in school daily during the school days

Basic education: This refers to elementary or primary education, which forms the base of secondary and tertiary education

Enrolment: Refers to the total number of pupils who have registered in a particular primary school in a given school year

Home-Grown School Feeding: Refers to a local mechanism of providing food to school children in which the Government provides funds to schools in Kenya and the schools tender for supply of food

Implementation: Refers to carrying out plans or activities to achieve policies set for development

Nutritional status: Refers to a pupil's state of health as a result of dietary quality and quantity of food consumed

Safety nets: Refers to programs that provide cash or in-kind benefits that seek to reduce poverty or vulnerability

School-age children: This refers to young children between the ages 6-13 years eligible to enrolment in pre-primary and primary schools

School Feeding Program: Refers to a program that provides pupils with meals and is organised by schools with Government and donor assistance

Short term hunger: Refers to the temporary conditions of pupils who did not have a sufficient meal for a number of hours before attending school

Participation: It refers to active involvement of learners in school activities

Performance: It refers to a mark of achievement or indicators in terms of scores that learners get in subjects in and Kenya Certificate of Primary Education

Program: Refers to a planned sequence of events guided by schedule

Retention: The ability of pupils to stay in school until completion of the primary course.

1.10 Organization of the Study

This study is organized in seven chapters. Chapter one defined the problem under investigation. Chapter two presented review of related literature and chapter three defined the methodology used in the study. The data for this study was analyzed and presented in three chapters using the periodization and thematic approach.

Chapter four documented an overview of the historical development of the School Feeding Program specifically in Kenya between 1966 and 2009. The information in this chapter highlighted early pockets of school feeding programs in the world, nationally legislated school feeding programs in the World, the School Feeding Program in Kenya between 1966 and 1980, the WFP School feeding program between 1980 and 2008 and the Home Grown School Feeding Program.

Chapter five focused on the impact of the School Feeding Program on education in Kenya between 1966 and 2009. The chapter focused on access, retention, attention, participation and performance of children in schools participating in the School Feeding Program.

Chapter six discussed the challenges faced by the School Feeding Program in Kenya between 1966 and 2009. The challenges were either direct or indirect. The direct challenges affected the SFP while the indirect challenges affected the intended varied in their nature and they included; climatic, financial, infrastructural, insecurity and orphaned children challenges.

Chapter seven presented the summary of the study, conclusions, recommendations and suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, literature related to the School Feeding Program (SFP) by other researchers and scholars has been reviewed. Components related to this study were reviewed under the various sub-headings as follows: the development of the School Feeding Program, a global historical perspective, SFPs in Africa and SFP in Kenya. The impact of the SFP on access and retention, attention, participation and performance were extensively discussed. The literature also reviewed the challenges that faced SFP in Kenya between 1966 and 2009, after which a summary of reviewed literature was presented.

2.2 The Development of School Feeding Programs:

2.2.1 A Global Historical Perspective

The School Feeding Programs (SFPs) worldwide were anticipated to relieve short-term hunger, improve nutrition and cognition of children. It also aimed to transfer incomes to families in terms of savings as a result of the free food provided to school going children. According to McDonnell & Probart, the school feeding program had an impact on nutrition and educational outcomes of school children in third world countries. Their study revealed that the school feeding program had positive effects on energy intake, micronutrient status, enrolment, and attendance of the children participating in SFPs compared to non-participants (McDonnell & Probart, 2011).

The SFP was traced not only in developing countries but also in developed countries such as those in Europe and America. Berg (1973) documented on classical school feeding programs most of which were initially sponsored by private charitable groups. The sponsor groups directed their concern to poor children. As the programs evolved, governments began to take over the sponsorship of such programs. His first study was in Shikoku Island of Japan where a Buddhist priest initiated as a private venture school feeding in 1889 with food furnished as alms. It was not until 1932 amidst economic depression that the School Feeding Program became nationally funded. He also documented development of the School Feeding Program in the Netherlands where the Local Government was authorized to make meals available to schools for the youngsters who were unable to attend school regularly due to lack of food in 1900. Attendance became very steady. The Netherlands was the first country to implement a national legislation to provide school lunches in 1900. The third documentation was on India where the Madras Islamic Quranic Schools provided feeding as long ago as 1925. This became an important program in secular education system in 1950s.

A similar example was the United States of America (USA) where the Children's Aid Society of New York started serving lunch to children at a vocational school in 1953. The Starr Center Association of Philadelphia served penny lunches at one school in 1894. This helped to reduce illiteracy significantly by improving attendance to school by pupils (Gunderson, 2007).

However, provision of school meals changed course after the World War II in 1946 where food aid had its roots in the disposal of surplus food from the less affected lands by the war to the affected ones. In 1954, a public law 480 (PL 480) in the USA was enacted to distribute this surplus to parts of the world still suffering from the post war shortage. Further, United States Agency for International Development (USAID) developed a broader policy related to PL 480 funding but it was unclear how school feeding program would fit in. Later it was amended and USAID was mandated to fund the School Feeding Programs. In 1964, PL480 shifted to a humanitarian focus depended on congressionally appropriated funds in the USA. The SFP in the USA was meals were for introduced to encourage children to go to school every day (Kanno, 1973).

Peppter (1991) noted that in London the systems of provision of meals were for offsetting hunger. He further noted that the London School Board appointed a committee to ascertain the number of children attending school insufficiently fed, and report with such suggestions for providing remedy. The selected committee was to take the steps they thought fit for provision of meals for children at any public elementary school in London. The SFP in United Kingdom was started nationally in in 1960 to improve the health of the children and attendance for quality education (Scotts, 1953; June et al, 1992).

The German's school feeding had its roots from Victor Hugo, an exiled member of Paris National Guards who financed hot meals to a local school in 1865 out of his pocket. These meals became so popular that by the end of the century, the Social Democrats introduced into the Reichstag a bill authorizing school feeding in the chancery German city (FAO nutrition studies No. 10, 1953).

In Switzerland, private societies provided lunch to approximately eight percent of the total primary school pupils. This encouraged attendance of children living far from school and unable to get lunch from home. As a result, teachers in Switzerland supported the school feeding (FAO, 2005; Gunderson, 2007).

The National School Feeding Program in Brazil started in 1955 with the aim of providing income and food resources to pupils attending day-care centers, pre-schools and public schools (WFP 2007). In Brazil, a study conducted by WFP's Home Grown Project, 'A desk review of the national feeding program', had positive results. The study found out that the program was able to improve the nutrition needs of children through one meal per day (minimum).The study also revealed the meal formed healthy nutritional habits, improve learning capacity,reduced school drop outs and grade repetition (WFP, 2007). The government partnered with universities through the 'centros colaboradores em Alimentacao e nutricao Escolar' (collaborating centers in feeding and school nutrition) trained teachers, food service staff, dieticians, managers and school feeding committees to ensure smooth running of the SFP (WFP, 2007).

In Pakistani, the government through *Tawana Pakistan*; a national SFP was able to improve girls' enrolment and attendance rate in schools by providing cooked food to girls in selected primary schools. The WFP supported school feeding at 2900 schools were assisted in 28 districts since 1994. This aimed at increasing girl's enrolment and ensure retention until completion of full primary cycle. The girls who attended school for at least 20 days a month received a 4-litre tin of oil each month. A similar incentive was given to

teachers upon a condition of attending work for at least 22 days a month. The overall enrolment increased by 135% between 1998 and1999. It also increased in the same percentage between 2003 and 2004 according to a WFP report. Parents of primary school girls sampled started sending at least one girl to school. Before the program, 48% of parents did not send any girl to school (WFP 2007).

International organizations such as UNICEF, WFP and FAO were involved in SFPs showing that SFP was a major concern worldwide (Kimani, 1985). The advocates of SFP support the fact that the Program made classes for children lively. Lavinger (1986) noted that providing food to learners was a means of offsetting most of the costs of attending school. The program improved education in areas of attendance, attention and reception in learning. This was proved by a study carried out in Jamaica by Chandler, Parker and Mc Gregor (1986). They tested the short-term effects of breakfast on cognitive functions of children. The sampled children comprised of 97 malnourished and 100 nourished children from four primary schools in rural Jamaica. They were randomly placed in a group provided with breakfast or a group given a quarter of an orange as a placebo. They were then given a battery of four cognitive function tests. The treatments were reversed after a few weeks and the tests repeated. The performance of the malnourished children improved significantly on a test of verbal fluency when they received breakfast, whereas that of the nourished children did not change. There were no other effects of breakfast on test scores. The study found out that children who benefitted most were those who were previously malnourished. Therefore, the breakfast meal had an impact on performance.

Similar studies carried out in the USA showed that children who went to school without taking breakfast scored significantly low marks in achievement tests than their counterparts who had breakfast. The children participating in the program improved their test scores significantly compared to non-participants. The attendance of the pupils participating in the program also improved (Meyer, Sampson and Wertzman, 1989).

A study by Huffman & Engle in 2010 found out that optimal growth in children and long-term human capital development were positive on account of improved nutrition and learning opportunities in the earliest years of life. In addition, a study in North Eastern Brazil showed that the school achievement of malnourished children was 20 percent lower than that of children with normal nutrition status (Harbison and Hanushek, 1992). Therefore, school feeding had positive impact on learning and the health of school-age children as found out in this chapter.

2.2.2 School Feeding Program in Africa

In Africa, a study conducted by the World Health Organization (WHO) in 1961 revealed that hunger was prevalent in the continent and it affected 72 percent of school-age children (WHO, 1964). Several other studies were carried out in Africa on School Feeding Program (SFP) and its impact on education. For instance, The Government of Ethiopia assisted by WFP started SFP in 1992 in the regions of Amhara and Tigre. The program improved enrolment by 50 percent between 1994 and 1995 (WFP, 1995). Studies on the effect of the SFP in Ethiopia showed that SFP attracted pupils to school and enabled them to remain in school. The children also completed the primary course and performed well (UNESCO 1995).

Other studies in Benin, Burkina Faso and Togo on the determinants of achievement found that a school meal was related to performance of a child on the end of year tests. In Benin, the study determined that children in schools with canteens scored higher marks than those in schools without (World Bank, 2002a). In 1998, an evaluation study in Morocco noted that education was biased in favor of the boy child rather than girl child in both rural and urban areas. The SFP made positive impact particularly for girls (Global School Feeding Reports, 2002). The study also found out that only 52 percent of school-age girls in rural areas attended school as compared to 72 percent of boys. In urban areas, 81 percent of girls and 87 percent of boys attended school. Four out of ten girls in rural areas dropped out of school before grade five to help in domestic chores and fend for the family. Others were married off to older men for dowry payment due to poverty. Hunger and strong socio-cultural traditions against girls affected learning in the country. The WFP initiated intervention measures to close the gender gap by introducing take-home rations for girls. In a two -year period, girl entry in the first grade doubled in WFP assisted schools (UNESCO, 2003a).

The Government of Tanzania and WFP initiated SFP in Arusha, Dodoma and Singida in 2000. The three regions were among Tanzania's poorest regions. The Program was very successful in boosting education. The three regions recorded 15 percent increase in enrolment within the same year (Global School Feeding Report, 2000). The SFP in Tanzania only covered some of the districts that were considered prone to hunger caused by the long dry season (Oganga, 2006). The objectives of the SFP in Tanzania were to increase enrolment, attendance and concentration span among school children. It also

intended to increase their learning capacity, reduce dropout rates and gender disparities in primary schools (WFP, 2004). A Report by the Government of Tanzania (2006) in Chamwino district in Tanzania found out that SFP had provided a social safety net. The free food was acting as a safety net to attract children to enroll and consistently stay in school. This improved learning, reduced absenteeism and enhanced nutrition of school children.

Similarly, food insecurity in Malawi had a significant impact on education. A study commissioned by UNICEF in 2002 found that food insecurity influenced pupils' absenteeism and dropout rates (which ranged from 10.4% to 22.5%) during the lean season (WFP 2007). Partnership between the government through the Ministry of Health and the WFP ensured that SFP was effective in Malawi. The program provided a take-home ration of 12.5 kg of maize per month for girls and for double orphans who attended 80% of school days. The take home rations had a substantial value transfer effects and encouraged households to keep children in schools. Results were encouraging in that, girls' enrolment increased by 37.7% (WFP, 2007).

Irregular school attendance and poor attention in classes impeded educational performance in Uganda. Cultural constraints such as early marriage affected primary education of girls (Muhwezi, 1995). To curb this problem, the government of Uganda, World Vision Uganda and local communities partnered to implement the SFP in the districts of Pader and Karamoja among others in 230 schools (WFP 2007). The result was improved poverty eradication in line with the Poverty Eradication Plan of 2004 where

income saved from free meals was used for other economic benefits. There was improved retention, nutrition of school children and development of local agricultural markets through the use of local produce to run the program (WFP 2007).

In Nigeria, the Federal Government of Nigeria was supported in its SFP by the WFP since 1980. In 2004, Nigeria was in the first wave of countries to implement a new and innovative Home Grown School Meals Program (HGSMP) and a health pilot program (WFP, 2004). The Nigerian Government employed legislation of Universal Education Act and carried out pilot scheme in thirteen states of the country to implement SFP, which supported agricultural development by procuring and using locally produced food (Global School Feeding Report, 2004).

The Osun state HGSFP locally known as O-meals (O for Osun) became popular and served locally sourced meals in every school day. The positive impact of Osun HGSMP was felt in the schools where enrolment went up by 28 percent (UNESCO, 2002a). His Excellency the Governor of Osun, Rauf Aregbesolas was called to many places to suggest on how to achieve SFP and sustain it. For instance, he was called to talk to the UK Parliamentarians on how to achieve an effective SFP (Mugiri, 1995; UNESCO, 2002a).

Kano state was not as successful as Osun but introduced SFP, assisted by Partnership for Child Development (PCD) and Kano state community Re-orientation committee (CRC). The key concern was the potential benefits and opportunities of HGSMP in the state of Kano and the entire country (Kimani, 1985)

Some countries in Africa were working on Millennium Development Goals (MDG) that targeted at reducing hunger by half between 2000 and 2015 (World Bank, 2000). Ghana for example implemented the Ghana School Feeding Program (GSFP) in 2005 with the objective of reducing hunger and malnutrition, increasing school enrolment, retention and attendance while at the same time boosting local production. It (GSFP) relied on Farm Based Organizations (FBOs) to provide the food that was used to run the GSFP thus benefiting the children as well as empowering the local community (WFP, 2008). FAO (2002) noted that these countries were moving in the right direction through proper implementation of SFPs that benefited the community at large. In Africa therefore, SFP was an incentive used to encourage children to go to school and parents to allow them to do so.

2.2.3 School Feeding Program in Kenya

The Government of Kenya first introduced school meals in 1966 under the National School Feeding Council (NSFC). The aim of the council was to provide supplementary mid-day meals to school children. At the beginning, the NSFC was supported by the Ministries of Education, Health, Culture and Social services, NGOs, the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK) and The Catholic Secretariat. The program led to a significant increase in terms of numbers of children and schools in the program (GoK, 1968).

The Government established low-cost boarding schools in marginalized districts with Free Feeding Program in 1971. This increased enrolment significantly in various districts involved, for instance; enrolment rose as follows; Samburu district by 31 percent, Wajir

district by 71 percent, Isiolo district by 23 percent, Marsabit district by 20 percent and Tana River district by 26 percent. These were high levels as compared to the national level which stood at 6.8 percent. These high levels were attributed to the SFP among other factors. The boarding schools numbered 86 by 1973 (GoK, 1973).

The Government of Kenya and the WFP launched a five-year SFP plan in 1980. The objectives of the project were to increase enrolment, improve retention and performance levels (MoE, 2002). The Evaluation Summary Report of the Project indicated that enrolment increased in Schools' participating in the program (Mugiri, 1995) .This program was managed by the WFP with the assistance of the Ministry of Education until 1984 (GoK/WFP 1980). In 1984, Kenya experienced drought, which resulted into a temporary food shortage after which the Government and WFP launched another five-year SFP.

The WFP in 1990 carried out an evaluation on the net worth of SFP in Kenya between 1980 and 1989. The report revealed that SFP improved primary school enrolment by 50 percent in 1980 to 95 percent in1990 in the country (GoK/WFP, 1990). An evaluation carried out by the WFP on the impact of SFP in rural and urban slums in Kenya from 1980 to 1998 revealed that levels of hunger were reduced and nutrition of pupils receiving school meals increased significantly (WFP, 1990). The WFP integrated SFP into 5-year country program cycle between 1998 and 2003 (WFP, 2004). The UNESCO recommended the SFP as a model to be followed by poor countries to achieve the goal of education for all (EFA) (Global School Feeding Report, 2002).

The WFP-assisted program in 2004 was further expanded to meet the nutritional needs of the increased enrolment of children witnessed in schools. It was expanded to WFP School feeding component of Emergency Operations (EMOP) activities initiated during 2004-2007 (GoK /WFP, 2008).

The Home Grown School Feeding Program (HGSFP) was launched in 2008 and kicked off in July 2009. The Program targeted semi-arid regions in the country in a cash transfer program. The schools received resources from the Government in a special account designated for purchase of cereals, pulses and oil in the local market. The program was directly managed at school level by a board of management (BOM) and school Feeding Sub-Committee (MoE/WFP, 2008). The SFP in Kenya targeted food inequality in the ASALs of country. The beneficiaries of the program were extremely poor families that were unable to provide the recommended daily allowance of calories, protein and essential micronutrients to their children (GoK, 2009).

The result of the meal program was a great improvement in school attendance and retention among children. Rural schools that provided meals showed a high attendance rate and lower initial dropout rate than schools that did not provide meals (Espejo, 2009). On average, participating families saved between 4-9% of their annual income by taking advantage of the school meals and avoiding added food expenditure (June et al, 1992). Studies tracking the impact of SFP showed improvement in IQ, immunity to illnesses, and enhanced growth among participating children (Espejo, 2009). According to a first-hand teacher account, children who received meals were generally healthier, more

receptive, energetic and easier to teach (Kanno, 2005). A study by Galloway (2009), found out that micronutrients fortification, malaria treatment and annual deworming initiatives could be implemented alongside SFPs to increase overall child's health.

2.3 Impact of School Feeding Program on Education:

2.3.1 Access and Retention

School feedings programs attracted and retained children in schools. The benefits were almost similar worldwide. The decision to enroll a child in school and make him/her stay was influenced by many factors including the perceived value of education, the direct and indirect costs of education and the availability of quality school facilities (Mugiri, 1995).

A study carried out in Jamaica noted that providing breakfast to primary school pupils significantly increased access and improved attendance. The study found that the children who benefited most were those who were stunted or previously malnourished (Simon and McGregor, 1986). According to WFP (2009) country experiences from Chile, child nutrition programs played a major role in increasing school participation rate to nearly 100 percent. The child nutrition programs, which were administered by the government and implemented by private contractors, were among the most renowned in the world (Global child nutrition foundation, 2009).

King (1990) asserted that in the Dominican Republic up to 25% of children dropped out of school during a period without school meals and the effect was greatest in the rural areas especially for girls. This clearly indicated food incentive played a role in enrolment and attendance. A study conducted in Nepal found out the probability of attending school was 5% for stunted children versus 27% for children with normal nutritional status (Moock and Leslie, 1986).

The World Bank evaluated the impact of school feeding in Bangladesh that covered over two million children in 2000.The enrolment in schools participating in the program increased by 35% within a period of two years. The percentage of girls, at 44%, was higher than that of boys, which was at 28%. In non-program schools, the enrolment was at 2.5%. The enrolment for girls was at 2.4 % and for boys was at 0.1 % (World Bank, 2000).

In Africa (Ghana), a study by Morgan and Sonnino (2005) showed that the introduction of the Ghana School Feeding Program (GSFP) made some successes. This study revealed that there was an increase of school enrolment by 20.3 percent in the pilot schools against 2.8 percent in the schools without GSFP. Not only had the program increased enrolment rates tremendously, but also retention rates. A different study in Ghana noted that malnourished children entered school at a later age than nourished children (Glewwes and Jaccoby, 1994).

Similarly, in the old Orange Free State of South Africa, absenteeism fell from 9.5 percent to 6.9 percent in three years following introduction of a feeding program. However, suspension of lunch in Puerto Rico led to a marked reduction in attendance (Berg, 1973). An evaluation study on the school feeding program in Burkina Faso found out that school canteens were associated with increased school enrolment especially among girls (World Bank, 2002a). A small pilot school feeding program in Malawi was evaluated for its effects on enrolment over a three-month period. There was a 5% increase in enrolment in the schools participating in the program compared to the control schools not participating

in the program over the same period. The same study found out that providing food as take-home rations was an effective incentive for school attendance (Ahmed and Del Ninno, 2002).

In Kenya, the School Feeding Program was associated with increased enrolment. A study by Abagi (1997) discussed the School Feeding Program, the Milk Program and the effects both had on school efficiency. The study noted that the short-lived school milk Program in 1979 led to a 23 per cent enrolment increase in primary schools around the country. Similarly, a study carried out by Matoko (1988) revealed that school-meals helped to improve school enrolment. In his study, Matoko found out that more school-age children were encouraged to enroll in schools following the introduction of free lunch especially among pastoralist communities where school enrolment for both girls and boys were generally low. Ngome's study in 2002 concurs with the findings of Matoko. Both of them found out that school meals increased attention span and enrolment of pupils.

A study in a Kenyan pre-school noted that for children receiving breakfast, school participation in a treatment group was 8.5 percent higher than that in a control group (Vermearch and Kremer, 2004). This study also recorded a systematic review of school feeding programs in low-income countries such as Tanzania, Ethiopia, Chile, Pakistani, Uganda, Malawi and Ghana only to mention a few. This study also found greater attendance for pupils receiving on-site meals as compared to pupils in control groups.

An evaluation on take-home rations programs showed an impact on enrolment. According to Lamberas (2009b), SFP enhanced retention and reduced gender parity in

school attendance meaning that meals attracted more under privileged girl pupils to access classes. In high poverty prevalent areas in Kenya, emerging evidence showed that SFP had the potential of enhancing enrolment, attendance, progression of orphans and other under-privileged children (Mugiri, 1995). According to UNICEF/UNESCO (2005), schools were centers for care and support of vulnerable children hence the improved enrolment was a positive impact of school feeding.

2.3.2 Attention, Participation and Performance

The School Feeding Program had impact on education in many ways. These included; attention in class, participation and performance. These activities were linked to one another, as a child had to be attentive in class in order to understand and thereafter perform well (Mugiri, 1995). Poor health and poor nutrition among school-age children diminished their cognitive performance and ability to be attentive and active in learning experiences (Vermearch and Kremer, 2004).

A similar study was conducted in U.S.A and indicated the importance of giving poor pupils breakfast at the primary school level. The test scores of the children taking part in the program increased more than the test scores of the children not participating (Del Rosso, 1999).

Another study observed that war in the Middle East, Eastern Europe and South America affected children emotionally and made them physically vulnerable. Schools in such areas had the potential to address nutrition issues, as well as, provide a safe haven and a

source of stability for the children and their families. SFPs played an instrumental role in keeping schools open in times of crisis and conflict (Horwitz, (2002)).

Further, a study that included 23 malnourished boys and 29 well-nourished boys aged between 9 years and 11 years was carried out in Peru. The study assessed the effects of breakfast on cognitive performance. The breakfast was a nutritionally fortified beverage and a baked grain product fortified with iron, similar to the meal provided in government sponsored school breakfast program. A series of cognitive tests were administered in an experimental setting. Speed in performing a short-term memory test and discrimination of geometric patterns were improved under the breakfast condition in both the groups. The effect was more pronounced in the nutritionally disadvantaged children (Pollit et al 1995).

Another study by Ainley and Sheret (1992) in Southern Australia found that upper grade pupils had educational plans about the level they intended to continue at high school. The educational objectives of the World Food Program school feeding were well defined and associated with clear indicators. The schools, which managed their school feeding effectively, were guaranteed of keeping children in school without transfers since parents were comfortable with their children's performance in school (Bannet, 2003).

African countries also had a history of SFPs and their impact on education. Vermearch and Kremer (2004) found out that the meals received by children at school contributed to better nourishment and health. Healthy and nourished children meant a lower burden of disease for the society and the government. Better nutrition also meant better physical and mental development for these children.

A similar study was carried out by Bwibo (2003) in Kenya to investigate on the impact of animal source foods (ASFs) on children in developing countries. He sought to test for a causal relationship between ASF and growth, cognitive development and physical activity. A controlled school feeding intervention study was designed to test the hypotheses that ASF would improve micronutrient status, growth and cognitive function in Kenyan primary school children. Twelve rural Kenyan schools with 554 children were chosen randomly to four feeding interventions. The school children were given milk, meat, or energy supplements for 21 months to test performance. Children who were given meat improved their arithmetic scores and their performance on the Raven's progressive matrices test (a test of non-verbal reasoning). However, they did not improve on verbal comprehension.

Another study by Del Rosso (1999) in developing world observed that nutritional and health statuses were powerful variables to a child's learning. Del Rosso further argued that children who lacked certain nutrients in their diet had low potential for learning than healthy children. He further observed that malnourished children had difficulties in concentrating and in performing complex taxes. He concluded that unhealthy children were likely to repeat grades or drop out of school.

Similarly, UNESCO (1981) conducted an evaluation study on WFP projects in schools. The study revealed that malnutrition of children affected their intellectual capabilities. The study further revealed that food programs improved access, attendance and overall performance of children participating in the Food Programs. Other studies conducted by

UNESCO (1981) in Benin, Jamaica, North America and South America showed learning achievement to be higher for children receiving school feeding. Benefits were particularly strong for already undernourished children or those who missed breakfast.

2.4 Challenges facing School Feeding Programs

According to a study by Del Rosso (1999), funding was the major challenge facing SFPs in developing countries of Asia, Africa, part of Eastern Europe and South America. In Brazil, intermittent funding and lack of accountability led to inconsistent outcomes. Rations which were inadequately designed resulted in costly operations and unsatisfied pupils while inappropriate geographical targeting resulted in children shifting between schools in the same district (WFP, 2004).

Berg (1973) documented challenges that faced school feeding programs in the world. Berg found out that these challenges included the costs of administration, storage and transport which turned out to be huge. For instance, the Education Ministry in Zambia raised the question of how schools could be built when all the money was invested in the program.

In Ghana, the government was not able to pay the caterers who provided the food to the children. This compelled some caterers to occasionally boycott the program. This was because of the extra burden that lack of payment for their supplies placed on them. The degree of linking local farmers in food procurement (supplier model and caterer model) brought about ambiguity in the procurement process affecting the smooth running of the SFP (Morgan and Sonnino, 2005).

For Kenya, although SFP considerably increased pupil enrolment rate, attendance, retention and examination scores, rural districts only exhibited modest gains in completion rate of primary school; 34% for arid and 57% for semi-arid areas in Kenya. This was mainly due to regional disparities in resource endowment making effective implementation of SFPs and retention difficult (GoK, 2013).

According to WFP (2008), the overall enrolment of schools in rural Kenya that offered free meals was 28% higher than schools that did not offer free meals. The average teacher to pupil ratio was 11 percent higher than the national average. This placed a strain on the resources available to schools that experienced an influx of children due to the provision of free meals (Bogonko 1992).

The WFP (2008) conducted a study in rural Kenya and found out that financially strapped schools required families to contribute money, labor, water and firewood to receive the daily meal allowance, compromising the full effect of the meal incentive. Schools were not equipped with suitable bathrooms and kitchen to ensure that food was prepared in a hygienic and safe environment (Bogonko 1992). The positive effects of SFP on attendance and retention seemed to weaken with time. As children got older, they became valuable economic resources to their families and pressure to contribute to household chores and earnings mounted thus reducing the retention rate. The opportunity cost of continuing with school outweighed the benefits of free meals and majority of children dropped out (WFP, 2008; Bogonko 1992)

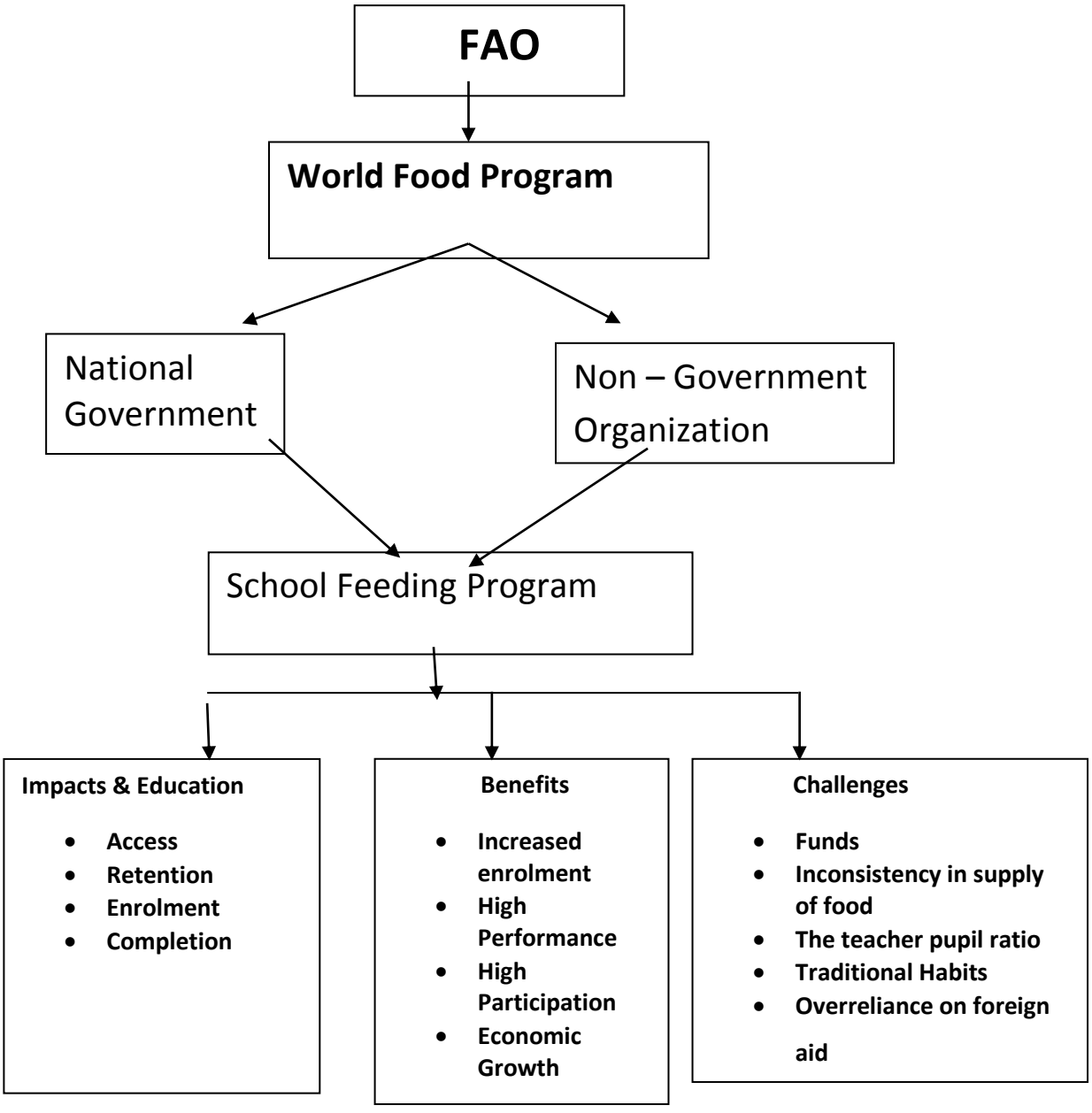
Another challenge was heavy reliance on foreign aid and management which subjected the program to fluctuating, and often conditional, international support (Berg, 1973). Berg argued that foreign assistance discouraged local producers of low cost foods. For instance, Finland permitted school lunch program but each school had to have a school garden. Berg further argued that foreign aided food programs relieved national governments their responsibility to confront the needs of its people leading to dependency syndrome. Berg also gave the example of Belgium where the government objected to the concept of aided school feeding on the ground that it intruded on the role of parents.

Another challenge was lack of uniformity in school menus, timing of meals and the number of feeding days were a problem to SFP implementers (Levinger, 1986). Donated food found its way to black markets and huge cartels developed with sole aim of benefiting from the sales. Therefore, very little reached the anticipated beneficiary (Berg, 1973).

2.5 Conceptual Framework

Review of related literature gives a systematic development of SFP, its impact on education and the challenges faced in the study period. This is summarized in figure 2.1. The figure embraced all the objectives of the study.

Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework



Source; Researcher, 2018

The conceptual framework illustrates how the School Feeding Program evolved over the time. Organized SFPs began when United Nations Organization formed an agency to address matters of Food and Agriculture (FAO) in 1960. Hunger became a global concern and in order to address the problem effectively, FAO set the World Food Program (WFP) to deal with hunger stricken parts of the world.

The WFP worked, and still works, with the National Governments of various countries, which had to be supported by the program. Non- Governmental Organizations also worked hand in hand with WFP and National Governments to eradicate hunger. The SFP had an impact on education with multiple benefits as the framework illustrates. These benefits include access, retention, enrolment and completion, which in turn yield to high participation levels and performance rates. The gross benefit was economic growth.

However, a number of challenges faced SFP as the conceptual framework illustrates. These challenges included shortage of funds which led inconsistency in food supply. Another challenge was the teacher-pupil ratio which was adversely imbalanced. The imbalance made management of SFP difficult.

Lastly, the traditional habits hindered access and completion of primary education. In some communities, children were expected to help their parents to work and earn income for the upkeep of the family. Therefore, children who had grown to working age were diverted to work.

2.6 Summary of Literature Reviewed

The literature reviewed showed that the School Feeding Program had a history and kept on evolving. The review examined the development of school feeding program in the world outside Africa, in Africa and in Kenya clearly showing the impact of SFPs on education in various countries. The review showed that the School Feeding Programs had positive impact on education. The review showed that the School Feeding Programs occurred in different forms or modalities depending on the context and timing. The School Feeding Program improved education by increasing access, retention, enrolment, attendance, attention, participation, gender parity, performance and educational awareness to parents on the importance of education particularly for girls. The review showed that despite the many benefits associated with the implementation of SFPs in many countries particularly low-income countries such as Kenya; there exist some challenges which make it difficult for the targeted school going children not to enjoy the full benefits of SFPs. These challenges include corruption, poor infrastructure, inadequate resources, cultural constraints such as early marriages for girls, poor formulation of the programs among others.

The review showed that there is a rich literature on school feeding programs and many studies were identified. No studies were identified by the researcher which addressed the historical development of school feeding program in Kenya and the related educational achievements. This study therefore documented the history of the School Feeding Program in Kenya, its impact on education and the challenges it faced between 1966 and 2009.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This section focuses on research design, the sources of data, data collection procedures applied, evaluation of data and finally data analysis and presentation.

3.2 Research Design

The study employed the Historical method of research was used in this study. It was necessary because the study was historical in nature. A historical research is a systematic and objective location, evaluation and synthesis of evidence in order to establish facts and draw conclusions on past events (Sifuna, 1995:66). Cohen and Manion defined this as, "An act of reconstruction undertaken in the spirit of critical inquiry designed to achieve a faithful representation of a previous age", (Cohen and Manion, 1944). The researcher used historical research design to come up with a systematic and coherent account of events under investigation. In this way, it was easy to understand the SFP, educational practices and problems (Borg and Gall, 1983:83).

In the quest for more practical methods of solving educational problems, the historical method provided an avenue to understand the insights of the past SFPs. The findings were arranged in their chronological order of occurrence. The study documented how School Feeding Program evolved over the years and its influence on educational achievements. In this regard, the historical method was found to be the most appropriate to document the history of School Feeding Program, its impact on education and the challenges it faced in Kenya between 1966 and 2009.

3.3 Sources of Data

Both the primary and the secondary sources of data were used in this study. In this case, data is deemed as anything given or admitted as a fact on which a reference is based on. It is anything actual, or assumed, used as basis for reckoning (Oso & Onen, 2008).

Primary sources of data are those sources which are described as items that are original to the problem under study. They have a direct relation with the events under reconstruction. In this research, much of the primary sources were obtained from various archives namely: The Kenya National Archives, official government reports, official and private reports, and the University of Nairobi library.

Secondary sources of data were also used in this study. Secondary sources are those in which the person giving description of a given event was not present when the event took place but received his/her description from another person who may not have necessarily observed the said event directly. The secondary sources for this study were published materials such as textbooks, magazines, newspapers and journals. Information was also collected from advanced sources of documents, or electronically stored information (Borg and Gall, 1989).

Secondary sources of data are sometimes inaccurate and have a tendency of disputing some facts (Borg and Gall, 1989). Therefore, the study did not heavily rely on secondary sources due to this general weakness. The secondary sources were used to supplement the primary sources.

3.4 Procedures for Data Collection

I got a permit of research from the National Council for Science, Technology and Innovations (NACOSTI). The council has authority to allow a person to carry out a research study in Education.

The researcher also visited the local archives to search for relevant data. These included the Kenya National Archives in Nairobi, the University of Nairobi Library, the Ministry of Education archives and electronically retrieved sources, after which findings were recorded.

3.5 Evaluation of Data

The data collected was evaluated before being accepted as a historical evidence for the study. Questions on the validity of the document under study arose, and so did questions on the authenticity of the information obtained from the documents. This employed the use of historical process of external and internal criticisms.

External (extrinsic) criticism evaluates the nature of sources to establish their originality. External criticism examined the genuineness of the documentary sources, searching the characteristics of the authors and their qualification as reporters. There was also the question of the factors that might have had influenced the production of the document such as time, place, purpose and circumstances of composition.

Internal (intrinsic) criticism focused on the information contained in the documents with the aim of establishing their accuracy and worthiness (Borg & Gall). This involved the evaluation of the writer's biasness and the probable motives for mis-presentation when writing any accounts in the document. It also checked if two sources agreed about an

event. If two sources disagreed in a point, the historian preferred the source created by an expert or by the eye witness. All this was done to establish the validity and reliability of the data collected by use of the above instruments.

3.6 Data Analysis and Presentation

The collected data was verified and validated. This was data cleaning to determine inaccurate, incomplete, or unreasonable data and then improve the quality through correction of detected errors and omissions.

The data collected was qualitative in nature. The data was analyzed through content analysis. Content analysis is the systematic qualitative description of the composition of the objects or materials of the study (Mugenda and Mugenda 1999). Content analysis was used to organize and analyze the collected data. It was then presented thematically in line with the objectives of the study.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

This study was carried out with high level of professional ethics and in all the places visited, a legacy of professionalism triumphed.

CHAPTER FOUR

OVERVIEW OF HISTORIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCHOOL FEEDING PROGRAM IN KENYA BETWEEN 1966 AND 2009

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, historical development of SFP in Kenya between 1966 and 2009 was documented. The chapter has been presented in five sub-topics. The first two sub-topics discussed school feeding programs in the World in order to give a reference to the SFP in Kenya. The history of the SFP in Kenya has been analyzed chronologically as follows; the SFP in Kenya between 1966 and 1980, the WFP school feeding program between 1980 and 2008 and the Home Grown School Feeding Program in 2009.

4.2 Early School Feeding Programs in parts of the World

School feeding had undergone tremendous evolution from sporadic food services provided by private societies in Europe and other parts of the world as early as the 18th century. Some European countries were operating extensive programs by 1790. For instance, Benjamin Thompson in 1790 initiated a dual program of teaching and feeding in Germany which was also known as Count Rumford Program. He was referred to as the father of school feeding because he was among the founders of school feeding programs in the World. In 1794, Thompson founded the Poor People's Institute in which people worked for food and clothing while being taught reading, writing and arithmetic in-between their work schedules. The main aim was to eradicate poverty and illiteracy (Brown, 1940).

A similar program was started in Hamburg in Germany in 1875 where the Philanthropic School Society supplied needy children with free textbooks, clothing and food. Other privately funded programs like the "Society for feeding needy school children" at Dresden in 1880 were formed with the sole purpose of feeding school going children from poor families. Another program operated in Germany was the "Vacation Colonies" under which sick and malnourished children from crowded areas of the cities were given a vacation in the country for a few weeks in the summer under the sponsorship of teachers and doctors. The children were fed with balanced diets to improve their health and learning capabilities. The two programs in Germany were independent from each other but had a common objective of alleviating hunger among school-age children and eradicating illiteracy (Berg, 1973).

France was not left behind in school feeding. A French man by the name Victor Hugo, while exiled in Guensey in 1865, provided funds for hot meals for children in nearby schools. Later, the Society for People's Kitchen in the public schools was formed with the objective of providing meals to school children from poor families. In 1849, a group of guards in Paris, known as Battalion of the National Guards, turned a surplus fund in its treasury for district authorities to form an organization to assist poor children get schooling. The fund was used for supporting medical inspections, school lunches, provisions for holidays, excursions, vacation schools and any other special services the school authorities considered important for the welfare of the children. The School Lunch Programs for children were established in about 464 places by 1867 in France (June et al, 1992).

In the U.S.A, similar programs were carried out in major cities of Philadelphia, New York, Milwaukee, Boston, Cleveland, St. Louis and Los Angeles by the late 18th Century. The Children's Aid Society of New York in 1853 began serving lunch to students at a vocational school to improve their participation in learning. In January 1920, lunch in elementary schools of New York was supported by volunteer social organizations. The Star Center Association in Philadephia began serving penny lunches in one school in 1894, later expanding the service to another school. A lunch committee was established within the home and school league. Soon lunches were extended to include nine other schools in the city. The Star Center Association aim was to enable children remain at school and improve their health. Similarly, in Boston, early programs were started in 1908 under the Women's Educational and Industrial Union. A central kitchen system was used and lunch transported to the participating schools. The Union's aim was to improve the health of children and make them benefit from education (Pepter, 1991).

In an attempt to write a guide for program managers of school feeding programs, Del Rosso wrote a report for the World Bank that the early school feeding programs were started and operated by philanthropic individuals and charitable organizations with the sole purpose of providing food to school children from poor backgrounds to enable them access school. The programs were unique in each part with some of the programs administered at the community level. These school feeding programs form the backbone of the conventional school feeding programs practiced today (Del Rosso, 1999).

4.3 Early Nationally Legislated School Feeding Programs in the World

In 1900, the Netherlands government legislated a law that the municipalities were to supply food and clothes to school children who lacked food and clothes. This was to enable them to go and consistently stay in school. Therefore, Holland was among the first countries to adopt a nationally legislated school feeding program in the World. The School Feeding Program became a function and responsibility of the National Government. The early school feeding programs in the world served a critical role in both education and nutrition capacities of children in different countries (Berg, 1973).

The School Feeding Program in Brazil started in 1954 and was in the national constitution. The SFP was part of the Zero Hunger Program of the government which covered nearly 37 million children each year. The program was among the largest in the world. The National Fund for Development of Education (NFDE) managed the Program and it was an independent institution which was created in 1997 to oversee the disbursement of the financial resources for school meals in each municipality. The main objective of the program was to incentivize children to go to school and attend regularly. The program led to decreased food insecurity and proper nutrition among school children. Brazil's policy approach in mid-day meal linked food production, nutrition, and education (Berg, 1973; Finan, 2010). A similar example of a national school feeding was in India.

India had a long tradition of school feeding program since 1925 as found out by Akanbi and Alayandes (2011). For instance, the Madras Corporation launched mid-day meals for

the underprivileged children. The Madras Corporation started providing cooked meals to children in the Corporation in the Madras city. The Madras City was later known as the Chennia City and the Corporation changed its name to the Chennia Municipal Corporation, which was a civic body to control the activities of the Governor of Chennia. Other states of India followed the example of the Madras Corporation such as Keshav in 1928, Kerala in 1941 and Bombay in 1942. Bombay, with the assistance of UNICEF, provided skimmed milk powder to school children. The state of Bangalore provided cooked rice with curds to children in 1946 (Akanbi and Alayandes, 2011).

Therefore, states in India developed their mid-day meals separately in accordance to the state policies on school feeding. The states of India offered mid-day meals separately for a long time until the Indian Supreme Court directed the National Government to support cooked meals in all government and non -government assisted primary schools in 2001. The National Meals Program picked up in 2002. This was a major landmark to a national school feeding program in India. The objectives of the Indian mid-day meals were to alleviate hunger in classroom, improve enrolment and attendance especially for girls which was 79% in 2002 (Akanbi and Alayandes, 2011).

The U.S.A was another example which had fully operational nationally legislated school feeding program in 1946 as found out in a study carried out by Akanbi and Alayendes in 2011. The National School Lunch Program (NSLP) in U.S.A was the largest in the world and was officially launched by the signing of the National School Lunch Program Act into law by President Truman in 1946. The previous school feeding programs in USA

were supported with funds that had been appropriated for decades by the National Government.

The lunch program in the USA was further strengthened in 1966 when the Child Nutrition Act (CNA) was enacted as public law (P.L. 8-642) to assume control over breakfast, special milk programs, maternal and infant feeding programs. The aim of CNA was to expand the National School Lunch Program at the same time safeguarding the health, and learning well-being of the nation's children. Therefore, the National School Lunch Program was started to enable pupils to access school and to improve their health (Akanbi & Alayendes, 2011).

Apart from countries in Europe and America, countries in Africa such as Ghana, Nigeria, Benin and Kenya were seeking to expand the coverage of their school feeding programs and establish them as national programs. The aim was to have a government- led SFP free from external support. This was initiated because externally supported programs were often peripheral to the education sector and the national budget. The Programs were particularly vulnerable to external factors and could not prevail beyond external support. These countries wanted sustainable feeding programs. The key to a long-term sustainability was building in a plan from the outset that allowed a nationally owned and implemented program. However, the WFP had been a partner in making the Government-led SFPs a success in the developing countries (Espejo, 2009).

The foregoing discussion shows that nationally legislated school feeding programs currently operational in most countries of the World evolved from externally and

privately supported programs. The National School Lunch Program in U.S.A, the State SFPs and the National SFP in India, Brazilian SFP and the Netherlands SFP discussed in this sub-topic played a major role in the education sector of the countries to realize the goal of the Universal Primary Education.

The School Feeding Program in Kenya followed examples of existing school feeding programs in the world and it took a similar orientation in its evolvement. External and private support of SFP in Kenya could not be ignored for the success of the program lay in the support (Kimani, 1985). The Government of Kenya in 2009 adopted government-led school feeding program, the Homegrown School Feeding Program, and was working to expand the Program (GoK, 2008). It was in this regard that the researcher documented the SFP in Kenya in the following section of research.

4.4 The School Feeding Program in Kenya between 1966 and 1980

At the time of Kenya's independence in 1963, the development of education was high in the agenda of the incoming government. This was clearly shown by the appointment of the Kenya Education Commission just a week after independence to review all aspects of education. In 1963, only about 840,677 out of 2, 421, 300 children in Kenya were attending elementary school; which represented 34.7 percent of the above estimated age group (Ominde Report, 1964).

The Commission report identified Tana River, Garissa, Wajir, Mandera, Isiolo, Moyale, Marsabit, Turkana, Samburu, and West Pokot as warranting higher grant allocation, boarding schools and mobile schools as a sure way to develop education positively in these most vulnerable regions of Kenya. The vulnerable state necessitated the Ministry of

Education to carry out a nutrition survey among the school age children in 1964. The survey revealed that the children were malnourished and an intervention was required to safe the situation. This led to the first School Feeding Program in Kenya in 1966 which was implemented in Central province. The World Health Organization through the government sponsored the survey. The objectives of the School Feeding Program were to positively impact on education and the health of children. It also attracted vulnerable children to school (MoE, 1966).

Another survey, carried out in 1968 by the Ministry of Education, found out that there were myriad barriers that hindered the achievement of this policy initiative. Hunger was a key barrier to access, retention, attention, participation and performance to school age population in Kenya. The School Feeding Program could not be discussed independently without discussing education and the main challenges that hindered it. Kenya was a food deficit country with only 20% of its land suitable for successful agriculture and 80% ASALs. Food insecurity in the country greatly affected education (Ministry of Agriculture, 2010). The SFP was adopted as an incentive to encourage children to go to school and at the same time for children to benefit maximally from the education they were enrolled in (GoK, 1969).

In order to execute its mandate, the Ministry of Education established the National School Feeding Council to implement the SFP in 1966. In the same year, 32 districts were supplied with food with the aim of improving access, retention and the health of children in primary schools in each district. The council relied on support from various

organizations which included the Ministry of Education; the Ministry of Agriculture; Maendeleo ya Wanawake(a development organization of women); The National Council of Churches in Kenya and the Catholic Secretariat. The objective of the council was to provide a supplementary mid-day meal to school children (MoE, 1966).

The idea of the School Feeding Program was to present children with an opportunity to have a meal at school with the expectation that they would attend school regularly and improve concentration as well as performance in schools. According to the Ministry of Education Annual Report (1967), the beneficiaries were 26,417 in 1967 after some districts of Nairobi were included in the program. However, the funding was irregular and consistency was almost impossible. The program had varying degrees of success; For instance, in 1967 the Program reached 24,437 beneficiaries and in 1971 it covered 30,000 beneficiaries. This was an increase of 5563 pupils which translated to 63 % increase (GoK, 1971).

However, there was a gap on the targeting criteria used to choose Central and Nairobi Provinces to participate in this first school feeding program in the country. Firstly, Central Province was not food insecure region and secondly, the two provinces were more developed than any other region in Kenya in 1966. The Central province was the cradle land of the first President of Kenya, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta and Nairobi was the capital city of the country. Therefore, the targeting was more politically than policy influenced.

The Government in the 1970- 1974 National Development Plan, which was issued in the late 1969, prioritized rural development. In the education sector, the Government wanted

to bridge the gap of education disparity in the ASALs and other areas. It was in line with this policy guideline that the Government in 1971 established low- cost primary boarding schools with free meals in the arid regions mentioned earlier on in this sub-topic to improve access to school. The schools were fifteen in number each with a single stream of 55 pupils. Parents were only required to provide personal effects. Apart from provision of free meals for nutritional benefit of the children in ASALs, the schools also provided a safe and stable environment for learning which protected children from the traditional practices of the pastoral communities that hindered learning. Similarly, these schools alleviated the nomadic lifestyle in the process of learning by providing equal opportunities for these children (GoK, 1974).

The boarding schools did not bring out the expected significance. Instead, a trend emerged where children from other less vulnerable districts enrolled to take advantage of the educational provision targeting ASALs (GoK, 1974). The Government was very disappointed by the low access and retention at the eve of the next National Development Plan: 1974-1978 as it stated that:

> *The experience to date is that the cost per child has been extremely high and the actual response has been disappointing in terms of increased enrolment by people indigenous to those areas. Therefore, the government shall reduce the scope of this particular program until its effectiveness has been demonstrated… (Republic of Kenya, 1974:412)*

The disappointment with the boarding school strategy led to the government considering an alternative approach. The 1974-1978 Development Plan stated:

> *The government intends to test an alternative means of promoting education in the ASALs. A new program of mobile teaching units, especially designed for areas with these particular problems, will be tested on a pilot during the Plan period (Republic of Kenya, 1974:412)*

Therefore, the National Development Plan for the years 1974 to 1978 adopted the mobile schools. The pastoral communities were followed and children were taught in their grazing lands. The children were provided with meals to be attentive and participate maximally during class sessions. The plan also suggested that the School Feeding Program be accepted as the most efficient network to distribute food to pre-school and primary school children in Kenya (RoK, 1974).

However, implementation of SFP in all public schools in the country as a whole was far from being nationally achieved and only the ASALs were reached by the SFP. The main challenge involved was funding of the program and as such only, some regions received food. The School feeding expanded significantly in the ASALS during the period of the Plan because the government was devoted to improve education in marginalized regions (GoK, 1974-1978).

The School Milk Program was the next initiative of the school feeding which was launched in 1979 by the second president of Kenya, Daniel Toroitich Arap Moi. Although the Milk Scheme was a decree by the president, it was an incentive for children to enroll in school as well as improving the health of the children for better learning. The School Milk Program was implemented in all public primary schools in the country. The

program was fully funded by the government and targeted children aged between five and thirteen years. The School Milk was provided from the Kenya Cooperative Creameries (KCC). The milk was provided twice a week to over 4.3 million children countrywide. Each pupil got 2 decilitres on Monday and the same quantity on Friday. Two deciliters is equivalent to 200 millilitres which translates to 400 millilitres per pupil in a week (GoK, 1979).

The high cost of the Milk Program and lack of funds by the government contributed to the gradual crippling of the KCC until its ultimate collapse in 1992. The Government could not pay the debt incurred. The poor infrastructure increased the cost of transportation and distribution. Another challenge to the Milk Scheme was lack of accountability of funds which eventually led to the collapse of the KCC and the Milk Scheme in 1992 (GoK, 1979; GoK, 1992). Despite the challenges and other factors, the Milk Scheme had a positive impact on access to school and this was notable in the high enrolment of 82 % recorded in the same year it was implemented. The Government had to do something to keep the achieved enrolment at school and this was done by seeking food assistance from the WFP in 1980 (GoK, 1980).

4.5 The World Food Program in Kenya between 1980 and 2008

In the wake of the crippling milk scheme and a severe drought in 1979, the WFP and the Government of Kenya agreed on a school meals program which was launched in 1980. The WFP in Kenya was one of the largest and existed for a long time since 1980 to 2009. The implementation of WFP school feeding had varying degrees of success since its launch in 1980. The primary objective was to alleviate hunger among school going age children and incentivize

them to enroll and remain in school. The Government, particularly the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology in conjunction with WFP launched a five year SFP plan between 1980 and 1984 under project number 2502 to feed children in ten arid districts namely; Turkana, Marsabit, Mandera, Garissa, Wajir, Tana River, Samburu, Moyale, Isiolo and Baringo. (MoEST, 1980; Kimani, 1985).

The project 2502 was expanded for a further three years up to 1988 which was carried out as project number 2502 Experiment1 (2502/EXP 1). This first phase benefited 240 000 children annually in the ASALs in which the Government had earlier established boarding schools with free meals (GoK, 1980). The WFP Project number 2502 was renewed after every 5 years until March 1999 for purposes of budgeting and logistical requirements. This food assistance was known as the Regular School Feeding Program. There was a severe drought in 1998 and 1999 which led to the Ministry of Education to sign an agreement with WFP to expand the SFP to cover more ASALs districts (GoK, 2000).

The WFP in Kenya expanded its support significantly reaching to over 1.72 million school going children in over 5,000 schools countrywide. It expanded its food aid in three phases between 1999 and 2008. The first phase was between 1999 and 2003 which was known as the Country Program (CP) number 10009.0. The first phase covered 516, 723 beneficiaries. The second phase was CP number 10 264.0 which was launched between 2004 and 2008 and reached 1, 178, 649 beneficiaries. The last phase was the Emergency Program (EMOP) number 10 374.0 which was launched between 2004 and 2007 and reached 450, 649 beneficiaries. Concisely, between 1999 and 2008, the WFP fed 2.2

million children in primary schools in ASALs. These children were attracted to school by food despite other factors (GoK, 1999; GoK, 2004, GoK, 2008). This information is illustrated in table 4.1. The table shows the history of the expanded WFP between 1999 and 2008, the amount of food supplied and the total cost of the food in each phase as well as in the three phases. The timelines for each phase are clearly outlined in the table.

Table 4.1 Historical sequence of WFP-assisted School Feeding, 1999-2008

Program title	Program number	Period	Amount of food (MT)	Cost of program ('000 US$)	Beneficiaries planned for (N)	Beneficiaries Actual (N)	Girl Ratio
CP-School feeding	10009.0	1999-2003	83 710	24 475	491 835	516723	40.8
CP-School feeding	10264.0	2004-2008	157 294	95 111	1 079 168	1 178 808	48.0
EMOP (ESFP only)	10 374.0	2004-2007	32 623	6 861	509 910	450 649	47.0
Total		1999-2008	273 627	126 447		2 146 180	

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics (2008)

Table 4.1 lists the historical sequence of WFP school meals since expansion in 1999. The first country program (CP) cycle number 10009.0 lasted until 2003 and provided food to 517, 000 beneficiaries annually out of which 41 % were girls. This program utilized approximately 84,000 metric tons of food at a cost of US$ 24.5 million and children mentioned earlier benefited (GoK, 2008).

The Government of Kenya declared free and compulsory primary education in 2003. The primary school enrolment increased by over a million learners. This led to the second CP

number 10,264.0 school feeding program. This program CP (10 264.0) began in 2004 and ended in 2008. The number of beneficiaries increased to almost 1.2 million per year out of which 48 % were girls (MoEST, 2004). The second CP required more than 157, 000 metric tons of food which cost US$ 95 million. This program included all the arid and 19 most vulnerable semi- arid districts. It also included the urban slums of Nairobi and Mombasa. The implementation of the mandatory free primary education in 2003 further raised the need for expanding the school feeding to cater for the children who attended school hungry (GoK, 2003).

The ten arid districts mentioned earlier in this chapter were covered up to 100% with food which meant that every school received food assistance. Most of the resources were provided by WFP from local and international suppliers. The Government supported 19 semi-arid districts as early as 2000 These districts include:- Koibatek, Laikipia, Mbeere, Narok, Machakos, Kilifi, Kwale, Mwingi, Makueni, Lamu, Tharaka Nthi, Kitui, Kajiando, Malindi, Keiyo, Taita, Taveta, Transmara and West Pokot. These districts were covered by the country program number 10264.0. The estimated beneficiaries in the semi-arid areas were 346, 394 pupil (GoK, 2004).

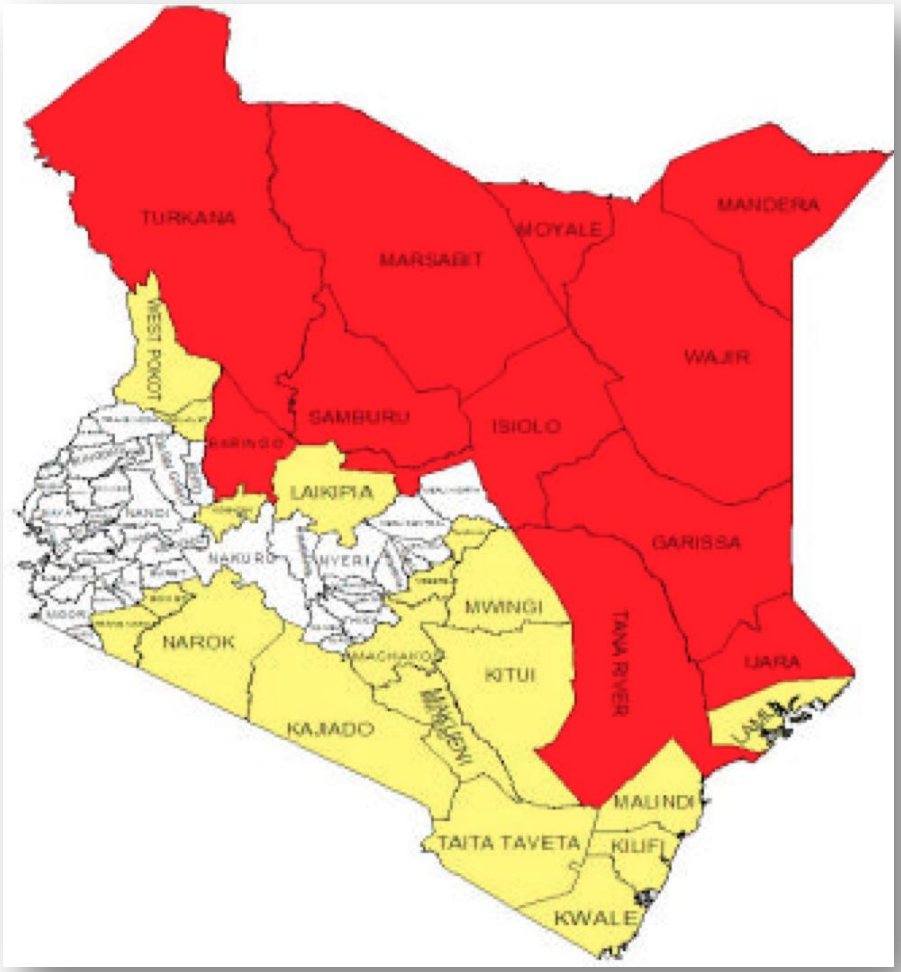
The Government of Kenya, in the wake of another severe drought in 2004, sought assistance from WFP because emergency conditions of hunger prevailed. The WFP responded by launching an emergency program (EMOP- 10374.0) to address the critical condition of food insecurity among primary school children. The EMOP was referred to as emergency school feeding progamme (ESFP). The program supplied 32, 623 metric

tons of food and spent US$ 6.9 million. The program benefited 450 649 beneficiaries (GoK, 2004).

The expanded WFP supplied 273, 627 metric tons of food which cost US$ 126.4 million. The food assistance reached 2, 146, 180 beneficiaries in all the three expanded World Food Programs. According to the Government of Kenya Economic Survey (2009), the SFP benefited 1.59 million children in 2003 and had expanded to cover 2.2 million children in 2008. Despite this increase, only 50.1 percent of the eligible population benefitted. The objective of the project was to increase enrolment and attendance rates for pre-primary and primary school children. There was a major policy initiative through the Ministry of Education in 2008.The Government took over a half of the program particularly the semi- arid region. The WFP focused to provide meals in primary schools with the lowest education indicators in the most food insecure parts of the country mainly the ASALs and the unplanned urban settlements of major cities of Nairobi and Mombasa (GoK, 2008).

The arid and semi-arid regions in Kenya that received school feeding program in the country are shown in figure 4.1. All the public primary schools in arid regions received food while some public primary schools in semi-arid regions were supplied with food as at 2008.

Figure 4. 1 Map of ASALs receiving SFP in Kenya as at 2008



Source: GoK (2008)

ARID DISTRICT

SEMI ARID DISTRICT

4.6 Homegrown School Feeding Program in 2009

In an effort to transition from WFP to a nationally integrated school feeding program, the Government of Kenya introduced the Homegrown School Feeding Program (HGSFP) in 2009. The Homegrown school feeding program was a government led program that offered food produced and purchased in the country or within the surrounding of a consumer. The Government sent money directly to the targeted schools to purchase food (GoK, 2009).

The Homegrown School Feeding Program was endorsed by African governments in their African Union annual meeting in 2003 as the main initiative in the Comprehensive Africa Development Program (CADP). In the same year 2003, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) identified the Homegrown School Feeding Program to have had an immediate impact on food security in Africa (African Union annual summit report, 2003). The United Nation World Summit in 2005 recommended the expansion of local school meals programs using homegrown foods where possible as one of 'quick impact initiative', especially in poverty-stricken zones. In line with these policy guidelines, the Government of Kenya was ready to adopt a program of its own (GoK, 2008).

The Ministry of Education ran the Home Grown School Meals (HGSM) program in Kenya. The implementation of the HGSM program started in July 2009 as part of a broader strategy to transition the WFP-supported school feeding program to government ownership and implementation. The Government of Kenya transferred 500, 000 primary school children from WFP programs particularly from the semi-arid districts to HGSFP

in the same year it was launched. The Government of Kenya agreed with WFP to be transferring 50, 000 children each year from WFP-assisted programs to HGSFP until full coverage (MoEST, 2009).

In 2009, the Government allocated US$ 5.3 Million to guarantee the success of the new program. Similarly, the Japanese government aided Kenya with an extra US$ 2 Million to subsidize the cost of expansion of HGSFP (GoK, 2009). The implementation of the HGSM program was mainly in semi-arid areas where food production was low due to farm infertility and low rainfall. It was intended to promote education through increased enrolment and retention levels in schools, improve performance, health and nutritional standards of children, promote food security and offer a ready, stable and accessible market to small-scale farmers. It is worth noting that the WFP continued with the regular school feeding program in arid areas not yet taken over by the Government (MoEST, 2009).

The government made the cash payments twice a year in each of the beginning of a three months term. The amount of cash transferred was determined by the net pupil enrolment in the participating schools. The number of feeding days and the cost of a meal per child per day were also considered. In order to avoid additional overhead costs, the government transferred the logistics of implementation to the School Management Committees (SMC). The SMC was mandated to purchasing food from local farmers (GoK, 2009).

According to MoEST (2009), the community had a role in making HGSFP a success. The community participated in providing a kitchen, fuel, employing cooks and purchasing cookers. The HGSFP only covered the semi-arid regions while the WFP continued the regular SFP in the arid regions (GoK, 2009).

The HGSFP had one advantage over the WFP, which is, cutting cost of transporting food from far away to the beneficiary schools. There was also reduced inconveniences in transport. The transit vehicles taking long on the roads coupled with that food was bought immediately the need arose was an ease in supply (GoK, 2009). The SFP had an impact in education as discussed in chapter five.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter presented the development of the SFP in Kenya between 1966 and 2009 in line with the first objective of the study. However an overview of SFPs that developed in the world were briefly discussed. The development of events were chronologically recorded in order of occurrence. The SFP in Kenya was discussed in three sub-topics namely; The SFP in Kenya between 1966 and 1980, the SFP in Kenya between 1980 and 2008 and the HGSFP in 2009.

CHAPTER FIVE

IMPACT OF SCHOOL FEEDING PROGRAM ON EDUCATION IN KENYA: 1966 - 2009

5.1 Introduction

The chapter presents the impact of SFP on education in Kenya between 1966 and 2009. The chapter is presented in eight sub-topics which include: Enrolment trends in Kenya between 1966 and 1979, enrolment in Kenya between 1980 and 2009 and attendance trends of pupils to school during the period defined by this study. The chapter also presents the completion trends of primary education due to SFP and the dropout rates. The chapter further presents the attention, participation and performance of pupils who received school meals during the period defined by this study.

5.2 Access to primary education in Kenya between 1966 and 2009

Access is measured by the number of children who enroll in grade 1 in a particular year. The SFP had significant positive impact on the enrolment trends in Kenyan primary schools since its launch in 1966 as documented in the following section of the research. The SFP had impact on raising the rates of enrolment and attendance, reducing absenteeism, lowering dropout rates, improving performance of participating pupils and bettering food security at the household level. For children who lived near and far away from school, it was convenient that time was not wasted trekking to and from school and in most times food was not available at home since most families were poverty-stricken.

5.2.1 Primary school enrolment in Kenya between 1966 and 1979

On a localized and generalized level in Kenya, a study carried out by the Ministry of Education (1995) on the magnet effect of SFP affirmed that the School Feeding Program had led to an increase in the enrolment rate of learners in schools. However, the impact of the SFP was greater from 1979 following the implementation of the School Milk Scheme and in 1980 onward after the WFP assistance to feed pupils in the most vulnerable regions. Despite other factors, the SFP contributed to the high enrolment rates recorded in participating schools. The SFP encouraged parents to enroll their children in school as a reduction of food cost at home was assured and at the same time it bettered the health of the children (MoE, 1995).

The impact of the School Feeding Program on enrolment was notable in the participating provinces of Central and Nairobi as they were receiving food aid. In 1969, the Ministry of education statistics showed that the Central and Nairobi provinces recorded the highest enrolment rates. The enrolment of children in schools increased between 1966 and 1970. For instance, enrolment in grade 1 in 1966 was 180,000 pupils and in 1970 it had increased to 296, 000, a subsequent increase of 20, 000 pupils per annum. The SFP was not isolated of other factors but worked together to improve acquisition of educational benefits. In 1969, enrolment rate of pupils in Grade 1 was 79 % and much of this was in the Central and Nairobi Provinces. Despite other factors such as availability of learning materials and qualified teachers, the SFP was a contributory factor to the high rate of enrolment in the Central and Nairobi provinces (GoK, 1969; Central bureau of Statistics,

1969; Mugiri, 1995). Table 5.1 shows the percentage of primary enrolment by province in 1969. The two provinces participating in SFP had the highest percentages.

Table 5. 1 Primary school enrolment in Kenya by Province in 1969

Province	Enrolment% of 5-14 years age group in primary schools in 1969
Central	64%
Nairobi	61%
Western	40%
Eastern	47%
Coast	32%
Nyanza	31%
Rift Valley	29%
North Eastern	4%

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics (1969).

Table 5.1 shows high enrolment percentage in Central Province and Nairobi Province. Despite other factors, the School Feeding Program in place in the two provinces contributed to the high enrolment rates. The SFP had played a major role in gross enrolment rate of Central and Nairobi Provinces (Central Bureau of statistics, 1969; GoK, 1969).

The National Development Plan (1970-1974) emphasized on feeding school children in ASALs' boarding schools but the impact on enrolment was very disappointing as documented earlier in chapter four. For instance, children from well-endowed regions enrolled in ASALS to benefit from the food services meant for the vulnerable pupils (GoK, 1974). The preferred beneficiaries were not helped as expected despite the minimal growth of enrolment. This challenge led to another development strategy which was contained in the National Development Plan between 1974 and 1978. However, the

impact of the free meals in the school could not be underrated since the enrolment rate had grown by 21.4% (GoK, 1978).

The Government adopted mobile schools in 1974-1978 development strategy in ASALs and the Net Enrolment Rate rose between 1975 and 1978 in Grade 1 intake and stood at around 600,000 pupils per annum. In the year 1978, the enrolment rate stood at 120%. The stable rate of access despite other intervention measures was attributed to the free school meals in the boarding schools and mobile schools established by the Government in the arid regions. The provinces of Central and Nairobi also contributed to the high enrolment rate since they were receiving food from the Government (GoK, 1978).

5.2.2 Enrolment in primary schools in Kenya between 1979 and 2009

There was yet another intervention measure by the Government to increase access opportunities in elementary education, 'The School Milk Scheme'. The Milk Scheme coupled with other factors increased enrolment in schools from approximately 3 million pupils in Grade 1 in 1978 to 3.7 million pupils in Grade 1 in 1979 in 11 000 primary schools in the whole country. An increase of over 700, 000 pupils within one year was the highest witnessed in the country before and after the Milk Scheme. The Milk Scheme appeared to impact more since its introduction was met by a bulging enrolment unlike the previous years when enrolment growth was slower (GoK, 1979).

There was a severe drought in 1979 and the Government in partnership with the World Food Program signed a memorandum of understanding where the WFP agreed to feed 270,000 pupils in ten arid districts per Annum. The key aspects of the memorandum of understanding were to alleviate hunger among school age children in ASALs and to

increase enrolment. The WFP aided the Government with food in 1980 and enrolment rate in grade 1 was 30 %. The enrolment was on average 900,000 pupils per annum between 1980 and 1999. In 1993 for example, enrolment rate was 918, 600 and stood at 90.3 % in 1999. This increase in enrolment was inspired by several government education policies such as free and compulsory primary education paired with the SFP (GoK, 2003).

There was yet another severe drought in 1999 and the Government in partnership with the WFP agreed to expand the SFP to semi-arid lands not yet reached by the Regular School Feeding Program (RSFPP) as mentioned earlier in chapter four. The meals had immediate impact on enrolment and were referred to as country cycle programs number 10009.0, abbreviated as CP (10009.0). For instance, in 2003, enrolment stood at 1,275, 600 which was equivalent to 98.1 %. The high enrolment was because of the SFP as indicated by the Program evaluation report by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology in 2003 among other contributory factors as mentioned earlier in this chapter (GoK, 2003).

The SFP was further expanded in 2004 as a dual program known as the Country Cycle Program (CP) 10 264.0 and the Emergency Operations Program (EMOP) 10 374.0 to reach more beneficiaries in the ASALs. The expanded programs took five years each to supply food to the ASALs particularly to semi-arid lands not yet served with RSFP. The program had positive impact as the enrollees increased each year as shown in table 5.2. (GoK, 2008).

Table 5.2 shows the enrolment of boys and girls between 2003 and 2008. The table also indicates the total of pupils enrolled each year in each year.

Table 5.2 Pupils' enrolment in Primary Schools: 2003-2008

YEAR	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
BOYS	816,577	823,417	880,828	866,445	876,163	885,320
GIRLS	785,655	804,304	812,347	805,8	814, 930	834,905
TOTAL	1,602,232	1,627,774	1,643,175	1,672,336	1,691,093	1,720,245

Source: Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (2009)

Table 5.2 shows that the enrolment of pupils in the country increased progressively in each year. The years presented in the table are the years that had two programs running along the earlier RSFP in the country. The impact on enrolment was very encouraging to the Government since enrolment across the gender increased.

All Kenyan schools participating in the School Feeding Program offered on-site meals for pupils to benefit whenever they were at school, and that proved to have a positive impact on enrolment. The enrolment rates were highest in participating schools as compared to non-participating schools as revealed by a study conducted by Karisa (2006). The enrolment ratio of the girl child was much lower compared to that of the boy child but it was increasing within the two developmental periods of SFP. Concisely, the SFP had a positive impact on enrolment across the gender.

Table 5.3 compares enrolment rate in two periods of SFP development in Kenya. The SFP between 1966 and 1978 developed at a slower rate and so was the enrolment rate. However, the SFP developed at a faster rate between 1979 and 2009. The Government continued improving policies on SFP to make accessibility to education possible to the vulnerable children. Table 5.3 shows the rate of enrolment between 1966 and 1978, and between 1980 and 2009.

Table 5.3 Comparison of Enrolment between two Periods: 1966-1978 and 1979-2009

Statistics	**Rate of enrolment before expansion of SFP between 1966 and 1978(%)**	**Rate of enrolment after SFP expanded between 1979 and 2009 (%)**
Pre-primary school gross enrolment ratio/ girl	39.2	51.6
Pre-primary gross enrolment ratio/ boy	39.6	52.1
Primary school gross enrolment ratio / girl	42.8	51.6
Primary school gross enrolment ratio /boy	53.2	83.5

Source: GoK (2008)

The Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (2008) found out that SFP directly affected the national gross enrolment rate. Table 5.2 shows gross enrolment ratio before SFP was expanded to cover more beneficiaries between 1966 and 1978 and when policies facilitated faster development between 1979 and 2009. The impact was much higher after 1979 because SFP had significantly expanded to cater for more beneficiaries which translated to more school children accessing education.

The School Feeding Program in ASALs greatly contributed to the high rates of national enrolment between 1979 and 2009. It is evident that the School Feeding Program had

helped double the rates at which parents enrolled their children in primary schools courtesy of the School Feeding Program (Wanjohi, 2010).

The School Feeding Program had revolutionized the rate at which the government realized high enrolment in primary schools. It was in the interest of the government to use the SFP to encourage enrolment and realize access to primary education. The reason why the government invested a lot in SFP was to narrow the gap between illiteracy and literacy in the country. The enrolment ratio of the girl child was lower compared to that of the boy child. This was because of traditional beliefs of the communities in Kenya that a girl child was to be taught moral values for marriage purposes (Wanjohi, 2010).

The country programs (CP) and the emergency program (EMOP) launched by the government through the Ministry of Education and the WFP between 1999 and 2008 raised the national enrolment rate to 107 percent and dropout rates reduced to 7.3 percent. By the year 2003, five phases of the WFP project number 2502 covering the ASALs and the urban slums of Nairobi and Mombasa had been incorporated (GoK, 2008). The country Programs between 2003 and 2008 were undertaken in consideration of expanding the School Feeding Program due to various reasons such as drought and policy initiatives in the country (GoK, 2008).

5.2.3 Primary school attendance in Kenya between 1966 and 2009

Attendance was directly proportional to school feeding program such that schools that offered SFP were much more likely to have the regular class attendance of pupils as opposed to schools that were not consistent with offering SFP. Many pupils especially from pockets of poverty had reduced absenteeism because they were assured of a meal

per day at school (Somerset, 1987). Kenya was an example of a country in Sub-Saharan Africa where the School Feeding Program had played a great role in promoting class attendance and at a much more generalized level, the Millennium Development Goal of universal primary education (Wanjohi, 2010).

It is worth mentioning that the Government of Kenya initiated school feeding program so that children in ASALs would not have an economic disadvantage as a reason for truancy. School attendance was much more irregular where the populations involved were vulnerable in comparison with regions where households were not faced with a multiplicity of economic challenges as found out by Karisa (2006). The SFP had influence on high attendance rates of pupils. For instance, a study conducted by Espejo (2009) revealed that 81% of the stakeholders who supported SFP had positive influence on attendance and only 19% of respondents disagreed that SFP had positive influence on attendance (Espenjo 2009).

School attendance in Kenya was below average between 1966 and 1978 when SFP had not significantly expanded. Similarly, the girl child ratio of attendance was lower than that of the boy child in the same period. The attendance trends however took a positive turn between 1979 and 2009 courtesy of SFP. For instance, in 1979 children attended school regularly in order to get a packet of milk (Espejo, 2009).

Table 5.4 shows attendance rate between 1966 and 1978 when SFP had started, and between 1979 and 2009 when SFP had expanded significantly.

Table 5.4 Primary school attendance trends in Kenya between 1966 and 2009

Statistics	Rate of attendance before expansion of SFP: 1966-1978 (%)	Rate of attendance after expansion of SFP: 1979-2009 (%)
Pre-primary school attendance ratio/ girl	44.8	75
Pre-primary school attendance ratio/ boy	49.9	84.5
Primary school attendance ratio/ girl	47.8	72.5
Primary school attendance ratio/ boy	51.2	88.4

Source: GoK (2008)

The Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (2008) noted that attendance rates in Kenya were generally below average between 1966 and 1978 as compared to the period between 1979 and 2009. The main reason attributed to the raise of attendance rate after 1979 was the expanded supply of food to ASALs which contributed to the raised national rate of attendance (GoK, 1979). Lamberas noted that the attendance rate of the boy child was always higher than that of the girl child because of the traditional practices and beliefs that a girl was to be brought up for marriage (Lamberas, 2009).

5.2.4 Completion rate of primary education in Kenya between 1966 and 2009

Irrespective of the goal of Universal Primary Education, completion of basic schooling in Kenya was in resonance with finishing class seven in the 7.4.2.3 system of education and class eight in the 8.4.4 system. Completion also involved sitting for the Certificate of Primary Education (CPE) in the 7.4.2.3 system and the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE) in the 8.4.4 system. The 8.4.4 system of education was started in 1985 to replace the 7.4.2.3 system of education. Even though all the credit could not be placed

on the SFP when it came to matters of pupils completing primary school education, the program had done the country a lot of good in making the government realize its intention of eradicating illiteracy among its young populace (Somerset, 1987).

The School Feeding Program had varying degrees of impact on matters completion rate of primary education cycle. The regions receiving SFP were in three categories namely: urban, arid and semi-arid regions. The urban areas completion rates was higher than the other two regions due to economic stability of the parents that acted to boost the impact of the SFP in place such as in the urban slums of Nairobi and Mombasa. The ASALs that received food from the Government and the WFP had shown rising rates in completion of the primary education (Espejo, 2009).

The "magnet effect" of the SFP was found to increase school completion rates especially among primary school pupils. The schools in ASALs that provided meals showed higher completion rates and lower dropout rates than schools that did not. The immediate financial and nutritional benefits presented by school feeding attracted parents who struggled to support their children on low yielding subsistence farming. On average, families who enrolled their children due to the food incentive were able to save between four and nine percent of their annual income by taking advantage of school meals and avoiding added food expenditures (Espejo, 2009).

There were basically two periods of SFP development based on the rate of expansion. The first period was between 1966 and 1978. The rate of expanding SFP was much

slower and so was its impact on education. The second period was between 1979 and 2009. This period experienced rapid expansion of SFP and there were more players participating to eliminate hunger among primary pupils in Kenya. One major impact was improvement on completion of the primary education (GoK, 2008).

Table 5.5 shows the rate of completion between 1966 and 1978, and between 1979 and 2009 for both boys and girls.

Table 5.5 Primary school completion rates in Kenya between 1966 and 2009

Completion rate				
Agro-ecological zone	Boys; between 1966 and 1978 (%)	Boys; between 1979 and 2009 (%)	Girls; between 1966 and 1978 (%)	Girls; between 1979 and 2009 (%)
Urban	37.9	77.3	41.9	92.4
Government semi-arid	28.5	60.4	31.4	64.1
WFP semi-arid	29.1	66.6	17.3	37.8
Arid	31.3	43.0	19.2	25.2
Schools with meals	34.1	59.5	19.2	57.9
Control schools	29.9	54.6	34.6	46.3

Source: Central Bureau of statistic (2008)

Table 5.5 depicts a significant difference by gender and placement zone in completion rates. Children in urban schools had a higher chance of completing primary education especially the girls. The semi-arid schools which received food assistance from the government exhibited high completion rate which was above sixty percent while in the semi-arid schools which received food assistance from the WFP had the completion rates going up significantly especially for girls. The completion rate was very low in the initial stages of SFP across all regions unlike the high rates witnessed after the expansion of

SFP across all the regions. Therefore, SFP had a positive impact on the completion of primary education in the period defined by this study.

5.2.5 Dropout rate in Kenya Primary Schools

In Kenya, it was the intention of the government to use the School Feeding Program as an avenue for making children to attend school, but at times, the results were disappointing. For instance, truancy and dropout cases were very common cases in the North Eastern and the Coast Provinces in 1970s when the SFP started in the regions (GoK, 1978).

It was established that in the North Eastern Province, the main distraction to school came in the name of teenage marriages, hunger and poverty, and taking care of livestock. On a similar note, the issue of drug and substance abuse, teenage pregnancies, extremist teachings, terrorism, and careers as seafaring men challenged the youth in the Coast Province (Karisa, 2006). The School Feeding Program had proven that a midday meal had impact in keeping children in the class. It made meaningful impact on retention of children in school. Dropout rates had leveled to 13% in between 1979 and 2009 from 33.4% between 1966 and 1978 (MoE, 1978; GoK, 2009). However, dropout rate remained at low levels since a normal society is faced by multiple challenges (Wanjohi, 2010). Concisely, school feeding program despite the challenges had greatly reduced drop-out rates in the period defined by this study (Wanjohi, 2010).

5.3 Attention in class between 1966 and 2009 in Kenya

On a global scale, it was common knowledge that whenever pupils were hungry, their concentration levels spiraled and very little content taught in class was grasped (Finan, 2010). This was a direct connotation of the fact that the School Feeding Program had

positive impact on attention of pupils in class. The meals offered in school helped a great extent because pupils were able to concentrate in class.

The six-year development plan (1964-1970) showed that ASALs were challenged by poverty and hardships such as unforgiving climate. The poverty challenge compelled pupils to study during the day while at school with teachers than at home because in the evening there were a lot of distractions; much of them in the direction of helping earn a living for the family (GoK, 1970, Gok, 1978, GoK, 1980).

5.4 Participation in class between 1966 and 2009 in Kenya

Participation in class is taken when pupils respond to the questions of teachers and they are active in asking questions when prompted by their teachers. In addition to that, participation in the learning process is also about pupils in class reiterating to what teachers were saying in the learning process. In this regard, participation is when pupils are in touch with what teachers were saying in the learning process. The very essence of participation is that it is a key indicator as to whether a child is fully involved in the learning process. For instance, participation displayed that the child was not hungry and that he/she mentally healthy and not depressed (Wanjohi, 2010).

The Government adopted the SFP to maximize individual and national benefits of education. Pupils were found to participate actively in schools with school feeding program than in schools without the same. In this regard, it is common knowledge that children could not participate if they were hungry and with poor health (GoK, 1966). In the wake of the School Feeding Program in Kenya under the stewardship of the Ministry

of Education, participation was not much of a challenge in the period defined by this study. It is worth mentioning that participation had always been in resonance with attendance of class lessons. In fact, participation had always been impossible without attendance (GoK, 1968).

5.5 Performance in end of Primary Examinations in Kenya: 1966-2009

In matters of performance, time had proven that the School Feeding Program was not the only determinant to good academic performance of school going children. There were many other factors such as qualified and enough teachers but my concern was the impact of SFP on performance of children participating in the program. Ever since the launch of SFP in 1966, the performance in participating schools was much higher than performance of children in the control school.

Scientifically, the functions of human bodies were at their best when they were supplemented by the appropriate kinds of nutrition in the right amounts. Annual evaluation report by the Ministry of Education in 1971 showed positive impact on performance. As such, the provision of proper nutrition to school going children had very much importance in the country when it came to matters of brain development (GoK, 1971).

Good health and nutrition improved performance among the most disadvantaged children. The impact on performance was excellent in schools offering SFP and below average in schools that did not offer the same (GoK, 2005b).

Table 5.6 shows the influence of school feeding program on academic performance.

Table 5.6 School Feeding Program and Academic Performance: 1980-2009.

	Percentage of Kenyan schools offer SFP	**Performance**
Offers SFP	70 %	Excellent
No SFP	30 %	Below average
Total	100%	

Source: GoK (2005a)

Table 5.6 shows that the School Feeding Program greatly influenced the academic performance of children in primary schools. Seventy percent of Kenyan schools that offered the School Feeding Program had attested the effectiveness of the Program while thirty percent of schools that had not been offering school feeding program had difficulties in making their pupils perform well.

The frequency of meals was another factor that strongly affected the performance of school going children. This meant that apart from the provision of the school feeding program to pre-school and primary school children, the number of times meals were given to children proved to positively improve their academic performance. The Proper frequency of nutrition boosted the performance of children in the class and as such, school feeding program had shown the effective role of nutrition in enhancing academic performance (GoK, 2005a).

Table 5.7 shows frequency of food provision verses academic performance.

Table 5.7 Frequency of Meals

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Performance
Once	1	10	Above average
Twice	9	90	Excellent
Total	**10**	**100**	

Source: Gok (2005a)

As seen in the table 5.7, the frequency of meals served to school children also played a major role in bettering their academic performance. The table also shows that 90 percent of the schools that participated in the research offered their students meals twice a day. This positively contributed to their academic performance. Schools that offered meals once a day recorded poor academic performance.

5.6 Conclusion

The School Feeding Program was used for the most part to persuade the enrolment and retention of children and the girl child. The School Feeding Program continually played an essential role to fulfil the objective of realizing universal primary education in Kenya.

The benefits of the School Feeding Program were far reaching as presented in this chapter. The SFP was used to increase the educational achievements of children so as to better their potential future earnings and productivity, get rid of short term hunger which battered the cognitive functioning of children and the span of their attention. The SFP bettered the nutritional status of children through offering them nutrients and calories, increased their enrolment in school and better educational outcomes. All the above-mentioned benefits were seen to bring about better resistance to illnesses and infectious diseases which ensured the young ones attended classes.

Studies tracking the impact of school feeding program in Kenya between 1966 and 2009 demonstrated improvement in enrolment, attendance, completion and reduced dropout rates among participating children. Pupils were no longer weighed down by hunger and the crippling effects of severe malnutrition and as such they were able to focus, decipher concepts taught in class and socialize with both peers and teachers. Primary school children who were on the receiving end of meals were healthier, generally receptive, and easier to teach. Concisely, the SFP during the period defined by this study had positive impact on education.

CHAPTER SIX

CHALLENGES FACED BY THE SCHOOL FEEDING PROGRAM

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the challenges that faced the School Feeding Program in Kenya between 1966 and 2009. There was a myriad of challenges that acted to hinder the attainment of the goals and objectives of the School Feeding Program and education at large in Kenya in the period defined by this study. These challenges were either direct or indirect. The direct challenges affected the School Feeding Program itself and they included funding, infrastructure, climate, water scarcity and poverty. Indirect challenges affected the intended objectives of the School Feeding Program and included; lack of equipment, pupil-teacher ratio, scarcity of schools and HIV/AIDs. It is also worth mentioning that political challenges happened to be a primary reason as to why several goals and objectives regarding the School Feeding Program were not achieved.

6.2 Challenges that faced the School Feeding Program

6.2.1 Funding Challenges

Despite the notable success of the School Feeding Program in Kenya, it was not devoid of challenges; funding was an example of the myriad of challenges faced. According to Government of Kenya (1980), the ASALs were the most affected by the challenge of funding and lagged far behind in matters education during the period that defined this study.

There were many dimensions of the funding challenge which included; over reliance on foreign support which was tied to a lot of conditions. There was also the challenge of

inadequate allocation by the Ministry of Education to food and transporting it to the beneficiary schools. Lastly, funds to pay cooks and to meet the cost of fuel and water were a problem because the families who had to pay some amount of money were vulnerable and getting such amounts was a real task (GoK, 2005; Espejo, 2009).

The School Feeding Program was launched in 1966 and was financed by private organization as noted in the earlier chapters. The challenge was that the funds were not provided consistently and at times they were not provided at all by some organizations. Therefore, the National School Feeding Council faced the challenge of sustaining the program to bring out the desired results (GoK, 1969).

For the period that defined 1970 to 1978, there were two National Development Plans, which aimed at developing rural Kenya in all aspects including education. The School Feeding Program was among the strategies identified to improve access, retention, attention, participation, and performance of pupils in ASALs. The Government could only provide on-site meals only to a limited number of vulnerable children, particularly children in the primary boarding schools and the mobile schools. The children in semi-arid regions were not catered for as a result of financial constraints (GoK, 1978).

The School Milk Scheme collapsed a few years after its launch because the Government was unable to finance the project. Upon its launch, the Milk Scheme had a great impact on retention, but gradually the supplier could not supply because the Government could not pay. In fact, the Milk Scheme led to the collapse of Kenya Cooperative Creameries (KCC) in 1992 because of bad debts. The KCC collapse was the final blow to the School

Milk Scheme because no other supplier would be willing to have a debtor that would bring upon them litigation or foreclosure at any time (GoK, 1993; Mugiri 1995).

The Government had no funds after the failed milk project and the severe drought of 1979. The country needed to maintain the achieved enrolment as discussed in the earlier chapters. The country sought aid from the World Food Program to supply food to ASALs districts due to financial challenges to buy food to feed its population in ASALs. The search for food aid was a sure evidence of financial challenge on the side of the Government to maintain and sustain the School Feeding Program. In 1999, the WFP in collaboration with the Ministry of Education expanded the School Feeding Program to semi-arid lands (addition of take-home ratios to on-site meals). The School Feeding Program was even further expanded monetary-wise in 2004 to cover more lands that were semi-arid. An approximate 5 million of US$ was used to finance the expanded WFP in Kenya as documented in chapter four. The expansion of the SFP was courtesy of more foreign support and a connotation that more conditions would be imposed to the country. This was a clear evidence that the Government could no longer support the feeding program (Gok, 2005).

The WFP provided 71% of the associate program costs. The community was to provide 15% and the Government was to provide 14%. The Government was unable to give its share of costs because it had the responsibility of feeding the entire population. The community paid for water and cooks poorly because hunger had persisted for a long time (Gok, 1984).

The Government implemented the Homegrown SFP in 2009. The funds were borrowed from the World Bank and Japan. Financial challenge led the Government to rely on external support to achieve its mandate of providing food to vulnerable children. Therefore, from the above analysis of the SFP and its sponsors, it was clear that the Program was faced with shortage of funds (Mugiri, 1995; GoK, 2009)

6.2.2 Inadequate Infrastructure

Inadequate infrastructure continued to impede full realization of the central goals of Kenya's school feeding program. The major infrastructural deficiency was the means of transport particularly the roads. Poor counties such as those in North, North Eastern, Coast and parts of the Rift valley were the most affected when it came to matters revolving around infrastructural challenges (GoK, 1980, GoK, 2005).

The ASALs were a home to a majority of the counties that had lacked good roads ever since independence. This meant that the ASALs, which were the main beneficiaries of the SFP, lacked tarmac roads; making it difficult for government trucks to access remote schools. More specifically, 98% of the ASALs even lacked murram roads, and only earth roads were available (GoK, 2009).

The earth roads made the schools receiving food aid inaccessible during the rainy seasons or even the vehicles carrying food stuck in the mud for a long time (Finan, 2010). For instance, in 1986, the WFP transit trucks transporting food in North Eastern Province in March were forced to camp at Garissa because the weather roads were impassable. This

created a new challenge of transporting food to Wajir and Mandera by air, a cost which was not planned for (GoK, 1984).

A similar situation occurred in 1997 and 1998 during the El-Ninno rains. The regions participating in SFP were affected negatively by the rains, for instance, in the coast province school food was dumped in the provincial headquarters for a long time since transit trucks could not travel to the interior because the roads were impassable (GoK, 1999). Karisa (2006) noted out evidence that school food delayed for even a month in Kilifi district because the roads were impassable due to the heavy downpours and flooded roads.

Another deficiency in infrastructure was the temporary and insecure classrooms in the ASALs. The situation was worse during the rainy season where learning was forgone for days depending on the climatic conditions that prevailed. The temporary nature of classrooms was further influenced by the nomadic lifestyle where communities travelled for a long time without going back. This problem coupled with poor roads made the impact of the SFP not to be realized to its fullest (MoEST, 2009).

6.2.3 Lack of Equipment

Lack of facilities and resources affected the impact of the School Feeding Program on education. The resources and facilities included; stores, burners and kitchens. It was difficult for the government to fund all schools equitably in its pursuit of perfecting the School Feeding Program. The government only built cereal boards at the district level and at school level the storage was below the recommended standards. Some schools even stored the food in earthen floors (Espejo, 2009).

It was also worth mentioning that many schools in ASALs were not equipped with suitable kitchens to gurantee that food was prepared in a hygienic environment. This was because the construction of kitchens was left to the very vulnerable parents who could not provide enough food for their children. Kitchen facilities in most schools were below the standards recommended by the Ministry of Education in collaboration with the Ministry of Health .The kitchens which were available lacked modern burners to save energy and keep hygiene. The burners available produced a lot of smoke which is unhealthy and unhygienic (GoK, 1980).

6.2.4 Climatic Challenges, Water Scarcity and Poverty

Kenya was faced by severe and frequent droughts which were persistent mostly in ASALs. This had led the country to be in a food-deficit state throughout the year. About 80% of Kenya's land lied in the ASALs and only 20% of the total land area was suitable for cultivation. Crop failure was the mode which led to financial challenge on both the Government and parents to sustain these children in the School Feeding Program. It was a challenge in that there was no food in the locality for an easy and cheap supply (GoK, 1984, GoK,, 2005).

The intervention by the Government was very costly because it had to pay unbudgeted money to import food from outside the ASALs because there was no locally produced food to sustain the supply to the hungry population. For instance, in 1984 the Government imported yellow corn from the U.S.A to feed its population. The hunger was renamed locally as the yellow maize hunger. The yellow corn was the food that was supplied to schools in the School Feeding Program. The challenge was that the food was

rationed because the supply was less than the demand. The rationing applied across the board and the School Feeding Program was included (GoK, 1984).

Water scarcity was a major challenge not only to the pupils and the government sponsored SFP but to the entire country. The water sources that were available were scarce, and at times the Government had to intervene by providing water tankers to fetch water to schools for cooking. Lack of locally produced food and the scarcity of water posed a major challenge to the School Feeding Program (MoEST, 2005).

6.2.5 Scarcity of Schools

The scarcity of schools was a challenge to the School Feeding Program in that many children were not able to benefit from the program because distance was a barrier. In ASALs, one school served the population contained in approximately three square kilometers. This meant that schools were few and scarce. Most ASALs communities were pastoralists who kept on moving and this made building of schools a big challenge. The main challenge was that the intended goals of the School Feeding Program to enhance access and retention were hindered by this particular factor of scarcity of schools (Ngome, 2002).

Most schools were found in major towns and markets while in the rural areas the problem was not addressed except for the mobile schools. Many children were faced by the problem of distance from home to school which affected fast growth in enrolment (GoK, 2005).

6.2.6 High Number of HIV/AIDS Orphans

The HIV/AIDS disaster was a challenge to the School Feeding Program in that it increased the number of vulnerable children at a very high rate. According to the

Government of Kenya (1993), there were over two million people infected, and two hundred thousand died every half a decade. This gravely affected the School Feeding Program especially towards its goal of increasing enrolment of pupils by catering for their nutritional needs. The children needed extra care from their parents such as school uniform and the levies that accompanied the School Feeding Program like paying a cook, water and the up keeping of the kitchen. This was a disaster also because a majority of sick parents were unable to take care of their health needs let alone having time and little resources to support the School Feeding Program for their children (GoK, 1993).

The fact that bread winners were among the ones lost or infected with HIV/AIDS was in line with the sad reality that the number of orphans in the country increased. This culminated to further weakness of an already weak economy and finally the orphaned children learned poorly. Where the orphans were left to care for themselves, most of them dropped out of school due to many responsibilities directed towards them. There were cases where the eldest of orphaned children from a similar family were forced to play the roles of adults and to take care of their younger siblings. Such children lacked time to go to school and rendered the School Feeding Program not to fulfill the intended goals (GoK, 2005).

6.2.7 Insecurity

Another problem that challenged the School Feeding program was the presence of insecurity. Insecurity was in resonance with frequent raids carried out by bandits. Rivalry over cattle was the main cause of disagreement. Insecurity made the School Feeding Program not to be fully effective since children had not looked forward to going to school

at a point of risking their life. An example of regions in Kenya where insecurity was rife and frequent was the North Eastern and Rift Valley provinces where communities such as the Somali and the Galla from North Eastern Province had rifles and fought each other over cattle and grazing land frequently. Similarly, the Pokot and the Samburu engaged in raids and tribal wars over grazing land (GoK, 2009).

6.3 Conclusion

This chapter documented the challenges that affected the School Feeding Program both directly and indirectly. The direct challenges affected the SFP itself such as inadequate funds for purchase and supply of the food, transport of the food and security.

The indirect challenges included the pupil-teacher ratio, poverty, the HIV/AIDS disease and poor learning facilities in the challenged areas. Despite the many challenges discussed in this chapter, the SFP had a positive impact on education during the period defined by this study.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

The chapter presents a summary of the whole study. The chapter also presents the conclusions made at various chapters, recommendations and suggestions for further research.

7.2 Summary

The study intended to document the historical development of the School Feeding Program, its impact on education and the challenges it faced in Kenya between 1966 and 2009. This was done by documenting development of school feeding programs in the World, their impact on education and the challenges they faced before documenting the School Feeding Program in Kenya.

The literature reviewed found out that school feeding programs in the world had started as early as the 18th century. Some of the feeding programs were started by charitable individuals and organizations to alleviate hunger among school children in parts of the world. The Governments later enacted laws to guide the school feeding programs, for example, the USA enacted the public law (PL) 480 in 1954 to guide school feeding program in the federation.

The literature reviewed found out that the nationally legislated school feeding programs were an expansion of the organization-sponsored school feeding programs such as the Netherlands, the France and the India school feeding programs. In Africa, Nigerian states

of Osun and Kanno excelled well in implementing and sustaining their school feeding programs. Other countries in Africa such as Ghana, Benin, Malawi and Ethiopia had successful school feeding programs which boosted education.

The School Feeding Program in Kenya had a similar orientation as other countries and states in the World as reviewed in the literature. Charitable organizations and the Ministry of Education started the first School Feeding Program in 1966 in the Central Province as a pilot scheme. The impact of the School Feeding Program was very appealing and in 1967, some divisions of Nairobi were included in the Program. The Government in 1969 carried out an evaluation study on the impact of the meals on education and found that enrolment increased, attendance was high and performance improved.

The School Feeding Program became a strategic safety measure and it was included in the National Development Plans. The Program developed in varying degrees during the period defined by this study and it had great impact on education. However, the Program was faced by a number of challenges but still improved the education it was initiated to improve.

The study had three objectives and to meet them, historical design was used in order to establish facts and draw conclusions concerning the historical development of the School Feeding Program, its impact on education and the challenges it faced in the period that defined this study. Historical records were used for the reconstruction and documentation on the happenings and events of the problem under study. In this regard,

the study made use of both primary and secondary sources of data. Primary sources were mainly obtained from the Ministry of Education, the Kenya National archives and the University of Nairobi Library.

The School Feeding Program in Kenya was a product of the nutrition survey carried out by the Ministry of Education in 1964. It was then embraced in the Six-year Development Plan of 1964 to 1970. The SFP was therefore started in 1966 under the stewardship of the National School Feeding council. The 1970-1974 National Development Plan had in its agenda the development of education in ASALs. In this regard, the Government in ASALs established boarding schools with free meals. The impact of the boarding schools was slow and led to disappointment on the side of the Government. This led to a change of strategy, which was embraced in the National Development Plan of 1974 to 1978. The mobile schools were established in the period of this plan.

The study also documented the School Milk Scheme in 1979 as a player in the School Feeding Program initiative. The Milk Scheme had immediate impact on access and retention of pupils at school. However, it was soon faced by shortage of funds to run and maintain it. The Scheme couldn't stand the challenge hence its gradual collapse.

The next development in the SFP was the World Food Program assistance in arid region of Kenya. The WFP was launched in 1980 in a five-year project which was renewed after every five years. The project in the arid regions was referred to as the Regular School Feeding Program and it existed between 1966 and 2009. The WFP expanded its food assistance to include semi-arid regions in 1999 and 2004 respectively covering more beneficiaries. The expanded feeding program served up to 2008. In 2009 along with the

Regular School Feeding Program, a Government- led SFP was launched where by the Government disbursed funds to bank accounts of the participating schools to purchase food from local markets.

The study also documented the impact of the SFP on education. The study found out that SFP had positive impact on education because it improved enrolment rates, attendance trends, completion of primary education, and reduction of dropout rates. The study also found out that attention, participation and performance improved in the schools participating in the meals program as opposed to non-participating schools. The study found that the SFP expanded gradually during the time of this study and impacted positively on education. However the SFP was faced by a myriad challenges such as the problem of funds, poor roads and scarcity of water. Money to pay cooks and to build modern storage facilities posed a challenge.

In conclusion, the SFP in Kenya developed in the period that defined this study and it had positive impact on education. It was also faced by challenges, which slowed down faster development of the School Feeding Program.

7.3 Conclusions

This study revealed that the School Feeding Program had varying degrees of success since its launch in Kenya in 1966. Increase in the number of enrolled children and the rate of retention acted as basic tenets of measurement concerning the impact of the School Feeding Program on education. A report written by UNESCO in the year 2005 attested to the fact that the SFP played a very important role in making the Kenyan government realize its goal of universal primary education. In regions where Certificate

of Primary Education (CPE) and KCPE examination results were appallingly disappointing, the SFP sufficed to bring about improvement. The School Feeding Program brought about academic performance improvement because it helped get rid of the misery of hunger that was known to negatively affect the learning capability of children. This was achieved by bringing about good health to the children in their regular diet, which helped them to realize much better educational outcomes.

The SFP helped children to develop resistance to infectious diseases and illnesses. It kept young ones from being unhealthy and made them fit to attend their classes (Alderman et al, 2006). The school-aged population of Kenya was most affected by social-economic factors and climatic conditions. The School Feeding Program came at the right time since it was able to combat malnutrition and food insecurity. The study found out that the School Feeding Program had developed significantly since its launch in 1966 and had positive impact on education despite the challenges it faced.

7.4 Recommendations

Policy makers

The reason why the School Feeding Program was not completely effective in keeping children from hunger was that resources had not been enough to improve on infrastructure and pupil-teacher ratio. The realization of the full potential of the School Feeding Program would earmark a meaningful step in the achievement of universal primary education. This study therefore recommends that the Government makes an effort to improve infrastructure and to employ more teachers to fully realize the impact of the SFP on education.

Teachers

Teachers should take an active role when it comes to giving insights to government operatives regarding how the School Feeding Program should work best. Teachers should keep helping to make sure some factors are in order such as management and maintaining a hygienic environment in preparing the meals.

The community

The parents should be encouraged to support the School Feeding Program in providing firewood, paying the cooks, paying for water bills and building standard kitchens. This will reduce most challenges that faced school feeding.

7.5 Suggestions for Further Research

This study has examined the historical development of the School Program in Kenya, its impact on education and the challenges it faced between 1966 and 2009. Despite the fact that this study was carried out, it did not go into details of the different modalities of food aid provided by the Government in partnership with Non-Governmental Organizations to boost education. It is important if some studies can be carried out on various modalities and how each model impacts on education.

Apart from the history of the SFP, its impact on education and the challenges, other studies can be carried out on the actual school-age population, which deserves food aid, and the available population receiving food-giving suggestions of possible intervention measures.

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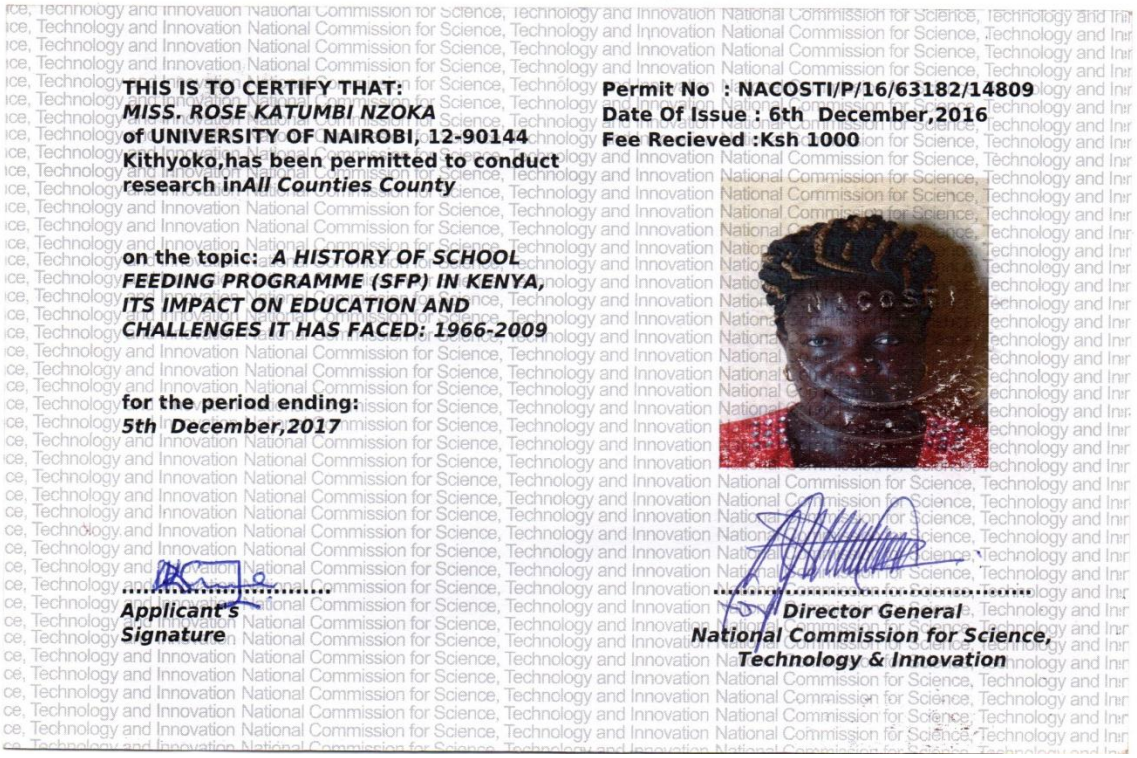
APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: CERTIFICATE OF RESEARCH



THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MISS. ROSE KATUMBI NZOKA
of UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI, 12-90144
Kithyoko,has been permitted to conduct
research in*All Counties County*

on the topic: *A HISTORY OF SCHOOL FEEDING PROGRAMME (SFP) IN KENYA, ITS IMPACT ON EDUCATION AND CHALLENGES IT HAS FACED: 1966-2009*

for the period ending:
5th December,2017

Permit No : NACOSTI/P/16/63182/14809
Date Of Issue : 6th December,2016
Fee Recieved :Ksh 1000

Applicant's Signature

Director General
National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation

APPENDIX II: AUTHORIZATION

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone:+254-20-2213471,
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NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref: No. **NACOSTI/P/16/63182/14809**

Date: **6th December, 2016**

Rose Katumbi Nzoka
University of Nairobi
P.O. Box 30197-00100
NAIROBI.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on ***"A history of school feeding programme (SFP) in Kenya, its impact on education and challenges it has faced: 1966-2009,"*** I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **all Counties** for the period ending **5th December, 2017.**

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioners and the County Directors of Education, all Counties** before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit **two hard copies and one soft copy in pdf** of the research report/thesis to our office.

DR. STEPHEN K. KIBIRU, PhD.
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioners
All Counties.

The County Directors of Education
All Counties.