AKSHAYA PATRA: AN EXPLORATORY CASE STUDY OF ONE NGO'S APPROACH TO

INDIA'S MULTIDIMENSIONAL MID-DAY MEAL SCHEME (MDMS)

by

PARNA BANERJEE

(Under the Direction of Richard Welsh)

ABSTRACT

School feeding programs have primarily been utilized as a tool for poverty-alleviation. However, over time, their role has extended beyond just assisting in the mitigation of poverty, and is more specifically, an integral aspect of children's educational outcomes. Previous research, especially quantitative studies have shown the significant role of school feeding interventions in terms of enrollment, attendance, and overall educational attainment.

Various outside actors have played a critical role in the quality and implementation of these schemes. The purpose of this study was to examine the role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in India's school feeding program, the Mid-Day Meal Scheme (MDMS), which was first established in 1995. Due to the lack of literature surrounding NGO's and their role in the MDMS, the study examines the role of one NGO, Akshaya Patra, which is noted as the largest school-feeding NGO in the world. Additionally, this dissertation explored how school feeding policies are multidimensional and address socioeconomic issues, specifically child labor.

Two primary qualitative methods were used for this dissertation: 1) document review, where I conducted analysis of policy documents surrounding school feeding and child labor, and 2) interviewing, where I conducted semi-structured interviews with members of Akshaya Patra.

Data analysis conducted through thematic coding by cross-examining both the documents and interview responses and extracting similar or unique themes.

The results of the thematic analysis revealed that school feeding can, in fact, lead to better educational and health outcomes, such as increased enrollment and better hygiene. Additionally, findings indicated that school feeding and child labor policies do often mirror one another, where school meals have been instrumental in rehabilitating former child laborers, increasing retention and leading to better lifelong outcomes. Lastly, the NGO members explained how they have witnessed improvements within socioeconomic issues, such as an increase in cross-class engagement due to the Mid-Day Meal Scheme (MDMS).

Index: school feeding, quality and implementation, educational outcomes, health outcomes, socioeconomic outcomes, child labor, NGOs, case study, India, Mid-Day Meal Scheme

AKSHAYA PATRA: AN EXPLORATORY CASE STUDY OF ONE NGO'S APPROACH TO

INDIA'S MID-DAY MEAL SCHEME (MDMS)

by

PARNA BANERJEE

B.A. University of Lynchburg, 2012

M.S. University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2014

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial

Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2019

AKSHAYA PATRA: AN EXPLORATORY CASE STUDY OF ONE NGO'S APPROACH TO

INDIA'S MID-DAY MEAL SCHEME (MDMS)

by

PARNA BANERJEE

Major Professor: Richard Welsh
Committee: Jori Hall
                     Ajay Sharma

Electronic Version Approved:

Suzanne Barbour
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
May, 2019

DEDICATION

To my grandparents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Second, thank you to my committee. To my advisor, Dr. Richard Welsh, thank you for encouraging and challenging me on this journey. You have modeled what it means to be a true academic and scholar, and for that I am eternally grateful. Thank you for the opportunities you have extended to me that have contributed to my growth as a student and scholar. To Dr. Jori Hall and Dr. Ajay Sharma, thank you for providing me with your expertise and guidance and support. To my committee as a whole, I am grateful for your pushing and challenging me on this journey in order to become my strongest and best self as a student, scholar, and overall individual.

Third, I would like to extend my deepest gratitude to Dr. Sheneka Williams. Your class is the first one I took in the PhD program and I look to you as the professor and mentor who taught me from day one what it means to truly "Trust the process." I carry those words with me every single day, no matter what I am doing. Because of you, I know that there is always a reason for every experience, big or small, and that any setback is meant to be valued as much as any success. You have taught me more than you know, and your level of humility, kindness, generosity, and overall spirit is something to be admired.

Lastly, I wish to express sincere gratitude to my peers who have been a truly wonderful support system and journeyed with me here at UGA. To Shafiqua, thank you for all those "pulse checks" to make sure I was alive and kicking. Thank you for making sure I always kept my head up, and especially that I got through the rough patches. You have been such a constant source of support. Your words will always stick with me, and you have truly motivated and inspired me to be a better student, scholar, and individual. You are truly Superwoman in my eyes! To Satish,

thank you for the phone calls just to say hi, making me laugh when I've had a bad day, for our weekly dinners and Friday night Target trips, tolerating my indecision over whether or not I should buy English muffins during EVERY grocery run, for treating me to frozen yogurt and ice cream more times than I can count, and for your genuine kindness and understanding. You are truly the Will to my Grace. To Roswell, thank you for being my constant soundboard, your words of wisdom, and eraser of any fears and doubts I may have had at any step in this journey. Thank you for always being the first to call and celebrate with me whenever I accomplished any milestone. And of course, thank you to every other individual who I have been in this program with or have crossed paths with during my time at UGA. You have all played an integral role in my process of becoming Dr. Parna. Thank you for encouraging me, inspiring me, motivating me, and never allowing me to quit no matter how many roadblocks I may have faced or tears I may have cried. You have all made me an impact in my growth and successes not only in this program, but also in life. Lastly, to the rest of my friends back home and who live coast to coast, thank you for always checking up on me, allowing me to come visit when I needed a break, long phone/FaceTime calls, and cheering me on, whether you're a few states away or on the other side of the country. It's safe to say that without you, this would not have been possible. You are all part of my life tribe.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

Introduction

Since their inception, school feeding programs have been used to address the issue of malnutrition (WFP, 2017). School feeding programs can be classified as poverty reduction programs, or social protection programs (Subbarao et al., 1997; UNICEF, 2013). In addition, the initial purpose of both poverty reduction and social reduction programs was to increase access to services, such as education, as well as serve as a policy response to the aforementioned economic conditions (UNICEF, 2013). A crucial element for social protection programs was their attention to children, families, communities, and development on a national scale (UNICEF, 2013). As a result, programs specifically tailored towards the safety and well-being of children had the ability to alleviate effects stemming from poverty (UNICEF, 2013). Overall, social protection programs addressed "multidimensional vulnerabilities," which were essentially forms of deprivation faced by individuals that usually stem from and involve several dimensions (UNICEF, 2013). Poverty-targeted interventions can serve either entire populations or aim only at certain populations (Subbarao et al, 1997). In other words, these initiatives are designed and implemented to serve populations that can be classified as poor and in need of assistance. Funding for these interventions came in the form of either cash transfers, or in-kind transfers (Subbarao et al., 1997).

Cash Transfers vs. In-Kind Transfers

Cash transfers referred to assistance given to those individuals or families that fall right below the poverty line (Subbarao et al., 1997). In-kind transfers, on other hand, were services or commodities provided to those most in need, such as housing subsidies (Subbarao et al., 1997). A primary objective of both types of interventions was to assist in the mitigation of poverty (Subbarao et al., 1997). Secondary objectives of these programs varied as indicated by cross-country comparisons (Subbarao et al., 1997). Subbarao et al (1997) posit that cash transfer programs, such as family and social assistance interventions, were used in two different ways. For example, countries falling under the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) typically utilized both social and family assistance programs, as a broader social safety net program (Subbarao et al., 1997). In contrast, developing countries relied more heavily on social and family assistance programs as their primary mechanism within their social safety net (Subbarao et al., 1997). In-kind transfers, such as food rations or food stamps, result in varied cross-country patterns as well (Subbarao et al., 1997). For example, quantity rationing in South Asia was the preferred method, while Latin America and the Caribbean relied on food with work requirements, and general price subsidies were popular in some African and Middle East and North African countries (Subbarao et al., 1997). Subbarao et al (1997) posited that methods were chosen and implemented due to the physical and infrastructure costs and requirements within each context. Additionally, the political economy and administrative considerations served as determinants of program choice (Subbarao et al., 1997).

The Design and Implementation of School Feeding Programs (SFP)

For the purposes of this dissertation, school feeding programs fall into the category of in-kind transfers. School feeding schemes were typically designed and implemented as government-mandated interventions. As mentioned above, these interventions have been utilized as a tool to improve the overall livelihoods of those most susceptible to an impoverished lifestyle. More specifically, school feeding programs were designed as a subsidy in the form of either take-home rations or in-school meals (Kazianga, 2009; Ravallion and Wodon, 2000). They were conditional due to the provision of school meals being contingent upon a student's enrollment and attendance in order to receive the transfer, while the same conditions applied for take-home rations (Kazianga, 2009). School feeding programs contributed to increased enrollment, attendance, and better nutrition, which leads to improved long term outcomes (Bundy, 2009; Kazianga, 2009; Subbarao et al., 1997; WFP, 2017).

Although school-feeding program were initially developed and implemented by governments, outside actors, such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), played a major role in their growth of more sustainable learning environments (Rose, 2009). Much of this occurred in countries where there may have been weak governmental institutions, and lack of resources, as well as machinery (Brock, 2016; Rose, 2009). Although NGOs tend to have more positive outcomes, it is important to consider that these actors often work on a smaller scale, meaning they function within certain cities rather than a country as a whole. Currently, the majority of the literature on NGOs and education has addressed the role of these organizations with issues such as ensuring educational provisions for underserved communities (Brock, 2016; Rose, 2009). However, NGOs, although understudied, can assist in both improved implementation and outcomes, specifically in terms of educational and health outcomes.

Statement of the Problem

A primary component of this dissertation was to examine the role of socioeconomic issues that are seldom discussed alongside school feeding programs. Research has indicated that scholars tend to avoid studying these ideas together because it can be difficult to prove that school feeding programs contribute to outcomes outside of health or education. Additionally, the study explored the role of non-governmental actors (NGOs) in school feeding interventions, as these actors have not been widely discussed in the literature either. This dissertation not only contributed to the current school feeding literature, but also intended to fill in any research gaps, especially in examining these initiatives through a more holistic lens, as well as focusing specifically on NGOs.

The study illustrated how school feeding has played an integral role in the mitigation of socioeconomic issues, specifically child labor. More specifically the research aimed to identify how school feeding contributes to the reduction of children's engagement within the labor market. Child labor is a global phenomenon within less-developed regions, namely Asia, Africa, and South America, shows that an underage child in the labor market has proven to have detrimental and long-term effects on their future welfare and prosperity (ILO, 2016). Child labor itself is an issue that predominantly stems from socioeconomic circumstances of individuals and the communities in which they live (Dumas, 2007). Although school feeding programs have been primarily concerned with addressing issues surrounding health and education, these policies are, in fact, multidimensional. In other words, over time, school meals have been able to address issues such as child labor, and assist in its mitigation through incentivizing families in typically low-socioeconomic conditions, to send their children to school instead of into the labor market.

School feeding programs may drive down the costs of obtaining an education, which would in turn, increase the demand of education.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this dissertation was examining India's government-mandated school feeding program, the Mid-Day Meal (MDM), but specifically the role of NGOs within the specific context. Although there have been numerous studies that have examined India's school feeding, especially pertaining to the various health and educational outcomes, none have looked at the role of NGOs in this context. Moreover, a primary focus of this dissertation is not only in examining the various elements of quality and implementation of school feeding in India, but the outcomes of these specific interventions. This study is focused on one specific NGO, Akshaya Patra, which is headquartered in Bangalore, India. More specifically, the dissertation explored not only how the NGOs align with government policy goals and objectives, but whether or not they are inclusive of issues extending beyond education and health, specifically child labor. The study aimed to develop a model that illustrates the role of both government and NGOs on school feeding outcomes which are classified as: 1) educational 2) health, and 3) socioeconomic.

Currently, there are only two seminal works that have been conducted researching how school-feeding programs have played a primary role in child labor outcomes. The first is by Ravallion and Wodon (2000), who examined the effects of the food for education program (FFE) in rural Bangladesh. Their results indicated greater significance on educational outcomes, such as attendance and participation, than on child labor outcomes. Similarly, Kazianga et al (2009) conducted a study investigated the effects of two school feeding schemes: take-home rations and in-school meals, and their impact on both educational and child labor outcomes. However, the findings highlighted a significant increase for certain populations of students. More specifically,

the researchers reported the schemes increased children's enrollment, and more importantly, decreased females' engagement in the labor market. The two studies are discussed more in depth in Chapter 2 and serve as a basis for this dissertation since they are the only studies surrounding school feeding programs and child labor in tandem. This study is intended to build upon the existing literature surrounding school feeding and child labor, specifically in designing research that examines the same two issues, just in a different context than in the two studies that have been conducted previously. Additionally, this dissertation used qualitative methods, which is another way in which it will add to the literature that is focused on both school feeding and child labor.

Figure 1 illustrates the guiding conceptual framework for the study.
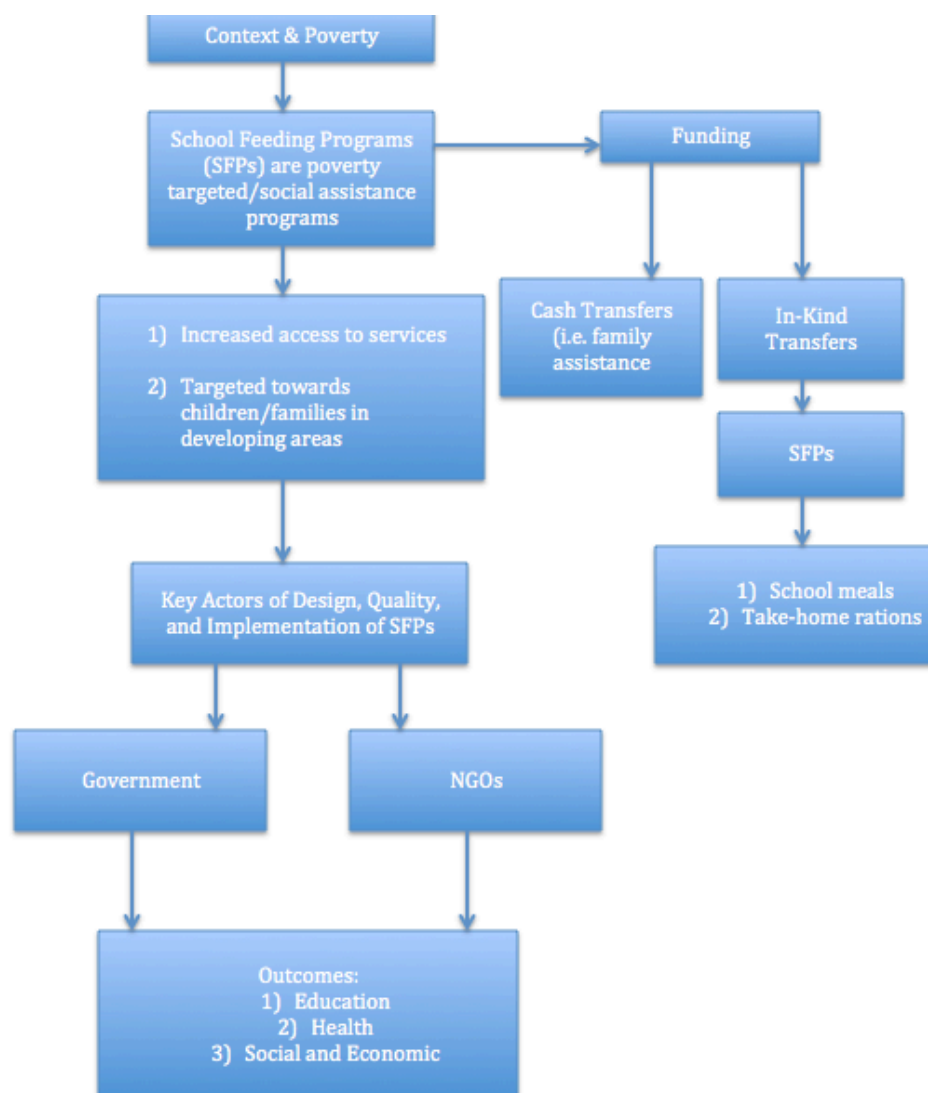
CONTEXT OF THE STUDY: INDIA

Table 1 describes the historical, political, cultural, and economic characteristics of the country being examined in this study: India. The country is a product of British colonization, as well as continues to conduct itself in a parliamentary style of government, a prominent element of their being colonized. India has also been subject to high rates of malnutrition and child labor. The government-mandated school-feeding program in India was developed as an anti-poverty initiative, as well as sought to improve malnutrition amongst children.

Table 1: The History, Politics, Cultural and Economic Characteristics of India

India
History: Gained independence in 1947 during the sub-continent partition between India & Pakistan. Colonized by Great Britain.
Area: 3,287,263 sq. km.
Population: 1,251,695,584 (est. July, 2015)
Government: Federal Parliamentary Republic
GDP (per capita): $6,300 (2015)
Agricultural Resources: rice, wheat, oil seed, cotton, jute, lentils, onions, dairy products, goats, sheep, poultry; fish
Industries: textiles, chemicals, food processing, steel, transportation equipment, cement, mining, petroleum, machinery, software, pharmaceuticals

Source: CIA World Fact Book

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN INDIA

For the purposes of this dissertation, it is important to gain an understanding of India's educational system. Levels of education are segmented into 1) pre-k, 2) primary, which is first to fifth grade, 3) middle school or upper primary, which is sixth to eighth grade, 4) secondary school which is ninth and tenth grade, and lastly, 5) higher secondary or pre-university, which is 11th and 12th grade. Primary school typically occurs between 5 and 6 years of age and lasts around 4 to 5 years. Upper primary education is a three-year duration and begins for students between ages 10 and 11. It usually lasts until between 13 and 14 years of age. Secondary schooling system in India Secondary school education is comprised of two years of lower secondary and two years of higher secondary education. The lower secondary level is for students aged 14 to 16 years, while higher secondary schooling system in India Senior secondary education comprises two years of higher secondary education, which starts at approximately 16 years and ends at the 17th year. In this last level, students are given the choice of specific subjects or vocations, while keeping in mind the requirements of educational boards. In terms of educational institutions, India can be segmented in three ways, specifically in who and how of operating educational institutions. Schools are either owned by the government, meaning by central, state, or local governments, or by the private sector. The number of schools run by central and state governments is almost double of the ones managed by the others when taken together (British Council, 2014). Government schools dominate primary school enrollment, but private schools have a greater share of student enrollment in higher grades (British Council, 2014). Further segmentation can classify these schools as governmental educational institutions, local body institutions, or private-aided institutions. The first type of school is run by the central or state government, undertaken by the public sector or autonomic organizations, and fully

financed by the government. An example of this would be an Air Force school. The second type of institution are typically run by municipal committees or corporations, such as schools run by the New Delhi Municipality Council. Third, private-aided school are those that are "managed privately but receive regular maintenance grant from the government, local body or any other public authority. The rules and regulations followed here are same as that of the public schools" (British Council, 2014). Government rules and regulations dictate various educational aspects, such as curriculum, examinations, collecting of fees, and more for these institutions. Even recruitment of faculties depends on what is considered the norm within government schools. There are no criteria for admission for students wishing to attend these schools. Lastly, private unaided schools are managed by either an individual or a private organization, and do not receive any type of grant or funding from government, local body or any other public authority. Fees for attending these institutions vary greatly from government schools, and students are admitted based on a set of criteria, such as entrance examinations or interviews, all of which is done under private management. Unlike the aforementioned types of schools, these institutions create their own curriculum and examinations in order to measure student competency.

The Evolution of India's Mid-Day Meal Scheme (MDMS)

Due to this dissertation's specific focus on India's Mid-Day Meal Scheme (MDMS) of India, it is important to not only emphasize the various aspects of the intervention, but to illustrate the transformation of the program in India over time. As mentioned previously, Akshaya Patra developed a partnership with the national government in the design and implementation of their school feeding program. More specifically, the organization had to gain permission, or the implementation is based on government request for areas and communities

where the intervention is needed most. Although Akshaya Patra created a more holistic approach in mitigating issues such as poor health and education, their primary goals and objectives fully aligned with the government-mandated program. In order to gain a better understanding of school feeding in India, Table 2 provides a synopsis of the expansion and numerous changes that took place 1925 and onwards.

Table 2: Timeline of India's Mid-Day Meal Scheme (MDMS)

Year	Event
1925	A Mid Day Meal Programme (MDM) was introduced for disadvantaged children in Madras Municipal Corporation.
Mid 1980's	3 states: Gujarat, Kerala and Tamil Nadu and the UT of Pondicherry had universalized a cooked Mid Day Meal Programme with their own resources for children studying at the primary stage.
1990-1991	Number of states implementing the MDM with their own resources increased to 12 states.
August 15, 1995	The National Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education (NP-NSPE) was launched as a Centrally Sponsored Scheme, initially in 2408 blocks in the country
1997-1998	The NP-NSPE was introduced in all blocks of the country.

2002	The program was extended not only to children in grades 1 to 5 of government, government-aided, and local body schools, but also to children who studied in EGS and AIE centers.
July 2006	The scheme was further revised to provide assistance for cooking.
October 2007	The scheme has been further revised to cover children in upper primary (classes VI to VIII) initially in 3479 Educationally Backwards Blocks (EBBs).
2008-2009	On April 1st, 2008, the programme extended to all children studying in Government, Local Body and Government-aided primary and upper primary schools and the EGS/AIE centers.
2009-Present	From the year 2009 onwards, changes were made to improve the implementation of the scheme, such as revising of food norms.

Source: Ministry of Human Resource Development, Department of School Education and Literacy, Government of India: Mid-Day Meal Scheme http://mdm.nic.in/

Overview of the Methods Used

The study employed two different methods to examine school feeding programs and the role of quality and implementation on various outcomes. It aimed to address how school-feeding programs can be implemented to alleviate issues of poor health and education, but also widespread issues such as child labor. In other words, it is an examination of how these programs can broaden their scope of influence.

The first method was the qualitative method of documentation analysis. Bowen (2009) defined this method as, "a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents—both printed and electronic (computer-based and Internet-transmitted) material" (p. 27). This method is often combined with other research methods, called triangulation, which was "the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon" (Denzin, 1970, p. 291). In other words, triangulation was not a method but rather a strategy to cultivate greater rigor in a researcher's process of analyses. Bowen (2009) stated that the researcher is expected to draw on multiple sources of evidence when utilizing this method. Sources such as participant or non-participation observation, artifacts, and interviews were prime examples (Yin, 1994).

The study utilized documents that focus on school feeding programs and child labor. These were primarily government documents, specifically school feeding and child labor policies in India. Additionally, there were documents from Akshaya Patra that were examined for this dissertation, particularly information from their website such as their mission statement, as well as case studies that were provided from the organization that focused on beneficiaries of their school feeding program and other initiatives. More detail about this method, the types of documents, and how it aligns in responding to the main research question can be found in Chapter 3.

Along with examining documents, I conducted interviews with individuals who work within Akshaya Patra. The purpose of doing so was to gain an understanding of not only the objectives of these organizations, but their relationship with the government and the daily functions of individuals within the organization. The information drawn from these interviews was more beneficial than basing the study on reported numbers or information found on a

website, since it gives the audience a limited understanding and knowledge of the organizations

working in this space. Further discussion of the interview process and protocol can be found in

Chapter 3. Chapter 2 further explains the significance of NGOs within the educational

landscape, and how this study contributed to the literature surrounding school-feeding programs

and the role of NGOs within these interventions.

Significance and Implications

There is a general consensus that the issue of child labor is problematic and needs to be

addressed, which typically comes in the form of socioeconomic policies (ILO, 2017).

International organizations such as The International Labor Organization (ILO) and the United

Nations have played a significant role in not only highlighting the causes and consequences of,

but also in the design, quality, and implementation of policies and interventions to address the

worldwide issue of child labor (ILO, 2017). One would assume that if a child is engaged in the

labor market, then they are less likely to be attending school. However, this is not always the

case and is the primary reasoning behind why scholars tend to shy away from discussing child

labor and educational issues in tandem with one another.

The policy element is an aspect missing from both seminal works that were mentioned

previously, a gap which this study intends to fill through an examination and analysis of

objectives, quality, and implementation practices utilized for school feeding programs in India.

Moreover, is important to mention that this dissertation does not aim to serve as an evaluation of

these initiatives, but rather drawing conclusions of their contributions through an examination of

the role of non-governmental actors. The research indicated that although the NGO, Akshaya

Patra, followed the same objectives and guidelines as India's national government, as they have a

partnership role, their program's quality and implementation led to more positive outcomes than their government counterparts.

Limitations of the Study

As mentioned above, this dissertation contributed to two different sets of literature, school feeding and child labor. But rather than focusing on them separately, the research will be aiming to study them in tandem with one another. Additionally, it centers on the role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), a very understudied research area.

Although this dissertation explained the two phenomena in India, one of the limitations is that India is extremely diverse in nature, educationally, but socially, politically, and culturally as well. Due to this, it would be difficult to say that the experiences and effects of school feeding programs, both nationally mandated and NGO implemented, would be the same across the different states in India. Furthermore, the results of the study would be difficult to extend inter-regionally, meaning expecting similar in other regions of the world. Another limitation of the study is the lack of data from individuals, such as families and children, who were the sole beneficiaries of these school-feeding programs. Instead, this study examined the policies themselves and retrieving data from those who implement these initiatives, namely the non-governmental organization, Akshaya Patra.

Dissertation Outline

This dissertation is divided into five chapters. Following this chapter is a comprehensive literature review that examined the history of school feeding programs, the primary goals and objectives, types of school feeding and successful programs around the world, as well as

outcomes. The third chapter is a review of the methods and analysis that was employed for this study, specifically qualitative document review, interviews, and thematic coding. The fourth chapter discusses the results, followed by a discussion section. The fifth and final chapter discusses the future research and implications of the dissertation. The following is the main research question guiding the study:

What is the role of Akshaya Patra in the quality and implementation of India's school feeding program, the Mid-Day Meal Scheme (MDMS), and how does it contribute to outcomes concerning education, health, and beyond?

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction: The History of School Feeding Programs

Global trends of food insecurity, hunger, and malnutrition have led to the creation of organizations such as the World Food Program (WFP) (World Food Programme, 2017). First established in 1961 during the Eisenhower administration, it served as an experiment to provide food aid while working in tandem with the United Nations (UN). WFP played an instrumental role specifically during emergencies like natural disasters, such as a typhoon in Thailand, as well as providing rehabilitation services. In 1963, the World Food Program started their first development program in Sudan, as well as their first school meals project in Togo. By 1965, the WFP was a full-fledged UN programme, and their role was further cemented as issues such as hunger became more prevalent, such as famines that devastated Western Sahel in the 1970's, and Ethiopia in 1984. The 1990's brought further expansion of the World Food Program's role on a global scale, specifically due to issues such as the Rwandan genocide. Partnerships between the WFP and other institutions, such as non-government organizations, multiplied in an effort not

only to build alliances, but also to maximize their efforts and impact of mitigating hunger. In 2000, the Millennium Development Goals of creating a world free from poverty, hunger, and other related issues, allowed for more innovative programs and practices from the World Food Program. Crises that occurred in the early 2000's, such as earthquakes and tsunamis, made the WFP take initiative specifically in providing the support for UN agencies and NGO's. Today, the World Food Program (WFP) is regarded as the world' largest humanitarian agency that addresses the issues of nutrition, food security, and hunger. The WFP works in tandem with national governments, sister organizations, and other partners to assist in the alleviation of these sufferings.

Although the World Food Program (WFP) has provided food aid during crises situations like natural disasters, the organization has played a crucial role in the development and implementation of meal programmes within schools. Malnutrition is a global phenomenon, specifically amongst children, which impacts not only their health outcomes but their educational outcomes as well. Providing meals within schools not only means better nutrition and health, but also increases the probability of increased educational achievement in multiple capacities. These interventions have incentivized families to send their children to school. The WFP reported that in 2015, they were able to reach 17.4 million children in 62 countries with their school meal programmes. Additionally, the WFP worked in tandem with national governments and their school meal programmes, specifically providing technical assistance, which allowed them to reach approximately ten million children. School meal programmes vary between provision of breakfast or lunch, sometimes both, as well as the distribution of fortified, high-energy biscuits or nutritious snacks. In addition to school meals, food and/or cash rations are given to families, which are conditional upon regular school attendance and incentivizes families to keep their

children in school. Lastly, the WFP explains that programmes can be tailored to cater to certain groups of children, especially those who are prone to engage in the labor market, or play an integral role in preventing early marriage for female children and assisting them in better lifelong outcomes through education.

Although this study primarily focused on less-developed regions of the world, specifically Asia, Africa, and South America, and the types of school meal programs that exist within those areas, it is important to note the influences behind those interventions. However, it is also imperative to consider the purpose, goals, and context of these interventions. A prime example of this The United States' National School Lunch Program (NLSP) established in 1946 after discovering that there were a large number of hungry schoolchildren, as well as increased rates of malnourishment. As a result, a number of actors including, teachers, and community groups, nutritionists, and child welfare advocates were involved in the development and expansion of school lunch programs (Levine, 2010). Additionally, there was increased pressure and attention at the onset of World War II when a large number of men were deemed "unfit" to serve, which began the campaign of "nutrition in the national defense" (Levine, 2010). Although there were shortcomings, such as few poor children receiving these meals, as well as racial disparities in participation, by the 1950's, there was widespread popular support for the program. However, it is important to note that the program only reached about one-third of children during this time. A shift in focus occurred during the early 1960's with the discovery of a poverty issue, resulting in the program changing from a former agricultural subsidy program into a poverty program.

A direct consequence of poverty is food insecurity (Rahman, Matsui, & Ikemoto, 2013). School feeding programs have played an instrumental role in alleviating food insecurity, both for

children and families as a whole. Furthermore, these initiatives were classified as "social safety net programs", which encompass two primary objectives: protecting individuals from falling into poverty through redistribution and correcting marketing failures (Morshed, 2009). These interventions are sometimes labeled as social protection programs, defined as "a set of public actions which address not only income poverty and economic shocks, but also social vulnerability, thus taking into account the inter-relationship between exclusion and poverty" (UNICEF). In addition, this approach was designed to increase access to services, such as education, as well as serves as a policy response to the aforementioned economic conditions. A crucial element for social protection programs was their attention to children, families, communities, and development on a national scale. As a result, programs specifically tailored towards the safety and well-being of children had the ability to alleviate effects stemming from poverty (UNICEF). Overall, social protection programs address "multidimensional vulnerabilities" (UNICEF). Poverty-targeted interventions can serve either entire populations or aim only at certain populations. Subbarao et al (1997) outlines three main targeting mechanisms that are utilized to identify the poor: 1) individual targeting, 2) geographic or indicator targeting, and 3) self-targeting. An example of individual targeting would be to conduct a test that would determine whether or not a household income is below the poverty point by utilizing factors such as nutritional status or income as criteria. Geographic and indicator targeting mechanisms grant eligibility to programs based on a shared characteristic (Subbarao et al, 1997). Besley and Kanbur (1993) states that the goal was to find an indicator that would be less costly to identify than income yet be substantial enough to classify individuals as poor. Lastly, self-targeting is when a program was available to the general public yet is designed to cater to the poor, thus discouraging nonpoor from participating. All three types of targeting are applicable to either an

individual or a group (Subbarao et al, 1997). Funding for these interventions came in the form of either cash transfers, or in-kind transfers. Cash transfer programs were typically identified as social assistance programs and family assistance programs, both having the central aim of poverty alleviation (Subbarao et al., 1997). For example, a universal family assistance program was introduced in the United Kingdom (UK) in 1945 as a flat rate provided to every family for their second and any subsequent child. It was intended to cater to the needs of growing expenditures as families grew, regardless of income. Providing payments not based on income incentivized poor families to become self-sufficient while decreasing the probability of their falling into poverty traps.

In-kind transfers on the other hand, were comprised of various subsidies from food and housing to energy. These types of transfers were implemented for better targeting purposes. A prime example of a food subsidy program was food stamps, which are typically prevalent in countries where there is more infrastructure development and lower rates of poverty (Subbarao et al., 1997). For the purposes of this dissertation, school feeding programs (SFP) fell into the category of in-kind transfers. More specifically, school-feeding programs were considered conditional in-kind transfers (Kazianga et al., 2009), as they are contingent upon a student's enrollment and attendance in order to receive the transfer. There are two modes of school-feeding programs: 1) in-school meals and 2) take-home rations (THR). School feeding programs can have large-scale benefits to individuals that they aim to serve (Adelman et al., 2007; 2008; Ahmed, 2004). First and foremost, nutritional and health status play a fundamental role in both the learning and performance of a child. Furthermore, poor nutrition lowers a child's cognitive functions, as well as their ability to participate in the classroom. Second, malnourished children have a higher probability of irregular school attendance, which leads to poor academic

performance. Lastly, even short-term hunger can have adverse effects to children's overall academic learning and performance (Adelman, 2007; 2008; Ahmed, 2004; Kazianga et al., 2009; Levinger,1986;1984).

The effects that school feeding programs have had on both educational and health outcomes are tied to the economic circumstances of beneficiaries, such as children and their families. It is especially evident due to the fact that the primary reason that these interventions were first designed, was in fact, to address the issue of poverty in various contexts. Although health and education were more obvious outcomes that school-feeding programs can address, another issue that is typically overlooked in the literature, and stems from economic circumstances, is child labor. It is a phenomenon that has been seen as a social and economic issue rather than an educational one, and is usually discussed separately. However, although the research is scarce, there was some evidence that indicates how school feeding interventions and child labor can be discussed in the same literature. One of the primary goals of this study is to investigate school feeding intervention mechanisms and how they can possibly address the issue of child labor. Moreover, how these policies cannot only aim to address, but how their implementation can alleviate child labor. As mentioned above, the research will examine less-developed regions, namely Asia, Latin America, and Africa, and conduct a comparative analysis of these school feeding policies and the issue of child labor and how they may work in tandem. Utilizing comparative analysis methods have been typically employed in an effort to not only examine the similarities and differences within contexts, but to identify best policies, practices, and implementation. These examinations can lead to the lending and borrowing of policies between nations. However, the research surrounding school feeding programs have shown that results vary depending on the context, meaning that these policies are not a one-size-fits all. A

recent press release from the World Bank (2016) reported the importance of understanding that the most sustainable school feeding programs are those that address the needs of the communities in which they are established and serve. For example, the World Bank (2016) explains how the countries they had analyzed differed in needs and expectations of their school feeding programs. They state, "The strongest and most sustainable programs are those that respond to a community need, are locally-owned and incorporate some form of parental or community involvement. In Namibia, communities are expected to provide fuel, cooking utensils and storerooms. In Mali, school feeding programs have put schools at the heart of local development by promoting locally-owned meal programs. In Ghana, the government uses a digital school meals planner to develop nutritionally balanced school meals using local ingredients" (World Bank, 2016).

This literature review proceeds as follows: first, it will examine the various types of school feeding programs found within developing countries, as well as their success. Second, it will highlight the impact of school feeding programs on educational outcomes, namely enrollment, attendance, and participation. Third, it will discuss the difference in impact of school feeding programs on different groups, followed by research that has indicated the occurrence of mixed results of these interventions. Then, it will examine how a social and economic issue, specifically child labor, has impacted the educational outcomes of school children. Lastly, the review will examine literature surrounding the role of non-governmental organizations in primarily government-run school feeding programs.

Conceptual Framework of the Study

Currently, there is a lack of theoretical bases or frameworks in the literature that focuses on school feeding programs and their impact on outcomes such as health and education. However, studies such as Grantham-McGregor et al (1998) and Jacoby et al. (1998) created diagrams that illustrate how school feeding programs have been instrumental in improving educational and health outcomes amongst school children. Lawson (2012) adapted their diagrams into one, which you will find below:

Figure 1. Relationship between SFP and potential outcomes and impacts on school children
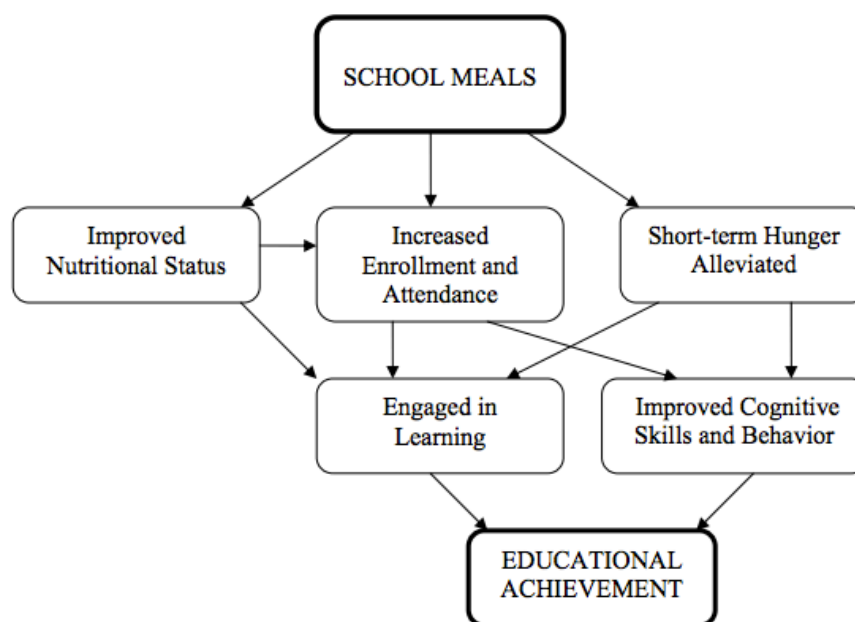
The diagram illustrates how school feeding programs have contributed to the improvement of health outcomes, such as alleviation of short-term hunger, as well as educational outcomes, such as enrollment. Although there have been a few frameworks used within the literature, especially pertaining to school feeding, none have focused on the various actors and contributions to socioeconomic outcomes.

This study used a conceptual framework developed by the researcher that is illustrated in Figure 1 (found in Chapter 1). The diagram depicted the two major factors of school feeding: 1) context and 2) poverty, as well the funding for such interventions. The framework indicated the main reasoning behind school feeding, which is to increase access to services, as well as who it is targeted towards, which are families and children who live within developing contexts. Lastly, the diagram showed the primary area of focus of this dissertation, which are the key actors of design, quality, and implementation of these interventions: 1) government, and 2) non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and the three main outcomes this dissertation is centered around: 1) education, 2) health, and 3) socioeconomic issues.

Types of School Feeding Programs Around the World: Examples of Successful Programs

Various types of school feeding programs exist all over the world, which serve different purposes. Primary goals of these interventions, as mentioned above, are to address the overarching issue of food insecurity and to alleviate rates of malnutrition. Due to their design and implementation within schools, they have resulted in impacting the educational outcomes of children who are being served. Additionally, some of these programs have worked in tandem with other sectors, which have resulted in outcomes that exist outside of education. In other words, school-feeding programs can serve as an instrument that benefits multiple sectors and promotes greater overall economic development (Lawson, 2012). For example, school-feeding interventions may work with the agricultural sector of a country, which promotes the strengthening of family farming.

Bennett (2003) highlights five different types of school feeding programs (SFP), primarily based on their objectives:

1)   school feeding as an emergency intervention;

2)   school feeding as a developmental intervention to aid recovery;

3)   school feeding as a nutritional intervention;

4)   school feeding to improve child cognitive development; and

5)   school feeding and short- and long-term food security

It is important to note that these categories are not mutually exclusive, but assist in understanding how school feeding programs are dependent on their context and timing of implantation. They also illustrate the ways in which these interventions evolve. However, Bennett (2003) contends that one of the main difficulties is the misalignment between objectives and interventions. For example, food provisions may come in the form of take-home rations when the primary objective may have been to assist in students' cognitive development in the classroom. An example of school feeding as an emergency intervention would be when food shortages occur during a drought or war, such as in east and Southern Africa (Tomlinson, 2007). Utilizing school feeding programs as a developmental intervention is similar in principle, according to Bennett (2003). However, the targeting of these initiatives become further refined (Bennett, 2003). Furthermore, developmental school-feeding programs aim to improve the livelihoods of specific groups that are most susceptible to food insecurity, and not just in an effort to improve educational outcomes like enrollment. Lastly, Bennett (2003) explains that this approach can involve communities, and possible the private sector, in the implementation of school feeding programs. School feeding programs classified as a nutritional intervention can be tied to health outcomes, such as improving deficiencies or decreasing rates of stunting. School feeding programs utilized as improvement in child cognitive development are demonstrated in studies by Jamison and Leslie (1990), where girls' cognitive performance improved due to micronutrient supplementations of

iodine and iron, as well as temporary hunger being linked to decreased attentiveness through a decrease in mental and physical activity (Levinger, 1994). Lastly, school feeding programs linked to food long and short term food security is primarily conceptualized in terms of how they impact educational outcomes, which is tied to increased literacy, enhanced education, ensuring smaller sized families, and lastly, an improvement in household management (Tomlinson, 2007).

One of the exemplary cases of one of a school feeding intervention is Brazil's National Program of School Meals (PNAE: Programa Nacional de Alimentacao Escolar), which was first established in 1954, aiming to address under-nutrition and low levels of education. However, over the years the program has broadened its scope and redesigned in an effort to promote not only healthy diets for children attending school, but has also evolved in its goals in the agricultural sector. More specifically, it has played a instrumental role in striving to strengthen family farming. The program is universal, and reached more than forty-five million students in 2012. It is present in both public and community schools, from daycare to kindergarten, elementary school, and high school to education for young adults. This universal right was established in 1988, and was further expanded to all students enrolled in basic education, starting at 6 months, in 2009 with the adoption of the School Feeding Law. Monitoring for the feeding program is typically coordinated by a small team, and involves the collecting of data via questionnaires, interviews, and observations. These mechanisms guide the ways in which the intervention is implemented. In 2008, the monitoring system began to utilize a computerized tool, SIM-PNAE, which is progressively present across all states and is primarily focused on the management and implementation. For example, the computerized system allows for nutritionists to create menus that align with the National Fund for Development of Education (FNDE) regulations. Sidaner et al.'s (2013) study of Brazil's program examined its impact on food and

nutrition security from multiple sectors. The researchers reviewed technical documents, evaluation studies of the program, federal legislation, and technical and evaluative reports from the federal government, as well as minutes and official documents from the National Council of Food and Nutrition Security, and lastly, national conferences from 2003 to 2011, and interviews. Although the researchers reported that rates of food insecurity amongst households fell significantly, as well as child stunting in poorest regions of the country, measuring specific impacts of the Brazilian school is difficult (Sidaner et al., 2013). Sidaner et al. (2013) asserts, however, that, this multi-sector approach is a particular strength of the program. Furthermore, Sidaner et al. (2013) explains that other developing countries can learn, and perhaps even emulate, the innovative approach and practices of the Brazilian school-feeding program. Sidaner et al. (2013) states that by observing this example, other countries can strengthen their own interventions by seeking to examine the relationship between school meals, the development of healthy diets for children, and local food production. More recently, in 2011, Brazil partnered with the World Food Programme to launch the Centre of Excellence, which aims to address and defeat issues of both hunger and malnutrition. Furthermore, the Centre focuses on the Brazilian approaches of school feeding interventions in an effort to share both knowledge and policy to other systems in the world. According to the World Food Programme (WFP), it focuses on how Brazil has linked their school meal system to the agricultural sector, and provides assistance to other countries in the design, improvement, and expansion of their own school feeding interventions. Moreover, the Centre has played a role in integrating their goals not only with the Sustainable Development Goals, but also working in tandem with other social development initiatives, in an effort to both overcome the issue of hunger and boost local economies. In other

words, the Centre aims to broaden their scope of impact through their expansion of services in multiple sectors.

Another country that has linked agricultural practices to nutrition and education outcomes is Mali. Masset and Gelli (2013) conducted a study examining the school feeding interventions in Mali and how they have impacted community development, specifically providing a market for small-holder farmers through a "home grown" approach. The interventions were first launched in 2009 by the government of Mali and currently target 651 schools, primarily targeting the most vulnerable populations attending public primary schools in rural villages. The researchers performed a field experiment in 116 primary schools in 58 communities, which were predominantly food insecure. The experiment focused on three randomly assigned interventions: "1) a school feeding programme group, including schools and villages where the standard government programme is implemented; 2) a "home-grown" school feeding and social accountability group, including schools and villages where the programme is implemented in addition to training of community based organisations and local government; and 3) the control group, including schools and household from villages where the intervention will be delayed by at least two years, preferably without informing schools and households." Evaluation followed a mixed-method approach of both surveys as well as focus groups with small-holder farmers, school children, parents, and community members. Moreover, the researchers will include baseline surveys in 2012, as well as monthly monitoring visits, spot checks, and reporting. These surveys are still pending, but the researchers state that they expect the study will indicate an increase in enrollment by 5%, a 0.2% difference in test scores, as well as increased incomes for farmers by both the school feeding interventions and the control group.

Impact of School Feeding Programs: Enrollment, Attendance & Participation

Other than health outcomes such as stunting and malnutrition, research indicates that school feeding programs have had significant impact on educational outcomes, specifically on enrollment, attendance, and participation. Attendance is defined as "the act of being present. The people or number of people being present" (Collins III, & O'Brien, 2003). Enrollment is defined as "the regular attendance of a pupil." (Collins III & O'Brien, 2003) Participation or participate is "To take or have a part or share of or in" (OED).

As an example, Bangladesh's food-for-education (FFE) program was designed and implemented in July of 1993 as a poverty alleviation intervention to provide a free monthly food ration or take-home ration (THR) to families classified as poor. The program required having at least one school age child who attended school during that month. The government of Bangladesh implemented this program in hopes that it would incentivize families to keep their children enrolled in school. Evaluations of the program have found significant effects on children's enrollment in primary schools along with school participation rates. For example, the schools participating in the Food for Education program in 1996 had 53% higher enrollments in 1st grade than non-participating schools, as well as 30% higher enrollment rates in grade 4 (Alam, Chowdhury, and Sarkar, 1999). A more recent study by Meng and Ryan (2009) found that the FFE program increased school attendance rates by 15 to 26 percentage points for those participating students, along with an increased school duration by 0.7 to 1.05 years. The researchers noted the difference in effects in regards to gender.

Other studies also showed the differences of impact of school feeding interventions on both females and males. India's National Program of Nutritional Support to Primary Education, which was launched in August of 1995, has also found that children benefit from such programs.

Studies found that the program improved both attendance and participation in schools, especially

attendance rates amongst females (Afridi, 2007; 2011). More recent studies conducted by Singh,

Park, and Dercon (2014) utilized longitudinal data collected by the Young Lives study conducted

in Andhra Pradesh (AP) between September and December 2002 and January and June of 2007

was analyzed. Young Lives is an international study examining childhood poverty following

12,000 lives in four countries: Ethiopia, India, Peru, and Vietnam over a span of 15 years.

Andhra Pradesh is the fourth-largest state in India by area and had a population of over 84

million in 2011, as noted by the researchers. Data for the study was collected via surveys, which

covered two cohorts: the first was composed of 2,011 children born between January 2001 and

June 2002, and the second includes 1,008 children born between January 1994 and June 1995. In

the second round conducted in 2007, 1,950 children of the younger cohort and 994 children of

the older cohort were successfully resurveyed; attrition rates thus are low and do not pose a

problem for the analysis. The researchers decided to exclusively focus on the younger cohort. As

mentioned above, the researchers focused on showcasing how school feeding programs act as a

"safety net", specifically assisting in the social protection of beneficiaries of the initiative, as

demonstrated in their findings. According to the text,

"The effect of school meals as a safety net can be of much importance. Much of India's
population depends on agriculture for their livelihood; agricultural shocks, of which droughts are
the most prominent example in many parts of India including AP, lead to a decline in household
food availability and a worsening of child nutrition and health. The pernicious impact of this
childhood nutritional deprivation on an individual's health and nutritional status may persist into
adulthood and is likely to affect their ability to function fully in daily life" (Singh, Park, and
Dercon, 2014, p. 27).

The distinction of this study in the literature is the identification of the school-feeding program

as a "safety net", a role that is said to being omitted in the literature. The researchers assert their

findings filled this gap, stating, "Our findings indicate that the role of the safety net, at least for younger children, is very significant."

Gender Differences as a Result of School Feeding Programs

Although school feeding programs have had an extensive impact on educational and health outcomes, it is important to note that these interventions tend to effect some populations more than others. As the World Food Programme has explained, these initiatives can be designed to cater to certain populations, especially groups that tend to be more vulnerable Afridi (2007) examined the school-feeding program in rural parts of India, noting the impact on specific genders' educational trajectories. Methodologically, the study utilized surveys from eleven census blocks in the Chindwara district in Madhya Pradesh (MP) of India. This area has been identified as an economically deprived part of the state. 41 villages in the census block were randomly selected for a household, school and village survey. The researcher then randomly selected 15 households within each village, gathering data about family characteristics, as well as schooling of individuals in the household who were between 5 and 12 years old. Along with this, all the primary schools in the village, both public and private, were surveyed for information on the school meal program and other school characteristics. In total, the sample utilized for the study data obtained from 615 households and 74 primary schools. Findings showed the aforementioned impact of the school feeding programs on specific demographics within the area being examined. Afridi (2007) explained the educational trajectory of females, specifically their attendance in grade 1 jumped by more than 10 percent due to the introduction of the school feeding program. However, an analysis of cross-sectional household data found that the program did not have a significant overall increase in enrollment, despite a small effect on the rate for females in lower socioeconomic demographics. Females are often not only a

marginalized, but overlooked demographic. Overall the findings of the study illustrated the program's success in the improvement of females' participation rates, thus reducing the gender disparities evident in schooling. Jomma, McDonnell & Probart (2011) noted a significant difference in benefits in their review of research surrounding the impact of school feeding programs, specifically when both meals and take-home rations were offered, especially for females. The FFE in Bangladesh program saw similar outcomes, stating,

"The result that FFE eligibility has a larger effect on girls than boys is interesting. Our conjecture is that, in a developing country where preference for boys is strong, poor households may prefer to send their sons to school rather than their daughters, and hence, had there been no FFE program, boys of the poor households would have been sent to school anyway. Thus, the FFE program actually provides incentives for parents to send their daughters to school" (Meng and Ryan, 2009, p. 438).

Lastly, Kazianga et al.'s (2009) study focusing on two school feeding schemes in Burkina Faso: take-home rations and in-school meals, found that the impact of take-home rations in particular, on female school children were especially significant. Moreover, the researchers indicated that the take-home rations incentivized parents to not only send their daughters to school, but reduced the likelihood of female children to engage in agricultural labor.

Mixed Results of School Feeding Programs

When examining educational policies, it is important to consider the context in which they are being implemented. Results of policies can vary due to different features that are present within certain contexts. For the purposes of this study, although there have been positive effects of school feeding programs on educational outcomes, research has also demonstrated that this is not always the case. The following instances show that these interventions have produced mixed results.

First, Grantham-McGregor et al.'s (1998) research conducted in Jamaica found that although cognitive functions improved amongst children due to the implementation of a breakfast programme, learning outcomes deteriorated, specifically in ill-organized schools, because there was less probability of children remaining focused on tasks for longer periods of time and greater likelihood of undesirable movements. Similarly, although Alam et al. (1999) and Meng and Ryan (2009) found positive education outcomes, such as higher enrollment, due to Bangladesh's school feeding intervention, Ahmed and del Ninno's (2002) research reported that although enrollment and attendance increased as a result of take-home rations, academic performance on standardized tests were significantly lower than in schools that had not benefitted from the program. Studies conducted in Northern Uganda by Adelman et al. (2008) stated that some of the literacy scores were lower in their sample that had received take-home rations. Lastly, Levinger's (1986) review of 22 studies reported that although enrollment increases after the implementation of school feeding programs, effects on academic performance can vary are based on local conditions. In other words, context is a crucial determinant for impact of food for education programs on educational outcomes. Levinger's (1986) research centers around three objectives that are linked with school feeding programs (SFPs), which are: 1) increasing school enrollment and attendance; 2) improving nutritional status of school children; and 3) improving both cognitive development and academic performance. By conducting a review of these studies, the findings allowed for design recommendations as well as an agenda for a future research project focusing on the operational side of school feeding programs. Furthermore it aims to examine the ways in which school feeding interventions can influence outcomes such as attendance and nutritional status. Lastly, Levinger sates three issues this agenda would address: "1) what kinds of changes do SFPs promote and for whom? (2) To

what extent are those changes interdependent? (3) Given a particular set of ecological conditions, what is the ideal SFP design to promote improvements in enrollment, attendance, and academic achievement? The methodology proposed consists of seven different treatment types (snack only; breakfast only; lunch only; and each of the above meals combined with a cognitive intervention) applied in each of four markedly different ecological settings." The overarching conclusion of Levinger's (1986) study indicates that school feeding programs make the most significant impact on educational and health outcomes when the intervention's design aligns with the environment in which it is being implemented.

Impact of Child Labor on Educational Outcomes

Child labor has become a pervasive issue, especially within less-developed regions of the world. According to the International Labor Organization (ILO), they estimated that in 2015, there were 168 million child laborers, globally. There are certain populations that are increasingly susceptible to the lifestyle, specifically females (Castillo, Salem, & Sarr, 2014). More specifically, of the 168 million children engaged in the labor market, 100 million are females between the ages of 5 and 17, while 53 million are said to be working hazardous conditions. According to the ILO (2016), hazardous conditions can result in children being killed, injured, or made ill due to inadequate safety and health standards within their work environments. This type of labor is said to be the worst form of child labor, which encompasses an estimated 85 million children between the ages of 5 and 17 engaged within such conditions in sectors such as agriculture, mining, and domestic service (ILO, 2016). The ILO has estimated that 22,000 children are killed due to this type of work every year.

A child who is engaged in the labor market is said to have a reduction in their educational attainment by about two years compared to a non-working child (Psacharopaulos,

1997). Statistically, one in eight children worldwide engage in market work. (Gunnarsson, Orzaem & Sanchez, 2006). The seminal work by Psacharopoulos (1997) examined the effects of child labor on educational outcomes in Latin America, specifically educational attainment for children in Bolivia and Venezuela. The researcher utilized household surveys to investigate these effects, specifically data that came from 30,350 respondents in 6,347 households in Bolivia. Additionally, the survey contained 9,856 children between the ages of 6 to 18. In Venezuela, data was derived from 315,660 participants in 62,775 households. The results from the study showed that children not only reduced their chances of attainment by two years compared to their non-working counterparts, but also that grade repetition was prominent amongst child laborers (Psacharopoulos, 1997). A second study conducted by Jensen and Neilsen (1997) used data from a household survey on children between 7 and 18 years of age. The subset of data for the study contained 17,298 children from 6,372 different households. The researchers hypothesized and found that both economic and social factors affected the choice between school attendance and child labor (Jensen and Neilsen, 1997). Moreover, the research indicated that poverty is a key determinant of child labor, which in turn keeps children away from school. Amin's (1994) study of child labor in Cameroon indicated that due to various socioeconomic factors, such as the inability to afford educational expenses, led to a higher probability of children becoming engaged in the labor market. Additionally, the researcher highlights the fact Cameroon's primary education was non-compulsory, most of which is due to lack of financial resources and trained staff, and poor educational infrastructure (Amin, 1994). Amin (1994) states Cameroon's educational system is geared mostly towards the formal educational system, meaning secondary school system, in which there are few coming from primary schools. This means that the rest are prone to becoming child laborers (Amin, 1994). As a result of the poor

educational system, both parents and children find little value in formal education (Amin, 1994). Due to income and employment status being strong determinants of child labor engagement, Amin (1994) posits the need for programs that would enhance income and employment opportunities for adults. Amin (1994) states that this would contribute to the overall macro-level policy of alleviating poverty. Lastly, the research indicates the need for improvement in educational facilities, which would in turn develop both formal and non-formal educational systems, making them both helpful and productive (Amin, 1994).

Similarly, a more recent study conducted by Ersado (2005) employed a comparative analysis of child labor in Zimbabwe, Peru, and Nepal, which indicated both similarities and differences on a cross-country level. Ersado (2005) used survey data from all three countries: from the 1990–91 Zimbabwe Income Expenditure Consumption Survey (ZICES), the 1994 Peru Living Standards Measurement Survey (PLSS), and the 1995 Nepal Living Standards Survey (NLSS). The surveys lend themselves for comparison on individual, household, and community-level characteristics. Specifically, the PLSS covers about 3,623 households, the NPLSS 3,373 households, and the ZICES over 14,000 households. Furthermore, in regards to child school and employment data, the Nepal and Zimbabwe surveys report for 3,617 and 15,467 children aged 10–17, while the Peru sample contains child labor and child schooling information for 5,191 children aged 6–17. Like the studies above, socioeconomic status, specifically poverty, drives schooling decisions, as well as children's engagement in the labor market (Ersado, 2005). Additionally, Ersado (2005) highlights the disparities found within rural areas versus urban areas, specifically that poverty is a strong indicator of child labor in rural areas, which is not the case in urban areas. All three countries indicate that the availability to quality schools and enhancing efforts for increased education for adults can contribute to an increase the likelihood

of children staying in school, as well as curb the prevalence of child labor (Ersado, 2005). However, parents' education in both rural and urban areas in all three contexts is a strong factor in both child employment and education (Ersado, 2005). More specifically, the study showed that it plays a significant role in the reduction of child labor, as well as keeping children in school. Furthermore, a woman's education level can prevent child labor while increasing the likelihood of children staying in school (Ersado, 2005). Lastly, the research indicated that child schooling in all three countries are negatively associated with age and gender, specifically girls and older children (Ersado, 2005). Specifically, female children and older children were shown to have lower attendance than male and younger children (Ersado, 2005). Employment rates rise with age in all three countries, but only increases specifically with females in Zimbabwe, while males have higher propensities in Nepal and Peru (Ersado, 2005).

Impact of School Feeding Programs on Child Labor Outcomes

Although child labor is seen as a primarily social and economic issue, educational interventions can also play a fundamental role in alleviating rates of child labor. As mentioned above, the primary aim of this study is to examine the relationship between school feeding programs and a phenomenon like child labor. If a child is engaged in work, the probability of their being present in school is reduced. Moreover, an intervention such as a school feeding scheme can incentivize families to send their children to school.

Currently, the literature surrounding school-feeding programs typically examines their role on educational outcomes. This study intends to explore the mechanisms that are or can be used by these interventions on alleviating child labor. Although there is a lack of research that links school feeding programs to child labor, there are two seminal works. The first is by Ravallion and Wodon (2000), which was conducted in Bangladesh and examined the effects of

the food-for-education program on child labor outcomes. The researchers examined how the school feeding scheme was a determinant in parents choosing to send children to school versus engaging in the labor market. According to Ravallion and Wodon (2000), the program aims to keep children who are classified as being in poverty in rural areas of Bangladesh, in school. The researchers utilized the rural sample of the 1996-1996 Household Expenditure Survey (HES) in addition to a matching community survey. Ravallion choose to focus on the rural sample due to the food for education program not being present in urban areas. The HES includes questions about program participation, but not about time used. Ravallion and Wodon (2000) measured child labor rates based on survey responses to the question: "What was your normal activity last week?" The research indicated that the school feeding intervention seemed to have a greater significant impact on school participation than it did on alleviating child labor.

Similarly, Kazianga et al (2009) examined food for education programs in Burkina Faso. However, the research differed from Ravallion and Wodon (2000) in that they examined two different feeding schemes and their impact on both educational outcomes and child labor outcomes. Additionally, their labor data was more detailed, which allowed for further examination upon shifts that may occur across the varied types of labor. Lastly, educational outcomes for the study included attendance and learning outcomes along with school participation. Kazianga et al (2009) employed a randomized experiment and conducted surveys in a sample of 48 households around each school, totaling to 2,208 households, which included 4,140 school age children (between the ages of 6 and 15). The survey collected information about household backgrounds, household wealth, and school participation for all children, as well as anthropometric data. Two rounds of surveys involved asking children to solve simple math problems, such as addition and subtraction. In the following round, the researchers

administered formal cognitive tests, in addition to collecting hemoglobin levels for all children aged younger than 16 and all females who were of reproductive age, which was between the ages of 15 and 49. Kazianga et al. (2009) reported that both programmes, take-home rations and in-school meals, increased enrollment as well as decreased children's, especially girls, engagement in the labor market, primarily in agricultural labor, which would typically hinder their school attendance. The authors note that despite the increase in enrollment, the interventions caused a statistical decrease in school attendance, mostly caused by lower attendance from new student enrollees. The two studies will provide a basis for this dissertation, as it is they have sought to find the relationship between school feeding schemes and child labor outcomes.

Outside Actors: What is the Role of NGO's in Educational Development?

Although non-governmental organizations have played an integral part in the educational landscape, their involvement has been primarily in funding, design, implementation, and monitoring of programs and initiatives. For example, a number of non-governmental organizations primarily focus on issues of women and their empowerment. Their roles vary between serving as facilitators within government programs, providing women with livelihood support, children's health and legal aid, as well as education, communication, and the dissemination of information for women's awareness within the social structures. Nagar and Raju (2003) report that some of select NGO's focus on identifying and challenging the issues that exist within these structures that tend to lead to social inequalities. Although there is no agreed-upon definition of what a non-governmental organization (NGO) is, the United Nations (U.N.) has come with a workable definition:

"[A] not-for-profit, voluntary citizens' group, which is organized on a local, national or international level to address issues in support of the public good. Task-oriented and made up of

people with a common interest, NGOs perform a variety of services and humanitarian functions, bring citizens' concerns to Governments, monitor policies and programme implementation, and encourage political participation of civil society stakeholders at the community level. They provide analysis and expertise, serve as early warning mechanisms and help monitor and implement international agreements" (Boli, 2006).

Additionally, there is no minimum size requirement for NGO's, meaning they come in various sizes and are distributed locally, nationally, or internationally (Boli, 2006). Boli (2006) asserts that if an NGO is larger in size, their management structure more than likely resembles certain complexities, which can be comparable to corporations. However, it is important to note a critical feature, which is that NGOs are nonprofit organizations that are dependent on receiving funds from multiple sources including international intergovernmental organizations, businesses, donor agencies, philanthropists, governments, and individuals. Lastly, although NGOs are known to rely on volunteers, such as in catering to the needs of humanitarian relief, it is not uncommon for these organizations to hire professionals, such as fund-raisers, public relations officers, research officers, and chief executive officers to manage and direct their operations and handle their budgets (Boli, 2006). Parker (2003) classifies NGOs into three distinct categories: 1) the operational NGO (ONGO), 2) the advocacy NGO (ANGO), and 3) hybrid NGO (HNGO). ONGOs are the oldest form of NGOs, which provide necessary services in times of conflict or respond to humanitarian disasters, a primary example being the Red Cross. Parker (2003) posits that ONGOs are much like multinational enterprises (MNEs) in that they both have expertise in how to enter countries, as well as knowledge of cultures, on the ground conditions, in addition to how to manage large budgets and monitoring activities. Lastly, ONGOs are apolitical, unlike ANGOs, which are politically and ideologically driven in terms of things like democratic participation and poverty reduction. ANGOs are known to use confrontational techniques, such as "writing scathing reports about a state's record on human rights, the conduct of multinational

corporations, and the exploitation of the labor force that help in building support across communities to enable policy changes" (Parker, 2003). They take the moral high ground and primarily act in a way to bring about change better practices regarding regulation, enforcement, as well as changes in practices of institutions by naming and shaming them. The last type of NGO, HNGOs, are hybrids, which are comprised of features from both ONGOs and ANGOs, yet also have a high degree of sophistication, specifically in regards to MNE's as mentioned above. More specifically, HNGO's recognize that there are both widespread possibilities and diversity amongst MNE's, in addition to having a distinguished perspective on the complexities associated with NGO-MNE relationships. According to Boli (2006), this suggests, "the strategies HNGOs utilize are context-dependent and influenced by the changes sought. HNGOs know that some measures are most likely to make an impact based on the HNGOs' mature understanding of local culture and conditions and the available resources, financial and otherwise, at their disposal" (p. 621). An example of an HNGO is Oxfam, who take an advocacy role and approach, yet also took it upon themselves to name and shame Pfizer when it came to their pricing policies for HIV/AIDS drugs in the developing world. On the other hand, they took a "name and praise" approach in Starbuck's utilization of fair trade coffee (Parker, 2003).

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) past and present, have played a fundamental role in increasing the access and provision of various educational opportunities to individuals of groups who are often marginalized, such as indigenous groups, and have little to no access to the mainstream provision (Brock, 2016; Rose, 2009). More specifically, these groups, in addition to those who are excluded from education, are offered alternative and complementing educational provisions (Rose, 2009). NGOs not only assist in funding and implementation, but also in monitoring to ensure that the initiatives are achieving the set goals and objectives. In Africa,

NGOs have assisted in extending provisions of basic education by assisting the government in the development of curriculum, teacher training, and infrastructure building. In addition, NGOs also have influence in policy development within the region (Miller-Grandvaux, Welmond, & Wolf, 2002). It is evident that many times NGOs will take on the role of providing these opportunities due to the government alone not being able to serve the needs to vulnerable populations, such as indigenous peoples and refugees and children who reside in conflict areas (Brock, 2016). A primary example of this is Thirkell's (2012) examination of mental health of children in the Gaza strip, the detrimental effects of being in an environment comprised of conflict and violence. Moreover, she discusses the fundamental role of NGOs in assisting in the development and implementation of programs focused on emergency provisions for psychological and social support (Thirkell, 2012). Additionally, NGOs laid a foundation for mainstream education. Similarly, Alzaroo and Hunt's (2003) study found that education in conflict-states, specifically in Palestine, is used as a 'tool for liberation.' Moreover, they note that education serves as an "incentive for political, economic and social mobilization and serves as a tool for identity building." Lastly, NGOs have focused on gender issues, especially in motivating and empowering otherwise vulnerable and oppressed populations to become involved in political and social spheres within society through NGO involvement (Handy, Kassam, & Ranade, 2007).

Non-governmental organizations encompass both strengths and weaknesses in their design and implementation of interventions within the educational landscape. However, Brock (2016) notes that it is problematic to believe that NGO's are an all-encompassing "solution" to weakened state leadership. It is evident that there are issues of corruption, inefficiency, and misaligned service delivery when NGOs are called upon to assist with development aid projects (Ebrahim, 2003; Young, Bania, & Bailey, 1996). For example, Diokno and Symaco's (2016)

study found that there were systemic inconsistencies, such as abuse of funds through the misappropriation of public funds that ended up in the hands of illegitimate NGOs, leading to the deprivation of social services such as education. Additionally, Philippines has a complex socio-political landscape, which leads issues of power amongst the various institutions. In order to address and find a solution these types of problems found within NGOs, scholars such as Ebrahim (2003) have asserted the importance of accountability measures. More specifically, scholars have suggested stressing more 'downward accountability,' meaning towards communities rather than donors, as well as increased accountability within NGOs themselves (Ebrahim, 2003). Furthermore, Ebrahim (2003) posits that the present 'upward accountability', as well as external accountability, has created an imbalance of accountability within relationships. Instead, it is imperative for actors to find a balance in both their external and internal relationships, being held to certain standards in addition to taking responsibility for actions within the organizations (Ebrahim, 2003). Lastly, this suggests that accountability should be seen in an integrated and holistic fashion, which operates in a multi-dimensional way comprised of various actors, mechanisms, and standards, as well as differing organizational responses (Brock, 2016). In order for this to come to fruition, Zaidi (1999) suggests that NGOs should aim to work in tandem with governmental efforts rather than being seen as an 'oppositional alternative'. Zaidi's (1999) study examined why NGOs tend to fail. One of the primary issues evident by various scholars is the strong dependency of funding from outside donors by NGOs (Najam, 1996; Zaidi, 1999). Edwards and Hulme, (1995) have posited four consequences of funding: "NGOs are encouraged to expand their scale well beyond their capacities having little long-term comparative advantage in some areas; because much of the work is based on particular projects, the advocacy and institutional developmental role of NGOs

is `compromised'; as argued above, their legitimacy is weakened; and, shifts NGO accountability away from the grassroots, and `over emphasizes short-term quantitative outputs. The `acceptance of increasing amounts of donor funds, which usually come with complex (and often conflicting) requirements for project appraisal, reporting, evaluation and accounting, presents even large NGOs with problems. When donors service delivery they expect contracted outputs to be achieved and may withdraw if targets are not met' (Edwards and Accountability, it seems, has been replaced by accountancy." This ties back to accountability, as well as a question of power and influence. Najam (1996) writes, "the intellectual undertaking of NGO enquiry remains predominantly donor driven' (p. 342), giving rise to an `obvious' patron and client relationship between NGOs and donors. Donors assert financial control by seeking accountability for the designated purpose. Funds are provided to serve policy goals and, all too often, are provided only where it can be demonstrated (or at least argued) that particular policy goals i.e. those shared by the donor will, in fact, be pursued." Due to this finance being provided by the donor, it can lead to ensuring that their policy agenda is adopted by the NGO, as well as holding the organization accountable to agenda (Najam, 1996).

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have played an integral role in educational development within various contexts. More specifically, these institutions have been involved in the educational sector of less-developed regions, such as Africa and Asia. A comparative study conducted by Miller-Grandvaux, Welmond, and Wolf, (2002) examined the role of NGOs in the educational landscape in four African nations: Ethiopia, Guinea, Malawi, and Mali. One of the primary conclusions of the research was that NGOs influenced education, specifically in the realm of policy. Miller Grandvaux et al (2002) explain that as government policies evolve, it ensures the success of NGO projects and interventions along with their sustainability.

Additionally, NGO interventions should include a policy component, specifically within their

implementation process. Second, if there is to be policy change, it is crucial to strengthen and

maintain the relationships between various education stakeholders. Moreover, successful

interventions depend on the alignment of efforts between these different actors, especially with

government officials. Miller Grandvaux et al. (2002) state that this is a particular weakness of

NGO programs; specifically how different stakeholders work together to be more effective and

efficient. A second study conducted by Buchert (2002) provided a comparative analysis of

sector-wide approaches in Burkina Faso, Ghana, and Mozambique. Results of the study indicated

that a sector-wide approach, primarily shaped by organizations such as UNICEF and the World

Bank is not a well-defined concept, but a complex process that evolves over time. Additionally,

it is an adaptable and flexible process for all parties involved, which is the most critical aspect.

Buchert (2002) reported that the differences amongst the three countries was putting the

approach into practice, and was primarily determined by contextual conditions, such as

socioeconomic or political elements. However, one of the core features that as found in all three

countries was that it was necessary for both educational ministries and other agencies to be

involved in planning. This was especially crucial to strengthen their systems. According to

Buchert (2002),

"The need for development partners to work together according to a common agenda and to be led by the local stakeholders is a core ingredient of the sector-wide approach. In all case countries, the notion of local stakeholders was largely identified with the national government and that of development partners with the international funding and technical assistance agencies. There was only rarely any mention of representatives of nongovernmental organisations, other civil society bodies and the end-users of the system (pupils/students, parents, teachers) and their organisations. It seemed possible for the national governments and some of the international agencies to reach common agreements concerning frameworks for development of education and for specific subsectors. It was far more problematic to work according to the underlying principles of government-led cooperation and coordination and partnership based on commonality of interests, financing and procedures" (p. 83).

Lastly, Buchert (2002) stresses importance of all parties being transparent in their interests and boundaries because this would assist in developing trust and respect between one another. Additionally, it would ease any tension and allow for cooperation, coordination, and further dialogue. In other words, developing common and knowledge and understanding is important when such approaches are implemented within various contexts.

Although there is evidence of non-governmental organizations being involved in the educational sector, there is a lack of literature surrounding their role in school feeding programs. Most of the information of their involvement comes from reports from the NGO's themselves or other agencies. Recently, the Ghana News Agency (GNA) reported that an NGO called 4H-Ghana launched a sustainable school-feeding program as a supplemental route for ensuring children have access to nutritious and healthy diets, as well as enhancing academic achievement. Under this program, the government will provide high-yielding seeds to schools to grow vegetables within the school gardens. Additionally, parents and families will support this endeavor by donating cereals and protein products. The program was implemented in Akumesu near Asesewa in the Upper Manya Krobo District of Ghana. The Peninsula School Feeding Association (PSFA), located in Cape Town, South Africa, is another example of a non-governmental organization that assists in the design and implementation of school feeding programs. It was first established in 1958 and aims to address hunger in students who attend primary, secondary, and special needs schools, as well as Orphaned and Vulnerable Children Centres (OVCs), Early Childhood Centers (ECDs), and Technical and Vocational Education and Training Colleges (TVETs). In addition to reducing hunger amongst students, the organization aims to enhance student's ability to learn, as well as school attendance. The organization has provided over 1.5 billion meals to underprivileged school children. Currently, PSFA provides

cooked meals daily to 27, 270 learners daily. Furthermore, funding from donors has allowed the organization to build 124 kitchens in schools, specifically those that used to have inadequate facilities to prepare cooked meals (PSFA, 2017).

This dissertation focused on India's school feeding programs and served as an examination of the role of NGOs in these interventions. Currently, literature surrounding the NGO being examined, Akshaya Patra, does not exist. This study aimed to fill this gap, as well as served as an examination of the mechanisms, policies and practices implemented by the organization. Furthermore, it provided an analysis of government school meal programs and NGO programs, and sought to find the commonalities of goals, objectives, and outcomes.

The Akshaya Patra foundation, known to be the largest operating non-governmental organization that focuses on such interventions, has played an integral role in the expansion, development, and design of India's mid-day meal scheme (MDM). Akshaya Patra (2017) posits that State governments typically partner with NGO's an effort to expand their outreach, increasing the number of children they impact. As a result, organizations such as Akshaya Patra have developed initiatives that align with the objective of mitigating hunger and malnutrition amongst these vulnerable populations. These organizations work in partnership with both the government and various state governments. In addition, Akshaya Patra is focused on attracting more children and increasing enrollment within schools, as well as ensuring that they stay in school through incentivizing them with mid-day meals. They also hope that this will reduce dropout rates amongst children. In addition, Akshaya Patra strives for improved student performance in terms of attention span, as well as academic progress through their implementation of their meal program. Akshaya Patra first began their program in June of 2000 in Bengaluru, Karnataka, by providing meals for 1,500 children in 5 Government led schools

(Akshaya Patra, 2017). Over the past 16 years, the organization has been able to increase its presence to 27 locations across 11 different states in India (Akshaya Patra, 2017). The organization feeds free meals to 1.6 million schoolchildren in 13,529 Government schools and Government-aided schools (Akshaya Patra, 2017). Although there is a lack of literature surrounding Akshaya Patra's involvement in India's mid-day meal scheme, the organization does have reports illustrating their impact on the communities that they serve. In regards to impact, communities have experienced positive outcomes due to the program and efforts of the Akshaya Patra Foundation. For example, a study conducted by the Government of Education from the Government of Karnataka found that 25% of students in one of the schools being examined were dependent on the meals; in addition, it also found that 99.7% of children who received the meals stated that they were able to pay better attention. Lastly, 94.8% of the teachers reporting there was an overall academic improvement amongst students (Akshaya Patra Foundation, 2017).

CHAPTER 3

Data and Methods

It is important to note that the majority of the literature about school feeding has been quantitative in nature, where scholars have examined these initiatives and their significance on both educational and health outcomes (Afridi, 2011; 2007; Ahmed, 2004; Ahmed & Ninno, 2002; Jomaa, McDonnell, & Probart, 2011; Kazianga et al, 2009; Lawson, 2012). Past studies have looked expressly at enrollment and attendance numbers, as well as rates of improvement in children's health such as height and weight (Afridi, 2011; 2007; Ahmed, 2004; Ahmed & Ninno, 2002; Jomaa, McDonnell, & Probart, 2011; Kazianga et al, 2009; Lawson, 2012; Levinger, 1984; 1986; 1994; McEwan, 2013). While it is critical to understand how school feeding contributes to

health and educational outcomes, it is equally important to analyze the initiatives themselves, and the role of various actors and how they contribute to such outcomes, specifically focusing on the experiences of school feeding beneficiaries. Additionally, it is imperative to understand how school-feeding policies can be utilized to address issues extending beyond their primary purpose of mitigating malnutrition and improving educational outcomes, such as enrollment and attendance. In other words, I posited that these initiatives' goals and objectives could be tailored to be inclusive of social and economic issues.

The study attempted to fill a gap in the literature by employing a qualitative methodology and analysis, relying specifically on two qualitative methods: 1) document review and 2) interviewing. The purpose of the research was to explore the role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in school feeding provisions for India's nationally mandated Mid-Day Meal Scheme. More specifically, it studied the quality and implementation of India's nationally mandated Mid-Day Meal Scheme, and how it contributed to the following outcomes: 1) educational, 2) health, and 3) social and economic outcomes. School feeding programs were implemented for the purpose of improving or alleviating the detrimental consequences tied to poor educational climates and health issues such as malnutrition. This research differed from past studies not only due to using qualitative methods and analysis when examining the Mid-Day Meal Scheme, but its focus on outside actors, namely Akshaya Patra, which has had played a crucial role in its overall development, implementation, and success. Moreover, the research aimed to illustrate how school-feeding policies can be more holistically designed, particularly in terms of goals, objectives, and outcomes. In order to do so, the following research question was posed:

What is the role of Akshaya Patra in the quality and implementation of India's school feeding program, the Mid-Day Meal Scheme (MDMS), and how does it contribute to outcomes concerning education, health, and beyond?

The chapter explored the data and research methods employed to address the main research question. First and foremost, the specific elements of each of the methods: 1) document analysis, and 2) interviewing, was discussed followed by an explanation as to why there were chosen in addressing the main research question. Additionally, each section includes a description and illustration of how the data was collected, organized, and analyzed. Last but not least, this chapter reviewed the primary mode of analysis, which was through thematic coding for both the document and interview data. The codes were predominantly concerned with outcomes related to: 1) education, 2) health, and 3) social and economic issues, such as cross class engagement. The next few sections highlight the following: 1) a description of the data, 2) the methodology and rationale, 3) data collection methods, and 4) data analysis.

Description of the Data

The study consisted of one primary mode of analysis: thematic coding, specifically pertaining to three main types of outcomes: 1) education, 2) health, and 3) social and economic. The section that follows outlines the data used for the analysis.

Data Used in the Thematic Analysis

In order to conduct the thematic analysis, two types of sources were used: 1) documents and 2) interview data. The range in documents spanned from government policies, report and news articles, to mission statements and case studies, which provided a comprehensive view of, first, the purpose, goals, and objectives of different policies and the way in which relate to one

another, and second, the outcomes. Employing a cross-examination of the document and interview data was necessary to extract the primary themes or codes for this study.

A total of 17 documents were analyzed for the study. Ten of the 17 documents being examined in this dissertation focused on school feeding, while the other 7 were centered on national child labor policies and practices. Furthermore, the documents analyzed for this study were dated between the years of 1986 to 2018. Five of the documents were Akshaya Patra's case studies and were provided by the Communications Department within the NGO, Akshaya Patra, and were based on their research and involvement in the field. More specifically, the case studies focused on five individual children: 1) Gobindra Marandy, 2) Ravi Thakur, 3) Vinyaka Rao, 4) Ranthi Ekka, and 5) Narsimha Raju. These case studies provided perspective from individual children and their families who are being served by Akshaya Patra, and the effects of the school-feeding program. More information about these children and their experiences are provided in the results, which is discussed in Chapter 4.

In addition to the document review, the dissertation used qualitative interviewing. Interviewees were selected based on their role and involvement in the non-governmental organization, Akshaya Patra. In total, I interviewed 5 individuals from Akshaya Patra, specifically from the Communications Department and the Quality Department. Additionally, I used their actual names for this study: 1) Varada, 2) Akshay, 3) Abhijit, 4) Muralidhar, and 5) Suresh. The first three were from the Communications Department, while the last two were from the Quality Department. Since this dissertation is primarily concerned with the quality and implementation of the Mid-Day Meal Scheme, which is the dominant school feeding program and system in India, I focused on finding those who worked in departments within Akshaya Patra that would play an integral role in the quality and implementation of school feeding

interventions. Akshaya Patra has cultivated a partnership role with the national government, extending their services and assisting in broadening the scope of the school feeding program's effect. They have been especially fundamental in providing meals to more children in more cities in India. The interviewees were comprised of individuals who work at the NGO, Akshaya Patra, and eligible based on age, their department, as well as accessibility. Below is a table of the specific individuals and their function within the organization. The main goal of the interviews were to gain an understanding of the role of these individuals, as well as their knowledge and experiences within the NGO, particularly with the program's quality and implementation goals and objectives. Further detail in selecting these staff members is given in the following sections of this chapter.

Name	Department	Job Title	Role/Tasks
Varada	Communications	Head of Research & Advocacy Efforts	Start of career at Akshaya Patra, she was managing wordsmiths and designers, who would turn out offline and online content, as well as things like brochures. Working with the annual report development of the annual report for the organization. Now she heads and research and advocacy efforts, a department that has been created just recently.
Ajay	Communications	Head of Research & Advocacy Efforts, and PR/Media Relations	Research and advocacy, tasks concerning public relations and media. The research division is new, so part of his role is developing frameworks for impact assessment and evaluation.

Abhijit	Communications	Assistant Manager for PP Audit and Planning, Advocacy Efforts	Advocacy efforts, traveling to different locations to speak with beneficiaries and stakeholders and write reports about their experiences with Akshaya Patra.
Muralidhar	Quality	Head of Quality Dept.	Overseeing the quality team in the kitchen, who take care of the raw material quality. The first and foremost is the raw material quality and also, they take care of the employee hygiene, and other requirements related to GMP (good manufacturing practice) and food safety guidelines.
Suresh	Quality	Deputy Manager of Quality Dept.	Mainly to monitor the quality during the process and finished products quality.

Methodology and Rationale

This dissertation employed the case study method, specifically by examining the school feeding phenomena in India, and the role of NGOs in the quality and implementation of this intervention. A case study is essentially a method that facilitates exploration on a specific phenomenon within a context using various data sources (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Employing an examination of various sources allows not only in utilizing different perspectives or lenses, but results in the discovery and understanding of many facets related to the phenomenon. Case study research is unique in this way, because it involves the collecting and integrating of qualitative data. A few examples of data sources for a case study include, but not limited to: documentation,

archival records, physical artifacts, and interviews. Two specific qualitative methods were used for my case study focused on India's school feeding and the role of non-governmental organizations: 1) document review and 2) interviewing of participants. Using multiple data methods allows for increased credibility, we well as strengthening of one's findings (Patton, 1990; Yin, 2003). Furthermore, this study combined these two methods in the thematic analysis rather than individually, another prominent aspect of case study research. Additionally, this study is an exploration of the role of the school feeding program on outcomes, which extend beyond education and health, specifically social and economic outcomes. Most of the literature surrounding school feeding in India focuses on the mitigation of educational and health outcomes. In other words, I aim to provide a more in depth understanding of school feeding, and how it is able to work on a more holistic level, across multiple landscapes rather than just health and education. India's suitability as a case study is primarily due to the fact that issues like malnutrition have been a pervasive issue within this specific, especially amongst children. As a result, the government designed and implemented the Mid-Day Meal Scheme (MDMS), which assisted in the alleviation of health issues, as well as led to improved educational outcomes, such as enrollment and attendance. India is noted as having the largest school feeding program, as well as home to the largest school feeding NGO in the world, Akshaya Patra. This partnership between the national government and Akshaya Patra has led to an increase in the number of children served, as well as an ongoing improvement in both quality and implementation. Stake (1995) and Yin (2003; 2006) propose that case study is based on a constructivist paradigm, which, in a nutshell, says that truth is relative ad is based on one's perspective. The paradigm "recognizes the importance of the subjective human creation of meaning, but doesn't reject outright some notion of objectivity. Pluralism, not relativism, is stressed with focus on the

circular dynamic tension of subject and object" (Miller & Crabtree, 1999, p. 10). Both Yin

(2003) and Stake (1995) mention or refer to using a conceptual framework for doing case study

research, but do not fully describe or provide a model. Other scholars, such as Miles and

Huberman (1994) explained that conceptual models serve several purposes: (a) identifying who

will and will not be included in the study; (b) describing what relationships may be present based

on logic, theory and/or experience; and (c) providing the researcher with the opportunity to

gather general constructs into intellectual "bins" (Miles & Huberman, p. 18). Due to case studies

involving a certain level of rigor, a critical consideration for a researcher who decides to use this

approach is the way in which they will collect and analyze their data, such as through a

computerized database (Baxter and Jack, 2008). For this study, I created spreadsheets to

organize, collect, and analyze my data, which will be more thoroughly discussed in the

subsequent sections of this chapter. The subsequent sections of this chapter give an outline of

both document review and interviewing, and how they were utilized in the study.

Data Collection Methods

Document Review

This dissertation utilized the method of document analysis through its focus various

government policies, news articles, mission statements, and other related documents pertaining

to both school feeding and child labor. Document review and analysis entails

"…a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents—both printed and electronic

(computer-based and Internet-transmitted) material. Like other analytical methods in qualitative

research, document analysis requires that data be examined and interpreted in order to elicit

meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

Several examples of documents that are utilized for analysis include, but are not limited to:

minutes of meetings, manuals, press releases, agendas, public records, and books and brochures

(Bowen, 2009). The research specifically used documents categorized as government policies,

mission statements, and news articles, to address the main research question. In order to keep

track of these documents and the information provided, I used a spreadsheet that was organized

into several sections that focus on the data needed for this study. This protocol was developed by

the researcher, and particularly aimed to stay in alignment with the information necessary in

addressing the specific research questions for this study. The different sections were kept as

broad as possible, while still incorporating elements of what a document review would entail,

such as the origin, date, and author of the documents. This proved beneficial, as I was not only

able to analyze the information provided within the documents, but also how they were similar as

well as different. You will find an outline of the spreadsheet below:

Title/type of Document	Author	Origin/Date	Audience	Topic: What does it say?	What doesn't it say?	Quotes

When filling out the spreadsheet, special attention was paid to the information found within ach

document specifically in how it was in alignment with identifying the goal, objectives, and

implementation of school feeding, as well the outcomes. I, the researcher, also aimed to see how,

if at all, there was crossover of information between child labor and school feeding policies. One

of the primary foci of this dissertation was the way in which school feeding and child labor may

work in tandem presently and in the future.

An advantage of document analysis is that it is considered an efficient method, as it is less time-consuming than other methods. In other words, "it requires data selection rather than data collection" (Bowen, 2009). Second, many documents are available in the public domain, which can be obtained without an author's consent (Bowen, 2009). This point alone makes document review increasingly applicable to this study because it focuses on education policy, specifically school feeding in India. The documents being utilized in this dissertation were available and accessible in the public domain. More specifically, the documents that were reviewed could all be found online through India's government websites, Akshaya Patra's website, as well as news articles from outlets. Another aspect of using this method was that it was less costly than other methods, and given the amount of time to conduct this study, it was what was most feasible. Additionally, members who work in the Communications and Research division at the organization provided the case studies from Akshaya Patra via email upon request. Another benefit of document analysis is that it allows exactness and coverage, meaning documents include exact, names, and details (Yin, 1994). Coverage simply means documents are broad and span across long periods of time, events, and settings (Yin, 1994). The documents being utilized in this study have been time-stamped and dated, as well as explain the different on goings in terms of policies being developed and amended. Furthermore, documents are "unobtrusive" and "non-reactive," meaning they remain unaffected by one's research processes (Bowen, 2009). This is yet another reason that this method fits the dissertation, as the main purpose of the study aimed to examine these documents in terms of the types of information they offer and not based on the researcher's opinion, but rather what has and is being done within the specific context. The analysis was based on factual information and the ways in which the various documents will work in tandem with one another. This assisted in countering concerns of

reflexivity or lack thereof that is usually found in qualitative research. Reflexivity is the requirement of a researcher's awareness of their contribution or molding meaning drawn from social interactions and how this can possibly influence their research. Fifth, there is stability in document analysis as a method, as documents are stable, which works in tandem with the non-reactiveness. In other words, a researcher's presence will not alter what is being studied (Merriam, 1988).

From an interdisciplinary standpoint, there are studies that have been conducted that have utilized the method of document analysis. One of these examples is from the discipline of political science, for which Wesley (2010) explained how and why the method could be utilized in the subject. Wesley (2010) states that the process of document analysis in his discipline depends on a number of variables, such as trustworthiness. According to Wesley (2010), "To guard against these criticisms, disciplinary standards require all political scientists to adhere to certain "rules" when it comes to treating texts as data. In particular, both quantitative content analysts and qualitative document analysts must establish the legitimacy of their research by protecting its "trustworthiness" in the eyes of their peers" (p. 4). There are four major elements that researchers, or in this case, document analysts, must consider. The first is for researchers to protect the authenticity of a document or the "truth value" (Wesley, 2010). The concept of authenticity in document analysis ensures that the document being utilized offers a "genuine interpretation of reality, or a reading of a particular (set of) document(s)" (Wesley, 2010). Employing document analysis in qualitative research, such as for this study, would entail a subjective interpretation of the document(s) being used by the researcher, rather than taking an objective stance (Krippendorff, 2004). The second concern is portability with political documents, which means that the knowledge the researcher contributes, is substantive enough to

be extended beyond just the study at hand (Bryman, 2004). In quantitative methods, this is called

"external validity," which is essentially the generalizability of the specific analysis that has been

conducted to a broader set of questions. Qualitative researchers and analysts typically use the

term "transferability," although there is reluctance in "inter-subjectivity" of their interpretations

(Wesley, 2010). Instead, qualitative researchers would rather rely upon their audience to assess

the broader applicability of their research. The third concern that political scientists need to

consider, according to Wesley (2010), is the precision of their analyses when utilizing this

method. The fourth and final concern amongst document analysts is the impartiality of what they

have observed or studied, meaning that researchers must produce unprejudiced knowledge or

finings that are reflective of reality and not of their own biases (Marshall and Rossman, 1989).

However, it is important to note that for quantitative research this means to preserve

"objectivity" in analysis, whereas qualitative researchers tend to acknowledge or even embrace

interpretations that may come across as subjective. So, for qualitative analysts, in order to remain

impartial, "they must achieve "confirmability" in their findings, ensuring that their conclusions

are drawn from the evidence at hand, as opposed to the predispositions of the researcher"

(Wesley, 2010). Although these considerations have been written in terms of their applicability

to political science, researchers in other disciplines can also employ them in their studies,

specifically those who choose to conduct document analysis. One of the studies that tied more

closely to this dissertation is one that was conducted in a higher education setting, where the

researcher employed both document analysis and interviews. Owen (2014) utilized these

methods to examine history and experiences of the background check policies at Georgia

Institute of Technology, primarily through both interviewing and analyzing any and all available

of related official policy documents associated with Georgia Tech's Pre-employment

Background Check Policy and Program. Owen (2014) highlights the various advantages and

limitations of the document analysis method. One of the most common advantages is that

although there may be substantial information for a study, the literature surround the method

itself is "very meager" (Caulley, 1983). Additionally, (Caulley, 1983) explains that at times,

gathering data can be difficult. Caulley (1983) states, "the facts of history and evaluation never

come to us 'pure,' since they do not and cannot exist in a pure form; they are always refracted

through he mind of the recorder" especially since the facts we find in documents "have been

selected by the recorder." Like Wesley (2010) and other scholars, Caulley (1983) posits that a

dominant concern when it comes to document analysis "should be with the selective device

through which the facts were churned; what facts were selected to be written down and which

were rejected." More specifically, it is important for a researcher, such as Owen (2014) to

determine how and why certain documents will be utilized in their study and which ones will

not. In other words, what data is relevant, as well as which documents may be more applicable

than others. This aspect of making sure the research is credible was utilized in this study,

especially considering that it focused on only certain education policies. Moreover, documents

surrounding school feeding and social and economic policies were chosen based on their

relevance to the quality and implementation of India's feeding intervention. Justification for why

other school feeding documents were not chosen was based on the fact that the data did not align

with the answering of the main research questions. Another consideration or concern a researcher

needs to consider is about "interested witnesses," which are individuals who can be classified,

for example, an author of a document where "the document serves as a "perversion of the truth"

in order to support or "benefit someone or some cause dear to himself or herself" (Caulley,

1983). Scholars such as Murphy (1980), recommends that the researcher should focus on records

or documents that mention about a program's "origin, history, operation, and impact." More specifically, a researcher should seek "copies of the law, rules, regulations, guidelines, and legal interpretations" that help to "set forth the legal basis for the program" (Murphy, 1980, p. 123). In order to address this concern, the documents chosen for this study predominantly originated from India's national government, and mentioned laws, rules, and regulations, as that was a primary focus for the dissertation. Furthermore, these documents were chosen in an effort to shed light on the school feeding laws and policies themselves, revealing factual information on what had taken place in the past, as well as what is being done in present day India. Additionally, the authors of these documents worked within the government, and did not contribute their perspective or opinion, but rather discussed school feeding in a more factual manner. The same goes for the case studies that came from Akshaya Patra that served as artifacts for document review. These documents were based on individual cases, specifically students, and reported on the stories being told by these children and their families, and the ways in which they were affected by India's school meal program. As mentioned previously, these are all concerns that can be considered on an interdisciplinary level, and are analogous to my dissertation, specifically in terms of the methods being employed.

Just like the case study approach that is being used in this study, document analysis is typically combined with other methods (Bowen, 2009), which is called triangulation. Eisner (1991) explains "By triangulating data, the researcher attempts to provide 'a confluence of evidence that breeds credibility' (Eisner, 1991, p. 110). Furthermore, much like earlier researchers, Patton (1990) posits that the strategy of triangulation allows for a researcher to guard the assumption that a study is a product of a single method, source, or is laced with a researcher's bias. For the purposes of this dissertation, in an effort to address any concerns of

credibility, the researcher decided to use the "triangulation" strategy, and employed the qualitative method of interviewing, which will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

Qualitative Interview Method

For this dissertation, I employed a general interview guide approach where I structured questions from beforehand, but I also allowed some flexibility in questioning. More specifically, the interviews were semi-structured in nature, which is the most common type of qualitative interviews, according to Holloway and Wheeler (2010). Developing an interview guide ensured that I was able to collect similar types of data from all participants, which created a certain sense of order (David and Sutton, 2004; Bridges et al., 2008; Halloway and Wheeler, 2010). Since semi-structured interviews offer flexibility, it allows for the researcher to delve into areas as they emerge, and at times it may be paths the interviewer had not thought of beforehand (Gray, 2004). This allows for more of a natural and conversational element between the researcher and participant (Patton, 2002). The researcher developed the questions and a pilot interview was conducted prior to the official data collection used for this study. In this initial interview stage, the researcher developed guiding questions, but based on the information the participant provided, the questions were altered or added in order to get the most robust data possible, as well as address any topics discussed during the pilot interview that could provide insight into Akshaya Patra' school feeding programs. I constructed my interview questions that provided me with insight into these crucial elements of an intervention. In this specific case, it is India's Mid-Day Meal Scheme (MDMS) through the perspective of the NGO, Akshaya Patra, which plays an instrumental role in the development and outcomes of school feeding programs in India. For the dissertation, I interviewed staff members from Akshaya Patra, the NGO being examined for the

study. The organization is headquartered in Bangalore, India. In total, 5 members were

interviewed in order to gain an understanding of the various levels and roles within the

organization. The questions focused on topics, such as their role in the organization; day-to-day

tasks, goals and objectives of their school feeding programs, the implementation and quality,

outcomes (both educational outcomes and those that extend beyond education), and how they

fare in comparison to the government's nationally mandated interventions. Due to the

infeasibility of conducting the interviews in person, these took place via phone call. Before

interviewing, the participants were given a brief overview of the purpose and topic of the study,

as well as provided a form that gave consent for both their participation and for the information

gathered to be utilized in the study. In total, five interviews were conducted for this dissertation,

with three being from the Communications Department of Akshaya Patra and two from the

Quality Department. I chose these two departments primarily because of my access to the

interviewees, and their applicability to my study. In other words, the interviews with the chosen

members were based on not only the feasibility in terms of access, but the substance in the kind

of information the members could provide me for the main purpose of this study. Although the

quality department is more relevant for the study, the Communications Department provided

insight into the realm of quality and implementation of Akshaya Patra's program school feeding

program as well. I found this to be especially true due to the fact a few of my documents for

analysis, specifically the case studies, came form this department at Akshaya Patra. The case

studies provided a certain level of insight into the effects of the program on specific

beneficiaries. Although the studies are not great in number for this dissertation, they, as well as

the interviews, provide a holistic representation of the individuals and communities the school-

feeding program has affected both past and present. Moreover, the interviews with members

from the Communications Department allowed for the researcher to gain information of different

aspects of the organization's program, especially in how they contribute to its overall quality and

implementation goals and objectives. The most overarching and unique theme that was

discovered as a result of these interviews for this study is the holistic nature of Akshaya Patra's

program. The first three interviews, which were with individuals from the Communications

Department, showed the methodical ways in which the organization has utilized their primary

intervention, which is providing school meals. Furthermore, the program acted as a catalyst in

the forming of other closely related initiatives that has supported and cultivated well-rounded

goals, objectives, and outcomes. Much like the interviews with the members of the

communications department at Akshaya Patra, the quality department offered insight into the on

goings and responsibilities of this specific department. As mentioned earlier, although there

were distinctions in their roles, the research exemplified overlapping information between the

two departments. Each interview was recorded and transcribed, followed by the final step of

analyzing the data, which was done through coding, meaning extracting commonalities, as well

as unique ideas or themes, which were present from both the document review and the interview

responses. Further explanation of the thematic coding processes is explained in the following

section.

Interviewing is a popular method amongst qualitative researchers, aiming to gather rich,

in depth data focused on the experiences and viewpoints of a specific topic (Turner, 2010).

Creswell (2007) posits that interviewing can come in many forms, and are developed in an effort

to obtain rich data by utilizing an investigational perspective. Gall et al. (2003) highlight three

forms of interviewing: 1) informal conversational interview, 2) general interview guide

approach, and 3) standardized open-ended interview. The informal conversational interview

entails a researcher to rely "…entirely on the spontaneous generation of questions in a natural interaction, typically one that occurs as part of ongoing participant observation fieldwork" (Gall, Gall, and Borg, 2003, p. 239). In other words, the researcher develops their interview "off the op of their head," rather than having any set structure in questions and how the interview will move forward. According to Turner (2010), many like this type of interview and find that it is beneficial because of the flexibility in the style of interview. However, Creswell (2007) posits that the drawback to this type of interview is that it can be deemed unstable or unreliable due to inconsistency in questions, which would make it difficult to code data. The general interview guide approach, on the other hand, offers more structure for an interview, but still has some flexibility in its composition (Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2003). How the questions are worded are entirely dependent on the interviewer themselves, which can cause issues of inconsistency due to the researcher being able to interchange the way in which he or she would pose them. According to McNamara (2009), this means that interviewees may not respond consistently to the same question due to how they were posed by the researcher. However, one of the strengths of a general interview guide is the ability for a researcher "…to ensure that the same general areas of information are collected from each interviewee; this provides more focus than the conversational approach, but still allows a degree of freedom and adaptability in getting information from the interviewee" (McNamara, 2009). As mentioned above, this is the primary interview approach utilized for this dissertation. When conducting the interviews, it was not only important to gain an understanding of specific facets of the school feeding program, such as quality and implementation from all interviewees, but to understand the differing roles of the departments and individuals. However, as the interviews proceeded, there were other topics that were related to, but had not been addressed by these questions that had been constructed

beforehand. Incorporating questions about these topics allowed for the researcher to gain a more holistic understanding of Akshaya Patra's role, as well as the ways in which they had been able to broaden their scope of outcomes beyond just education and health. This will be further discussed in the subsequent chapter within the findings section. Lastly, the standardized open-ended interview is extremely structured in terms of wording, as well as the fact that participants are always asked identical questions while allowing responses to be open-ended (Gall, Gall, and Borg, 2003). This allows for detail in responses, as well as allowing the researcher to asking probing questions. It is likely the most popular form of interviewing in research due to this open-endedness, which allow for participants to express themselves fully. Like the informal interview, the open-ended interview can also cause issues with coding data (Creswell, 2007). More specifically, due to participants expressing themselves fully with their responses, it can be difficult to extract similar themes or codes, unlike if the interview was less open-ended. Furthermore, this causes a researcher to have difficulties in cultivating an overall, accurate perspective from the narratives as a whole. Alternatively, Gall et al. (2003) posits that this would reduce researcher's biases, especially when the study involves a various participants. Creswell (2003; 2007) highlights a several measures of the interview process for a researcher, which are: preparation for the interview, constructing effective research questions, and the actual implementation of the interview. McNamara (2009) stresses the importance of a preparation stage and applies eight principles of this particular stage: 1) choose a location with minimal distraction, 2) explain the interview's purpose, 3) address and explain the terms of confidentiality, 4) explain the format of the interview, 5) tell the participant how long you think the interview will be, 6) provide information on how your participant can get in contact with you later if they need or want to, 7) ask if your participant has any questions before proceeding with

the interview, and 8) do not count on your memory to remember responses to your questions.

McNamara (2009) outlines several recommendations for a researcher to construct effective

interview questions. First, the wording should be open-ended, meaning it should allow for

participants to set their own terms in answering the questions. Second, keep the questions as

neutral as possible, such as avoiding wording that may influence responses. Third, ask questions

one at a time. Fourth, it is imperative for the researcher to word questions clearly, which entails

having knowledge of terms and terms that are specific to the program or participant's culture.

Lastly, researchers should be careful asking "why" questions. Another element that is crucial

when developing questions is making sure that they are flexible, as sometimes participants may

not respond to the question being asked. Instead, Creswell (2007) asserts that flexibility will

allow for a researcher to ask the question later in the interview. Additionally, he posits that it is

important to be clear in the assembly of questions so as to avoid any misunderstanding, which

can also allow for the interviewer to prompt follow up questions to gain greater clarity. The

implementation of an interview design has some major components that a researcher should

consider. McNamara (2009) mentions several recommendations, including remaining as neutral

as possible, providing transitions between topics, don't stray while interviewing as this could

cause running out of time, and to encourage participants' responses through actions, such as a

nod of the head. The final element of an interview design is the interpreting of data gathered

from interviews. This phase is when a researcher needs to make sense of their data by

compartmentalizing data into groups of information, which are known as themes or codes

(Creswell, 2003; 2007). These themes and codes are essentially phrases, expressions, or ideas

prominent and that occur commonly throughout responses from participants (Kvale, 2007).

Formulating these themes or codes is a process that varies from researcher to researcher. At

times, researchers employ a third party consultant to review their codes to determine the quality

and effectiveness based on an evaluation of transcripts from interviews (Creswell, 2007). This

mitigates the chances of biases or over analyzing of data. Other researchers may ask for

assistance from non-participant researchers who can provide constructive feedback and

suggestions to the primary researcher(s) of a study.

Qualitative Thematic Coding Analysis

After conducting the interviews and document review, the primary method of data

analysis was through content analysis. According to Cole (1988), content analysis is a method of

analyzing written, verbal or visual communication messages. According to Krippendorff (1980),

this method of is utilized to make "replicable and valid inferences" from data to their context in

an effort to provide knowledge and new insight, or represents facts and a "practical guide to

action." For this dissertation, I utilized the process of coding when conducting content analysis,

namely with the document and interview data. Because this is a qualitative study, it entails the

researcher to engage in organizing the raw data into various themes, which allowed me to

interpret the data (Baralt, 2012). Qualitative coding is more interpretive in nature than

quantitative coding, which means that often involves the researcher continuous re-reading and

overall interaction with the data. This leads to the comparing and contrasting of themes, as well

as reflection and asking of questions that can result in discovering patterns within the data

(Baralt, 2012). This was an integral aspect of the coding process for this dissertation, especially

the re-reading and interaction with the data. After conducting the interviews and transcribing

them, I reviewed the transcripts without making any initial codes or themes. Instead, this first

step was mostly an attempt for me, the researcher, to become familiar with the data. It was once I

had looked over the transcripts that I began to note any emerging themes or codes that would align with the answering of my main research question. This process is called open coding, which is an initial step of the organization phase of the inductive approach. The inductive approach requires the researcher to organize the qualitative data once it has been through the preparation stage. The organization phase entails "open coding, creating categories and abstraction. Open coding means that notes and headings are written in the text while reading it" (Elo and Kyngas, 2008). During this open coding, the researcher also creates headings that describe the different characteristics of the content (Burnard 1991, 1996; Hsieh & Shannon 2005). The headings are collected from the margins on to coding sheets (Cole 1988; Dey, 1993; Downe-Wamboldt 1992) and categories are freely generated at this stage (Burnard 1991)."

There are two approaches that can be taken by researchers, inductive and deductive. Both approaches entail three steps: preparation, organizing and reporting. For this study, I employed the inductive approach, as it was most applicable to my study. A deductive approach is typically used in studies when researchers want to retest existing data in a new context (Catanzaro 1988). This may also allow the researcher to test categories, concepts, models or hypotheses (Marshall & Rossman 1995).

After I had conducted the open coding phase, the next step was to make sure that the categories were listed in higher order of headings (Burnard, 1991; McCain, 1988). Grouping the data assists in reducing the number of categories, specifically those that may be similar or dissimilar into higher order categories (Burnard, 1991; Dey, 1993; Down-Wamboldt, 1992). Formulating categories during the inductive approach of content analysis entails the researcher to come to a decision through interpretation, as to which concepts belong together (Dey, 1993). Each category is named using content-characteristic words (Elo and Kynas, 2008). Subcategories

with similar events and incidents are grouped together as categories and categories are grouped as main categories (Dey 1993; Kynga¨s & Vanhanen 1999; Robson 1993). Much of the initial categories in the early phases of my content analysis, were further broken down into smaller categories, which is a key feature of content analysis (Burnard 1996; Weber, 1990).

The primary mode of analysis for this dissertation will be through qualitative content analysis, specifically thematic coding. Thematic analysis is the method a researcher utilizes to identify and examine patterns of meaning in a dataset (Braun and Clarke, 2006). More specifically, this method allows a researcher to illustrate emerging themes that are important and applicable to the phenomenon being studied (Daly et al, 1997). I will be seeking to find recurring codes or themes from both the documents and interviews being utilized in this study. Codes are the "names or symbols used to stand for a group of similar items, ideas, or phenomena that the researcher has noticed in his or her data set" (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999, p. 55). Although the dissertation examined the role of Akshaya Patra in India's Mid-Day Meal Scheme, the codes or themes found within the data were closely tied to, first and foremost, how the program has evolved over time, but more so the various outcomes. More specifically, the themes were tied to outcomes that could be categorized as educational, health, or social and economic outcomes. The analysis aimed to identify and examine these different elements, especially within the data collected from both the interviews and the document review. By doing so, there are different "categories" or "concepts" that the data is condensed to, which essentially can be utilized to describe the phenomenon at hand (Elo & Kyngas, 2008). The purpose of creating categories is to provide a means of describing the phenomenon, to increase understanding and to generate knowledge (Cavanagh, 1997). In this case, the categories found within this study allowed for a better understanding of India's school feeding intervention, the Mid-Day Meal Scheme

(MDMS), and the role of school feeding not only within the educational landscape, but how effective quality and implementation can enhance the program's outcomes beyond its primary goals and objectives. More information about the analysis and findings of this dissertation will be discussed in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 4: Findings, Discussion, & Conclusion

Findings

Main Research Question: What is the role of NGOs in India's school feeding program, specifically in terms of quality, implementation, and outcomes?

Education Outcomes

A cross examination of the documents, as well as the interview data, illuminated the way in which school feeding has been instrumental in children's various educational outcomes. First and foremost, it is imperative to identify the primary goals and objectives of India's Mid-Day Meal Scheme, first established in August of 1995, and initially named the National Program of Nutritional Support to Primary Education. The Department of School Education and Literacy, Ministry of Human Resource Development provides a two-fold description of the program on their website, meaning it aimed to address not only children's health, but education as well (Mid-Day Meal Scheme, 2018, http://mhrd.gov.in/mid-day-meal). The intervention encompasses 6 parameters outlined on Akshaya Patra's website titled "What is Mid-Day Meal?" (2018), which are to: avoid classroom hunger, increase enrollment, increase attendance, improve socialization amongst castes, address malnutrition, and empower women through employment. This section specifically highlights the findings in regards to the educational outcomes discussed in both the

documents, which were but not limited to, school feeding ad child labor policies and case studies, as well as the interviews conducted with members of Akshaya Patra.

The first theme or code extracted from the data pertained to how the Mid-Day Meal Scheme aimed to increase student enrollment, attendance, and retention. According to the government website titled Mid-Day Meal Scheme (2018), "With a view to enhancing enrollment, retention and attendance and simultaneously improving nutritional levels among children, the National Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education (NP-NSPE) was launched as a Centrally Sponsored Scheme on 15th August 1995" (http://mhrd.gov.in/mid-day-meal). As mentioned previously in this dissertation, Akshaya Patra has played a critical partnership role with the national government of India and school feeding efforts. Both the mission and vision of the organization is in alignment with these goals. Akshaya Patra's vision specifically states, "Vision: No child in India shall be deprived of education because of hunger" (https://www.akshayapatra.org/vision-and-mission). The organization's mission works in tandem with their vision, and states, "Mission: To feed 5 million children by 2020. Through our Mid-Day Meal Programme, our attempt is to feed the millions of children in India who lack the means, but, have the zeal to learn and achieve. By feeding them one wholesome meal a day, we give them the nourishment and motivation they need to pursue an education for a better future. It is our endeavour to reach out to every child at the grass root level of the society" (https://www.akshayapatra.org/vision-and-mission).

In order to improve these outcomes, the national government has expanded their mid-day meals to not only urban areas, but to rural areas, specifically those with good road connectivity. The amendment dated May 16, 2017, explained, "It has further been decided that Centralized Kitchens may be permitted under Mid Day Meal Scheme to cover cluster of schools in identified

rural areas which have good road connectivity, for the purposes of leveraging efficiency gains"
(Mid-Day Meal (Amendment) Rules 2017). Beneficiaries of Akshaya Patra have stated the vast
difference in educational and life outcomes. All five of the case studies explained, to some
degree, the positive impact of Akshaya Patra's and the school feeding. A primary example is a
student by the name of Ranthi Ekka, whose grandfather explained Akshaya Patra had played an
integral role in Ranthi's life, not only in providing nutritious meals, but her educational growth
well. The case study stated, "He was elated at the idea of his granddaughter getting a plateful of
food every day, something that she was not guaranteed at home. Thus, started Ranthi's journey
of schooling, and along with good food, she also got access to proper education." Another case
study, focused on a child named Narsimha explained that one of his motivations for coming to
school was due to his interest and excelling in sports. The text stated,

"Over the course of our conversation, Narsimha Raju explained why he wants to become a PE
teacher and not a sportsman. "My goal will be to make good sportsmen, so that when they win, I
will get both, appreciation and happiness." The PE teacher of his school has had a good influence
on the lives of children studying in this school. More importantly, Narsimha Raju has seen
people—both, management and visitors, appreciate the teacher for his enthusiasm. No wonder
then, it serves as an inspiration from him."

However, due his coming from a humble background, another incentive was being served a meal
everyday. The case says, "Yet another inspiration Narsimha Raju to come to school is the
nutritious meal that is provided every day. "At home, the food is very simple. So we look
forward to school lunch…" Similar to Narsimha was Gobina Marandy who stated that one of the
main reasons he liked coming to school was that he received both books and uniform. Like
Narsimha, Gobinda's other motivation was the opportunity to participate in sports. A fourth
child, Vinayaka M.N. Rao, who came from a low-socioeconomic background, was plagued by
food insecurity. The case study stated,

"Vinayaka was the youngest of the four siblings, so the family was apprehensive of sending him to school as they thought they would not be able to afford it. That's when they heard about Akshaya Patra. The meals served by Akshaya Patra gave Vinayaka's dream a new lease of life. With newfound enthusiasm, he gave his best. He kept scoring well and earning scholarships, which he used to fund his studies. He even gave some of the money he earned through scholarships to his mother to run their home."

Obtaining an education is increasingly important within these communities, as this serves as a gateway to greater long-term outcomes, which are mostly tied to economic circumstances. A fifth and last case study, focused on a child by the name of Ravi Nathaji Thakur, who comes from an agricultural background and is the youngest of the his four siblings. The text stated, "The size of the family makes sustaining on the meager income earned from farming a tightrope walk for the family. Ravi's father wants his children to do well in studies, so that they can earn good money and lead a comfortable life—unlike that of hardships he has faced. His father's wish has been the driving factor for Ravi."

The interviews conducted with both the Communications and Quality Department aligned with document review of the policies and case studies used for this study's document review. All five individuals interviewed explained, to some degree, that their primary role catered to the educational outcomes of the students they serve. For example, Ajay, the Head of Research & Advocacy Efforts, and PR/Media Relations, explained, "Yes. So the as far as education is concerned the primary outcomes are the most fundamental outcomes are increasing enrollment first. First you want the child to get enrolled in school. There should not be any child out of school. So the first outcome is enrollment of the child. Second after the child is enrolled in the school, the attendance." Additionally, he mentioned that the third issue Akshaya Patra aims

to address is a reduction in dropouts, or increased retention. He stated, "Because the child may get enrolled but he may dropout, so reduction in dropouts. Increased concentration in school, these are the primary requisites. Similarly, Abhijit, the Assistant Manager for PP Audit and Planning, Advocacy Efforts, stated, "In that case, we address enrollment. We address attendance, and we address retention." Akshaya Patra has also partnered with Ernst and Young corporations, who have assisted them in their impact assessment study. Muralidhar, the Head of the Quality department stated, "We found that through the impact study, we understand that the number of children who are coming to the school has gone up and their scholastic achievements have gone up. They are more regular to the school and these are all some of the direct impacts I can say we could get through this program." Suresh, the Deputy Manager of the Quality Department explained that the organization has learned that students' "... body mass is getting strong, and even their attendance levels, when some of the Mid-Day Meal Program is not there, and we introduced our Akshaya Patra program, the attendance levels are getting increased more and more." Lastly, Varada, the Head of Research & Advocacy Efforts mentioned that it is not just improved enrollment and retention, but issues such as gender equality has been addressed as well. She stated, "So one was improved enrollment, improved retention, gender equality ... I think growth overall, growth and a couple of other things." The issue of gender equality will be discussed in subsequent sections of this chapter, but it is imperative to note Akshaya Patra's role and their school feeding program, especially how it has played an integral part in bettering beneficiaries' educational outcomes.

It is evident through these documents and interviews that school meals and nutrition play a vital role in a student's educational achievements and overall outcomes. Additionally, it is important to note that there was a connection between school feeding and child labor as well, specifically through the document review focusing on policies. First and foremost, it is important to understand the interconnectivity between education and child labor. Although it may seem obvious that there is a relationship between the two, they are more often than not, discussed separately. Instead, the International Labor Organization ILO (2015) posits that an integrated approach is necessary in order to effectively address child labor. The document, titled "Child Labor and Education: Progress, Challenges, and Future Directions" explained,

"ILO national survey data from all over the world has documented the interconnection between child labour and education. The key findings from this ILO research indicate that child labour and the achievement of education goals are clearly and negatively correlated."

Some of the ILO's findings mirrored the literature surrounding child labor, include: low primary enrollment ratios, low attendance and literacy rates, rural working children being the most disadvantaged, and lastly, disparities between boys and girls, particularly in employment patterns where female children will "often bear the double burden of work outside and inside the house, often with little time left for schooling" (ILO, 2015).

This dissertation conducted an analysis of child labor in the context of India. One of the most prominent pieces of legislation occurred in 1986, called India's Child Labor Prohibition and Regulation Act of 1986, and stated that the primary objective was, "To prohibit the engagement of children in certain employment's and to regulate the conditions of work or children in certain other employment's." A child is defined, in this document, as "a person who has not completed fourteen years of age" (India's Child Labor and Prohibition Act of 1986). The

policy was extended all cross India, and was implemented an effort to mitigate children from being involved in employment that would be hazardous to their well being (India's Child Labor and Prohibition Act of 1986). Over time, amendments have been made to child labor policies, such as in 2012 when the government created changes and improvements upon the original 1986 policy. The document titled "Approval to Move Official Amendments to Child Labor (Prohibition and Regulation) Amendment Bill, 2012" included amendments such as prohibiting children below 14 years of age from employment, as not to not deter them from their education. However, a couple of exceptions have been made, specifically that children may participate in when they help "his family or family enterprises, which is other than any hazardous occupations or processes set forth in the Schedule, after his school hours or during vacations, as well as "where the child works as an artist in an audio-visual entertainment industry, including advertisement, films, television serials or any such other entertainment or sports activities except the circus, subject to such conditions and safety measures, as may be prescribed and provided that such work does not affect the school education of the child." The policy suggests that although total prohibition may make sense, it also important to keep in mind that children participating in family occupations, such as agricultural labor, is a dominant aspect of India's "social fabric and socio-economic conditions." Instead, the aim is to ensure that the type of work does not impede upon children's education. Lastly, the bill has included stricter punishment for employers for violation of the Act to act as a deterrent, specifically that the government will issue monetary penalties and imprisonment. The most recent child labor policy in India took place in 2016. A report from Al Jazeera, "India Parliament passes contentious child labor bill," discussed how the government had created a bill that would not only allow children to work in family businesses, but shortened the list of banned jobs. Like the amendments made in 2012,

"The government says the exemptions aim to strike a balance between education and India's economic reality, in which parents rely on children to help with farming or artisanal work to fight poverty or pass on a family trade." However, organizations like UNICEF take issue with such bills, stating that family work should be considered as a hazardous occupation. Al Jazeera's report stated,

"To strengthen the bill and provide a protective legal framework for children, UNICEF India strongly recommends the removal of 'children helping in family enterprises'," it said in a statement on Monday. "This will protect children from being exploited in invisible forms of work, from trafficking and from boys and girls dropping out of school due to long hours of work," it said."

Over time, new child labor legislation has been created that uses different methods to assist in decreasing the likelihood of children entering the workforce. A primary example of this was the National Child Labor Project first established in 1988, aimed to use education to assist in the alleviation of child labor, which is especially dominant within low socioeconomic communities, by creating schooling that rehabilitate and integrate children who were formerly child laborers. A report by UNICEF (2005) posited, "Most of the former child labourers who have been integrated into regular schools belong to families whose financial difficulties prompted them to send their children to work instead of school. But in supplementing the family income, the children often ended up in dangerous and demanding jobs." Additionally, payments have been made in order to incentivize parents to send children to school. The document stated, "NCLP provides a stipend of Rs. 100 ($1.20) per month to a child labourer who stops work and starts going to school, to help counter their parents' fear of losing income." (UNICEF, 2005). The policy document titled "Revised NCLP Guidelines/National Child Labor Project" stated,

"National Child Labour Project Scheme (NCLPS) was started in 1988 to rehabilitate child labour. The Scheme seeks to adopt a sequential approach with focus on rehabilitation of children working in hazardous occupations and processes. Under the Scheme, a survey is conducted of children engaged in hazardous occupations and processes in a district or a specified area; then children in the age group of 9-14 years are withdrawn from these occupations and processes, and put into NCLP Special Training Centres. In the NCLP Special Training Centres, these children are provided bridge education, vocational training, mid-day meal, stipend, healthcare and recreation etc. with the ultimate objective of preparing them to be mainstreamed into the formal system of education." The policy document indicates that a vital part of rehabilitation of child workers was not only establishing institutions that would give them proper training and educational opportunities, but that proper health needed to be addressed as well. In other words, it is not simply enough to provide an education, but to incorporate nutritional aspects as well. The NCLP schools have not only given children the opportunity to obtain an education, but to alleviate any food insecurity or malnutrition as well. The mitigation of such issues, like malnutrition, has increased the likelihood of positive educational outcomes. International organizations, such has UNICEF, documents the effect of the program, specifically highlighting the state of Tamil Nadu in their report, "India: Project Helps Child Laborers Return to School" (2005). The document described how the NCLP operates and assists vulnerable children who have been forced into labor at the expense of their education. It stated,

"NCLP schools encourage children who may have lost a few years due to late enrolment to recover the lost ground and join regular schools in age-appropriate grades. A 12-year-old will enter regular school in grade six and a 14-year-old in grade eight. This completes their

mainstreaming and ensures that no child "feels odd" for being "over age", says N. Saravanan,

NCLP project director in Dharmapuri."

A separate document titled "Providing Mid-Day Meal to children of National Child Labor

Project (NCLP) as per norms fixed for Upper Primary Children posits similar information,

explained "…all State Governments/UT Administrations are requested to provide Mid Day Meal

to the children of NCLP schools as per norms applicable to the Upper Primary Children with

immediate effect." It is evident that although school feeding and child labor may be classified

differently, the policies are actually multi-dimensional and work in tandem. It is especially

illustrated within the documents used for this dissertation.

The interviews conducted with both the Communications and Quality Department

aligned with the document review. All five individuals who were interviewed explained, to some

degree, that their primary role catered to the educational outcomes of the students they serve. For

example, Ajay, the Head of Research & Advocacy Efforts, and PR/Media Relations, explained,

"Yes. So the as far as education is concerned the primary outcomes are the most fundamental

outcomes are increasing enrollment first. First you want the child to get enrolled in school. There

should not be any child out of school. So the first outcome is enrollment of the child. Second

after the child is enrolled in the school, the attendance." Additionally, he mentioned that the third

issue Akshaya Patra aims to address is a reduction in dropouts, or increase retention. He stated,

"Because the child may get enrolled but he may dropout, so reduction in dropouts. Increased

concentration in school, these are the primary requisites. Similarly, Abhijit, the Assistant

Manager for PP Audit and Planning, Advocacy Efforts, stated, "In that case, we address

enrollment. We address attendance, and we address retention." Akshaya Patra has also partnered

with Ernst and Young corporations, who have assisted them in their impact assessment studies. Muralidhar, the Head of the Quality department stated, "We found that through the impact study, we understand that the number of children who are coming to the school has gone up and their scholastic achievements have gone up. They are more regular to the school and these are all some of the direct impacts I can say we could get through this program." Suresh, the Deputy Manager of the Quality Department explained that the organization has learned that students' "... body mass is getting strong, and even their attendance levels, when some of the Mid-Day Meal Program is not there, and we introduced our Akshaya Patra program, the attendance levels are getting increased more and more." Lastly, Varada, the Head of Research & Advocacy Efforts mentioned that it is not just improved enrollment and retention, but issues such as gender equality has been addressed as well. She stated, "So one was improved enrollment, improved retention, gender equality ... I think growth overall, growth and a couple of other things." The issue of gender equality will be discussed in subsequent sections of this chapter, but it is imperative to note Akshaya Patra's role and their school feeding program, especially how it has played an integral part in bettering beneficiaries' educational outcomes.

Health Outcomes

The overall health of individuals who are benefiting from school feeding programs is one the part of the primary objectives surrounding these initiatives. The policy documents reviewed for this dissertation indicated the importance of hygiene, specifically, in the making and storing of food. Ensuring the quality and hygiene contributes to the health of students receiving mid-day meals. The document titled "Guidelines to ensure quality, safety and hygiene under the Mid-Day Meal Scheme," which was a letter dated July 22, 2013, was a reiteration of Chapter 4 of the Mid-

Day Meal Scheme. One of the central aspects of the document was the discussion surrounding safe storage and proper supply of ingredients to schools. More specifically, in terms of hygiene, the document stated, "The Ministry as circulate design of the kitchen-cum-store to all the States/UTs for safe storage of food, cooking of the mid day meal in hygienic environment and a place for washing hands by the students." Additionally, the policy requires that the food being provided is "stored properly in the kitchen-cum-stores, in storage bins, to avoid moisture and pest infestation. The storage bins should be procured from the funds available under the Scheme and properly labeled for safe storage to avoid any contamination." These guidelines ensure that children's nutrition is not only accounted for, but will be improved when taking into consideration the many measures related to safety and hygiene. Many of these children, as mentioned previously in the case studies, are plagued by food insecurity, which stems from their economic circumstances. Specifically, the case study from Akshaya Patra focused on a child by the name of Ranthi Ekka, illuminated how school meals have been a major factor in her grandparents sending her to school. The family comes from a lower-socioeconomic background, and was unsure as to if they could afford to feed the family. The grandparents sent Ranthi to school so she would not have to suffer malnutrition. Initially, her grandparents thought they would have to pay for the food, which is why they hesitated in enrolling her. However, Akshaya Patra's meals are free. According to the text, "Ranthi's grandfather, who works in other people's fields as a daily wage employee, narrates the story of how they mustered the courage to send the little girl to school. "We live in a bad condition. Most of our energy is spent in trying to figure out how to get a proper meal for ourselves and her (Ranthi). The thought of sending her to school was there. We couldn't give our son proper schooling, and as a result, he is out there in the city doing odd jobs that come his way. We didn't want Ranthi to suffer the same fate. So we wanted

to (send her to school), but couldn't figure out how to do that." "Ranthi's grandparents had heard about meals being distributed in the school every afternoon, but they were under the assumption that they will have to pay to get that food. "When they used to get together to play in the evening, the children from our neighborhood used to tell Ranthi what they had for lunch at school that day. But then, we were not sure if we could afford it." One day when he was passing by the school, he saw Akshaya Patra vehicle delivering food to the school. He mustered courage to ask the vehicle driver where this food was coming from and how much he would have to pay for it. "When he said I won't have to pay anything, I was surprised," he remembers. "He sent me to the school authorities and they told me that if I get Ranthi admitted to the school, she too will get the same food." One of the major issues surrounding school feeding is the lack of awareness amongst beneficiaries. The document was a letter with a subject line, "Guidelines to ensure Quality, Safety and Hygiene under the Mid-Day Meal Scheme" from 2013 reiterated Chapter 4, in which building awareness is a primary aim. According to the text, "It has been observed that the stakeholders particularly children and community members are not aware about their entitlements and role under the Scheme. As per the MDM Guidelines, the Logo should be painted on outside wall of the school at a prominent place. The entitlements should also be displayed at prominent places for the awareness of children/parents and community members." The other policy documents, outside of school feeding that were for analysis, exhibited the role of these interventions, specifically in the rehabilitation and overall growth and success of children who were previously engaged in the workforce. More specifically, one of the documents titled "Providing Mid-Day Meal to Children of National Child Labor Project (NCLP) Schools as per Norms fixed for Upper-Primary Children", stated the importance of extending mid-day meals to NCLP (National Child Labor Project) schools. These schools have been established for

rehabilitation and integration of children formerly in the labor force into traditional schooling and overall society. Since most of these children are above the primary-school age, the amount of food needs to be adjusted to ensure proper nutrition and health, according to the policy.

The interviews conducted with members of Akshaya Patra were especially insightful in terms of how their role has contributed to the overall health of their beneficiaries. One of the first interview participants, Abhijit explained how the organization has created a hygiene and sanitation program, which operates in tandem with school meals. He stated, "...we have a social bar initiative like hygiene and sanitation program. Wherein we try to teach kids why hygiene and sanitation is important. Because it's our belief that without this hygiene and sanitation angle, only providing nutritious food and no health. It's in providing nutritious food and if the kids fall ill because of something that is related to sanitation and cleanliness, then ... Yeah, it does the benefits of nutrition are nutritional food that you provide. They're coming up with other programs. For instance, the cleanliness thing that I'm talking about, when you teach a child that you should be washing your hands before a meal and after a meal, it's something very simple. City folks will already do these things, but for them it's not obvious that kids are supposed to wash their hands. When kids notice this, he washes hands, he teaches it to his family ... if we're talking about the larger picture, the community also learns. People are getting aware of the importance of education and nutrition." It is evident that teaching children about proper hygiene, not only contributes to the specific individual's health, but extends on to overall community awareness and growth in terms of knowledge and practice. Suresh, the Deputy Manager of the Quality department, explained how Akshaya Patra has measured their success in terms of health outcomes, explaining that they have learned that it is not only attendance levels that have

improved, but that students' body mass is getting strong, as a result of implementing the mid-day meals.

Socioeconomic Outcomes

The analysis of both the document review and interviews indicated that school feeding could be tailored to address issues extending beyond their primary role in both health and education. Furthermore, as mentioned previously, one of the objectives of the initiative was to improve socialization among castes, along with addressing issues surrounding education and health. The caste system has created a social hierarchy that is rooted in the Hindu religion. Each group of individuals occupies a specific space in within the hierarchy. However, over time, the caste system has become less influential through the growth of urbanization and the intersecting of individuals across all classes. Education has played a distinct role, as children often engage with people from different castes. The interview participants explained how their program has been able to address this issue. Varada, the Head of Research and Advocacy Efforts, stated, **"**So that these are the two ways in which the meals are implemented. There I feel like we have also studied and we intend to do more research on this, is how it has impacted the gender equality as well as reduction of caste based differentiation. There is one thing that I have really, I have personally noticed whenever I have gone to schools ... There is no differentiation between particular caste or a different caste. Or a particular community or different community. Because that is quite prevalent in India, I'm sure you're aware of that. So they have also mentioned that this is something that is very nice to see. The no gender discrimination, no 'casteism' is there. It's quite nice." Similarly, another member, Abhijit explained that when the children come to school, they do not see that differentiation between caste and economic status. One of Abhijit's major roles is to go around to different cities where Akshaya Patra has implemented their program, and

to observe as well as speak with beneficiaries, such as children, families, and teachers, about their experiences. He stated, "Yeah, I think once the kids come to school they are, they don't have those defenses...they sit together to eat and you'll see if you go to any school here. Usually I go there during a lunch break and I see them eating together. They sit in small circles or in groups. They don't understand economical differences maybe." Implementing the school feeding intervention, according to a third interviewee, Ajay, has "unlocked several opportunities for the children and they're able to unlock their family's from the cycle of poverty because of the meal." In addition to the school meals, Varada, one of my interview participants, mentioned how the organization is trying to extend their services to pregnant and lactating mothers as well. Varada briefly mentions the Integrated Child Services Scheme (ICDS) in India, which was first established in 1975. It is a flagship program that has been tailored towards proper childhood care and development. The main objectives of the Scheme are as follows: "to improve the nutritional and health status of children in the age-group 0-6 years; to lay the foundation for proper psychological, physical and social development of the child; to reduce the incidence of mortality, morbidity, malnutrition and school dropout; to achieve effective coordination of policy and implementation amongst the various departments to promote child development; and to enhance the capability of the mother to look after the normal health and nutritional needs of the child through proper nutrition and health education" (https://icds-wcd.nic.in/icds.aspx). Varada, the Head of Research and Advocacy Efforts, mentioned how the organization has aimed to reach out to pregnant and lactating mothers. In other words, Akshaya Patra is trying to work in tandem with the ICDS program by broadening the scope and outreach beyond just school children. She stated, "We are trying to get pregnant and lactating mothers to the standards, we want to feed everybody, so that everybody has the same opportunities that are there for the people who have

proper nutritious foods and those kind of things. So we want to feed from pregnant and lactating mothers until first year, which is taken care by ICDS, we want that also to be under one umbrella policy." Lastly, two of the interview participants from Akshaya Patra also revealed that the organization has developed programs that assist in ensuring children have greater lifelong outcomes, stemming from better educational opportunities. As mentioned previously, the interview participants revealed how school meals have led to better educational outcomes. However, in addition to the school meals, the organization has also established a program that students may partake in called So we have started off with this program called, "Giving Every Dream a Chance." Varada was the first to mention it and explained, "It started with a pilot of three children. One wanted to be an actress who studied, who was trained for a month under one actress in Bangalore. Then one boy wanted to be a chef, so Vivanta, chef, trained him for a month. And he was so good, the chef was so pleased with his work that he said, "Once you are finished with your education, we will take you under." He has personally promised the child a future." Abhijit, the Assistant Manager for PP Audit and Planning, Advocacy Efforts, mentioned this program as well. He discussed the child who wanted to pursue culinary school as well, and stated, "After his mentorship was completed, they promised to sponsor his education. After, if he still wants to pursue culinary field. They were like, "Okay, now he's in school," so he had to complete school. He had to complete his plus two, and after that he wants to do something in culinary... then they'll sponsor an entire education." Creating these partnerships has enabled Akshaya Patra to not only grow their outreach, but to ensure the success of its many beneficiaries. These documents and interviews especially, are indicative about the fact that school feeding interventions extend beyond just providing a meal and ensuring proper health. Instead, these programs are able to incentivize families, which can lead to better educational

outcomes and long-term benefits. Obtaining an education contributes not only to one's intellectual growth, but their economic and social standing in society. Like the document review and interviews have revealed, it is especially beneficial for communities that have been plagued by issues stemming from impoverished circumstances, such as few educational opportunities and overall health conditions.

Discussion

Main Research Question: What is the role of NGOs in India's school feeding program, specifically in terms of quality, implementation, and outcomes?

A total of 17 documents and 5 interviews were used to employ a case study examining Akshaya Patra's role in school feeding and how the intervention contributes to the educational, health, and socioeconomic outcomes of its many beneficiaries. The documents included not only school feeding and child labor policies, but also articles from news outlets and case studies from Akshaya Patra. A cross examination and thematic analysis of both sets of data from the document review and qualitative interviews emphasized the multi-dimensionality of school feeding programs, specifically that these initiatives are an integral aspect children's long term outcomes.

The document review and the interviews illuminated the commonalities amongst the documents and interviews. More specifically, India's Mid-Day Meal Scheme sought to improve not only education and health, but also socioeconomic issues such as cross-class engagement. Results of the study found that Akshaya Patra has been influential in increasing children's enrollment, attendance, and retention, improving cross-class engagement, as well as providing education surrounding hygiene and sanitation practices. The dissertation focused on the issue of

school feeding and child labor, and sought to examine whether or not the two policies mirror one another. In other words, it explores whether or not school-feeding policies can be used to address a socioeconomic issue such as child labor. School feeding typically caters to children and families within predominantly low-socioeconomic areas where children are prone to becoming engaged within the labor market. The analysis suggested that school feeding addresses to child labor in some capacity, specifically due to the fact that school feeding has been extended to National Child Labor Policy schools that have been used to rehabilitate and integrate former child laborers to ensure better lifelong outcomes.

Gender and Education

One of the widespread issues within the discourse surrounding education is the importance of gender and education. As mentioned above, one of the emerging themes from the interviews was the effect of school feeding programs on female children. Furthermore, the NGO members noticed a rise in enrollment and attendance of this demographic, compared to their male counterparts. Over the years, research has illustrated a noticeable gender gap within the educational landscape. More specifically, scholars such as Lewis and Lockheed (2006) state that globally, two third of girls who are not enrolled in school are minorities in their country. Grant and Behrman's (2010) research examines these noticeable gaps through a cross-country study in 38 developing countries that span six regions of the world. Schooling attainment is defined as "a cumulative process, in which individuals move sequentially from grade to grade and from the primary to secondary level" (Grant and Behrman, 2010, p. 72). Data from the Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) was used to evaluate attainment levels during two period of time: 1) 1990-1999 and 2) 2000-2006) for participants ages 6-18. The data showed that "ever enrollment" favored males over females, and despite that this gap has narrowed over time, it has not

disappeared for all age groups in the study. However, Grant and Behrman (2010) note that there was a significant female advantage in school enrollment in both the Latin America and Southeast Asia regions. Other regions, such as West/Central Africa still showed a male advantage with 75% of male enrollment a 65% female enrollment. The region is seen to be lower in universal enrollment compared to the other regions that were studied.

It is particularly important to focus on females not only because of the wide educational gender gap, but also because of women's contributions and the crucial role of females in society overall. The result of this gender gap perpetuates vast inequalities not only in education, but also in societies overall. As a result, women are in a place of intersectionality where they face numerous injustices. Not only are women hindered in their educational pursuits and opportunities, a system of patriarchy often keeps women out of the labor market where men are seen as the more valuable gender. It is especially prominent in developing countries.

Herz and Sperling (2004) highlight four distinct categories of returns on girls' education: economic productivity, family health, disease prevention, and women's empowerment. By sending girls to school, there is an increase in both income and productivity for women, their families and the country as a whole. Economically, women are typically in a weaker or lower position than men. However, research has illustrated greater benefits in investing in education for women than men, particularly when it comes to contributing to economic growth (Herz and Sperling, 2004). As mentioned above, the gender gap is an issue that not only impacts education but one that can tie education to the economic growth of a nation (Klasen, 1999). By increasing girls' education, Dollar and Gatti (1999) suggest that it can establish a better environment in which economic growth can take place, especially within developing countries that are moving

into middle income levels. The economic empowerment of women can even decrease the high levels of corruption within political and electoral systems in developing nations (Rihani, 2006).

Educating women is also effective in encouraging smaller, healthier families (Rihani, 2006; Klasen, 1999). For example, women who are educated are likely to want and have fewer children, and as a result, are better able to attain their desired level of fertility (Rihani, 2006; Summers, 1992). According to Summers (1992), an extra year of schooling reduced female fertility by about 5 to 10 percent. A cross-country study conducted by Subbarao and Raney (1995) found that the doubling of women with a secondary education would reduce fertility rates from 5.3 to 3.9 children per woman. The same study stated that expanding secondary education for females is the best policy to reduce fertility rates amongst women.

Research has suggested that children mortality rates decrease based on a mother's education (Rihani, 2006; Hill & King, 1995; Schultz, 1993; Summers, 1992). By educating women, they are better able to care for their children, specifically in their willingness to seek medical care as well as there being an improvement in sanitation practices (Summers, 1992). Moreover, educating women can affect their own mortality rates because of their increased knowledge in health care practices, as well as a reduction in pregnancies, as mentioned above (Rihani, 2006; Summers, 1992). A prevailing issue in developing countries is HIV/AIDS and efforts to alleviate the rise in the disease come through education. Specifically, Rihani (2006) posits that the attainment of a secondary education is an essential tool for women when it comes to protecting and procuring information and skills in how to prevent HIV/AIDS and other risky conditions that they may be faced with.

Lastly, educating women can contribute benefits to overall society, specifically in civic participation (Rihani, 2006). Although primary education can equip students with skills such as

reading, secondary education is what permits students to be able to critique, analyze and understand politics within their communities. According to Rihani (2006), these are the essential building blocks in civic participation, democracy and the overall incentive to bring change and empower individuals. Thus, secondary education is said to significantly improve women's support and participation in society, as well as gives them a sense of empowerment in having a voice and confidence to participate in the political realm (Rihani, 2006; Stasavage, 2005).

More recently, the World Bank reported that more than 130 million girls are out of school on a global scale (Thomas Reuters Foundation, 2018). Moreover, 132 million girls worldwide aged 6 to 17 do not attend school; while less than two-thirds of those in low-income nations finish primary school, and only a third finish lower secondary school, according to the World Bank. One of the benefits of educating women is the long-term economic outcome, with women who have completed secondary education being more likely to work and earning nearly twice as much as those with no schooling, reported the World Bank (Thomas Reuters Foundation, 2018). Reports have shown that, " If every girl in the world finished 12 years of quality education, lifetime earnings for women could increase by $15 trillion to $30 trillion." As mentioned above, there are various positive impacts of females completing secondary education, such as lower fertility rates in countries that have high population growth, a reduction in child mortality, and the alleviation of malnutrition, as reported by the World Bank (Thomas Reuters Foundation, 2018).

Conclusion

This dissertation has served as insight into the Mid-Day Meal Scheme in India, specifically in the aspects of quality and implementation, and the role of NGOs within this context. Additionally, the study aimed to explore if school feeding could be effective beyond health and education, specifically addressing socioeconomic issues. The research indicates that NGOs play a fundamental role in the functioning and success of school feeding programs. The increase in number of resources, advanced machinery and technology, and the ability to focus on a smaller scale in terms of cities and states, has enabled better quality and implementation practices. Over time, they are able to broaden their scope once they have developed and refined their quality and implementation practices. As a result, the NGO, Akshaya Patra, has triumphed in terms of the quality and implementation of their program, despite any challenges that may have faced. Additionally, the organization has been able to extend their success within other niches beyond education and nutrition. Their school feeding program has not only provided meals and proper nutrition overall, but has achieved the bridging of gaps found within the societal structure present in India. More specifically, the caste system, which is a hierarchy of social class in India, is still prevalent today. It has caused the separation in terms of socioeconomic classes, for both the individual and groups of people. However, Akshaya Patra has witnessed the integration of the social classes amongst the children they serve. This has created a more inclusive environment, which has allowed for better outcomes in terms of education and beyond. One of the overarching conclusions of this dissertation is that school-feeding programs are, in fact, multidimensional and have a key role outside of education or health, especially in addressing socioeconomic issues, which can lead to better long-term

outcomes in a more comprehensive manner. The following chapter provides future research and implications of the dissertation.

CHAPTER 5:

Implications for Future Research & Policy

This dissertation can serve as a foundation for future discussions that address a variety of relevant topics surrounding school feeding programs, first, in terms of their development and implementation and the key actors, followed by their outcomes. A significant aspect of previous research has been that scholars have examined how school feeding is fundamental to the education and health of its beneficiaries (Afridi, 2011; 2007; Ahmed, 2004; Ahmed & Ninno, 2002; Jomaa, McDonnell, & Probart, 2011; Kazianga et al, 2009; Lawson, 2012; Levinger, 1984; 1986; 1994; McEwan, 2013). There are two main implications stemming from this study. First, the study presented a new perspective of school feeding programs, and provided a more in depth understanding of how the interventions can be utilized to address outcomes outside of health and education. In other words, school feeding programs can operate beyond just providing a meal, alleviation malnutrition, and improving children's educational trajectories. Instead, a type of domino effect occurs as a result of offering a meal and increasing enrollment, specifically that these actions often lead to increasing cross-class engagement amongst children within schools, as well as decreasing the likelihood of a child to drop out of school and becoming part of the workforce. The dissertation especially explored how school feeding and child labor policies may reflect one another. The cross-examination of documents indicated that school feeding could be used as a measure to assist in the mitigation of child labor. Earlier studies examining the role of school feeding on child labor used quantitative methods and did find some significance,

specifically in terms of increase in enrollment and attendance (Kazianga et al, 2009; Ravallion and Wodon, 2000). However, this study distinguishes itself by using qualitative methods, and found that both school feeding and child labor policies have commonalities, specifically that former child laborers were placed in institutions where the Mid-Day Meal Scheme had been implemented. As school feeding programs continue to expand throughout the world, it is possible that gaining an understanding of its many facets is essential in determining how it is a multidimensional policy, one that addresses socioeconomic problems in addition to its primary goals and objectives.

A second key trait of the research was studying the role of non-governmental actors on school feeding interventions, which serves as a significant element for both research and policy. It is evident that at times, governmental institutions within developing contexts may not have the capital and machinery to implement certain policies and programs in an extensive manner (Brock, 2016; Rose, 2009). Previous research seldom mentioned non-governmental organizations (NGOs) when discussing school feeding programs. However, as highlighted by this study, these outside parties play a vital role when it comes to refining the various aspects of development and implementation of these interventions. Additionally, NGOs are crucial for improving quality and outreach, particularly due to their access to resources and the ability to focus on goals and objectives, as well as improving quality and implementation. Akshaya Patra, the largest school feeding NGO in the world, has played a key role in India's school feeding landscape. The organization's mission and vision is thoroughly grounded in the goals, objectives, and guidelines extended by the national government's Mid-Day Meal Scheme. This is largely due to their partnership role, in which Akshaya Patra assists in the implementation of the Mid-Day Meal Scheme within areas specified by the government itself. However, Akshaya Patra has

been able to improve the program's quality and implementation, especially due to their smaller scope in terms of how many states they operate within, as well as access to quality resources. Although their role may be on a smaller scale, their work has led to many accolades. Furthermore, Akshaya Patra has chosen to extend their initiatives beyond just school feeding, in an effort to create a more holistic approach and better overall long-term outcomes. For example, Akshaya Patra has established hygiene and sanitation program, as well as a mentoring program for their students to encourage and incentivize them to stay in school, thus, increasing retention and attainment.

Future researchers can use these two main implications to expand upon the school feeding literature, particularly in examining the role of the many actors that contribute to the development and implementation of these interventions, as well as exploring the multi-faceted nature of school feeding programs. It would be beneficial for researchers to use methods that are more qualitative in nature, since there are differences in significance between quantitative and qualitative research. Moreover, using qualitative methods would allow for the development of a new perspective that may not typically be found in quantitative work. Future research can also add to the literature by exploring additional socioeconomic issues that could be addressed through these interventions. From a policy standpoint, studying the interconnectivity of policies will allow policymakers to understand how to create legislation that can address various issues that may rarely be discussed alongside one another. However, developing and implementing policy that is inclusive of issues that work in tandem with one another can lead to both improved and more holistic outcomes. A third potential research idea stemming from this study is to examine how school feeding serves specific populations, such as female children. As discussed previously, female children were seen to have significant improvement in their health and

educational outcomes as a result of school feeding. It would be especially interesting for future researchers to explore how school-feeding programs can be better suited to serve especially vulnerable populations within developing contexts where lifelong outcomes can often be detrimental if there is a lack of opportunity and resources available. Lastly, NGOs have been often overlooked and it is imperative to gain an understanding of their integral role in the success of school feeding. Studies can expand upon this study by examining not only school feeding in India, but in other contexts as well. It would be especially interesting for researchers and scholars to explore other NGOs involved in school feeding, and even conduct comparative analyses to examine the best policies and practices in an effort to develop the most effective school feeding programs both now and in the future.

Appendix

NGO Member General Interview Guide Protocol (Akshaya Patra)

1. What is your name and what is your role at the organization?

2. What are your day-to-day tasks within the organization?

3. Describe the types of programs that the organization has designed and implemented.

4. How do these programs align with the national school-feeding program, specifically in goals and objectives? How do they differ from the national school-feeding program?

5. Describe any unique elements of the organization's school feeding program.

6. Describe Akshaya Patra's program quality guidelines. How does the organization ensure that they are meeting their quality objectives?

7. Describe the various implementation guidelines for Akshaya Patra's feeding program and how are they carried out? What is your role in its implementation?

8. Referring back to the last question, how do you measure/assess your program's implementation? What have been some major victories with your program in regards to implementation? Setbacks?

9. What has been overall impact (positive or negative) of the organization's school feeding program?

10. What populations have been most impacted by the program? How does it compare to the national school-feeding program?

11. What types of educational outcomes does the program aim to address? Which ones have they successfully addressed?

12. Describe whether or not the organization has knowledge of or has considered whether or not to broaden their scope of outcomes (economic and social) through their school feeding initiative.

Akshaya Patra Recruitment Email

Dear (Name):

I am a graduate student under the direction of Dr. Richard Welsh in the Department of Lifelong Education, Administration, and Policy, at The University of Georgia. I invite you to participate in a research study entitled An Analysis of the Role of Non-Governmental Organizations in School Feeding Initiatives in India. The purpose of the study is to examine the role of NGO's in India's school feeding program, specifically in terms of quality and implementation.

You are eligible for this study because you are a staff member working within Akshaya Patra, and are 18 years of age or older. Your participation will entail answering a series of questions concerning your role in the NGO, your primary tasks, your involvement in the school feeding program, how the program works in terms of design, objectives and implementation, as well as outcomes, and how it is similar or different from the national government-mandated program. Participation in this study is voluntary. You are free to withdraw your participation at any time should you become uncomfortable with it. If you have any questions or concerns, feel free to contact me at 301-219-6248 or parna@uga.edu or my PI, Dr. Richard Welsh at rowelsh@uga.edu. I hope you will enjoy this opportunity to share your experiences and viewpoints with us. Thank you very much for your help.

Thank you for your consideration!

Sincerely,

Parna Banerjee

Interview Consent Form

Dear (Name),

You are invited to participate in a project conducted as part of the requirement for a dissertation in the Lifelong Education, Administration, and Policy Department at the University of Georgia. For this project, I will be conducting an interview on NGO's and their involvement in school feeding interventions. The major advisor of the student will supervise the interview activity: Dr. Richard Welsh.

The purpose of the interview activity is to assist in the researcher's examination of school feeding interventions, especially focusing on the quality and implementation, as well as program outcomes. **The information generated will be used for the student's dissertation study, as well as for general research purpose.** All information, including names of participants, will be recorded in the study.

For this project, you will participate in a semi-structured interview over the phone that will take up to 60 minutes, which will be recorded. Recordings will be kept up to 6 months for research purposes before being destroyed.

For this project, I will ask you a series of questions concerning your role in the NGO, your primary tasks, your involvement in the school feeding program, how the program works in terms of objectives and implementation, as well as outcomes, and how it is similar or different from the national government-mandated program.

Participation in this study is voluntary. You are free to withdraw your participation at any time should you become uncomfortable with it. If you have any questions or concerns, feel free to contact me at 301-219-6248 or my PI, Dr. Richard Welsh at rowelsh@uga.edu. I hope you will enjoy this opportunity to share your experiences and viewpoints with us. Thank you very much for your help.

Sincerely,

Parna Banerjee

Major Advisor:

Dr. Richard Welsh

Assistant Professor

Lifelong Education, Administration, and Policy

For questions or problems about your rights please contact: Telephone (706) 542-3199; E-mail Address IRB@uga.edu

Glossary

Cash Transfer: identified as social assistance programs and family assistance programs, both having the central aim of poverty alleviation (Subarrao et al., 1997).

Child Labor: All forms of slavery and similar practices; child prostitution and pornography; illicit activities (in particular the production of trafficking and drugs); and work that is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children," (Gibbons, Huebler, & Loaiza, 2005).

Food Insecurity: Defined as "lack of access to sufficient quality food for all members of the household at all the times" (Rahman, P. M. M., Matsui, N., & Ikemoto, Y. (2013).

In-Kind Transfer: comprised of various subsidies from food and housing to energy (Subarrao et al., 1997).

Non-Formal Education: "refers to education that occurs outside the formal school system. Non-formal education is often used interchangeably with terms such as community education, adult education, lifelong education and second-chance education. It refers to a wide range of educational initiatives in the community, ranging from home-based learning to government schemes and community initiatives. It includes accredited courses run by well-established institutions as well as locally based operations with little funding." (Khasnabis et al., 2010).

Poverty Reduction Program: programs that are "comprised of initiatives for labor-demanding growth and expanded access to social services for the poor" (Subbarao et al., 1997).

Safety Net: "programs that protect a person or household against two adverse outcomes: chronic incapacity to work and earn (chronic poverty) and a decline in this capacity from a marginal situation that provides minimal means for survival with few reserves (transient poverty" (Subbarao et al., 1997).

Social protection program: a set of public actions which address not only income poverty and economic shocks, but also social vulnerability, thus taking into account the inter-relationship between exclusion and poverty (UNICEF, 2017).

Targeting: mechanism used to identify or classify people or group of people (Subarrao et al., 1997).

References

Adelman, S., H. Alderman, D. O. Gilligan, and K. Lehrer. (2008). "The Impact of Alternative Food for Education Programs on Learning Achievement and Cognitive Development in Northern Uganda," mimeo, International Food Policy Research Institute, Washington, DC.

Adelman, S., H. Alderman, D. O. Gilligan, and K. Lehrer. 2008. "The Impact of Alternative Food for Education Programs on Learning Achievement and Cognitive Development in Northern Uganda," International Food Policy Research Institute, Washington, DC.

Afridi, F. (2007). The impact of school meals on school participation: evidence from rural India. *Journal of Development Studies*, *47*(11), 1636-1656.

Afridi, F. (2011). Child welfare programs and child nutrition: Evidence from a mandated school meal program in India. Journal of Development Economics, 92(2), 152–165.

Ahmed, A. (2004). "Impact of Feeding Children in School: Evidence from Bangladesh," International Food Policy Research Institute, Washington, DC.

Ahmed, A. U., & Del Ninno, C. (2002). The Food for Education program in Bangladesh: An evaluation of its impact on educational attainment and food security. *Food Consumption and Nutrition Division Discussion Paper*, *138*.

Akshaya Patra Foundation. (2017). www.akshayapatra.org

Akshaya Patra. (2017). https://www.akshayapatra.org/

Akshaya Patra. *Mid-Day Meals Boost Participation in Schools*.
https://www.akshayapatra.org/news/mid-day-meals-boost-participation-in-schools

Alam, M., Hoque, M. S., Anwaruzzaman, C., Chowdhury, O. H., & Sarkar, A. I. (1999). Enhancing accessibility to and retention in primary education for the rural poor in Bangladesh: An evaluation of the food for education program. Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies, Dhaka (June 7).

Alzaroo, S., & Hunt, G. L. (2003). Education in the context of conflict and instability: the Palestinian case. *Social Policy & Administration*, *37*(2), 165-180.

Amin, A. A. (1994). The Socio-Economic Impact of Child Labour in Cameroon. *Labour, Capital and Society/Travail, capital et société*, 234-248.

Amin, S., Quayes, M. S., & Rives, J. M. (2004). Poverty and other determinants of child labor in Bangladesh. *Southern Economic Journal*, 876-892.

Anderson, C. A. (1961). Methodology of comparative education. *International Review of Education*, *7*(1), 1-23.

Aries, P. (1962). Centuries of childhood: A social history of family life. New York: Vintage

Baralt, M. (2012). Coding qualitative data. *Research methods in second language acquisition: A practical guide*, 222-244.

Basu, K. and Van, P. (1998) The economics of child labor, American Economic Review, 88, 412-27.

Baxter, P., & Jack, S. (2008). Qualitative case study methodology: Study design and implementation for novice researchers. *The qualitative report*, *13*(4), 544-559.

Becker, G. (1975). Human capital: A theoretical and empirical analysis (2nd ed.). New York: Columbia University Press.

Becker, G. (1991) A Treatise on the Family, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

Becker, G. (1993). Nobel lecture: The economic way of looking at behaviour. The Journal of Political Economy, 101(3), 385–409.

Bennett, J. (2003). Review of school feeding projects. *London: UK Department for International Development*.

Besley, T.,and Kanbur, R. (1993). "The Principles of Targeting." In M. Lipton and J. van der Gaag, eds., Including the Poor. Proceedings of a Symposium Organized by the World Bank and the Intemational Food Policy Research Institute. Washington D.C.: World Bank.

Bhalotra, S. (2000) Is child work necessary?, Discussion Paper 25, LSE
    Development and Distribution Series, London School of Economics.

Bhalotra, S., & Heady, C. (2003). Child farm labor: The wealth paradox. *The
    World Bank Economic Review*, *17*(2), 197-227.

Bhavan, S. 2011. Providing Mid-Day Meal to Children of National Child
Labor Project (NCLP) Schools as per Norms fixed for Upper-Primary
Children. http://mdm.nic.in/Files/Guidelines/Guidlines-NCLP.pdf

Blunch, N. H., Dar, A., Guarcello, L., Lyon, S., Ritualo, A., & Rosati, F. C.
    (2002). Children's work in Zambia: a comparative study of survey
    instruments. *World Bank, SP Discussion Paper*.

Boli, J. (2006). International Nongovernmental Organizations in *The
    Nonprofit Sector: A Research Handbook*. 2nd Ed. Eds. Powell, W.W.
    & Steinberg, R.

Bonnet, M. (1993). Child labour in Africa. *Int'l Lab. Rev.*, *132*, 371.

Bouchard, T. J., Jr. (1976). Unobtrusive measures: An inventory of uses.
    Sociological Methodsand Research, 4, 267-300.

Bowen, G. A. (2009). Document analysis as a qualitative research method.
    Qualitative research journal, *9*(2), 27-40.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006), Using thematic analysis in psychology.
    Qualitative Research in Psychology, *3*, 77-101.

Bridges J, Gray W, Box G el al (2008) Discovery interviews: a mechanism for
    user involvement. International Journal of Older People Nursing. 3, 3.
    206-210.

British Council. (2014). Indian Education System.
    https://www.britishcouncil.in/sites/default/files/indian_school_educatio
    n_system_-_an_overview_1.pdf

Brock, C. (2016). *Education and NGOs*. L. P. Symaco (Ed.). Bloomsbury
    Publishing.

Bryman, A. (2004). Social Research Methods. 2nd Edition. Toronto: Oxford
    University Press.

Bryman, Alan (1988): Quantity and Quality in Social Research. London: Routledge.

Buchert, L. (2002). Towards new partnerships in sector-wide approaches: comparative experiences from Burkina Faso, Ghana and Mozambique. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *22*(1), 69-84.

Bukari, M., & Hajara, I. P. N. (2015). The Ghana School Feeding Program: Factors Affecting Enrolment of Pupils in Garu-Tempane District, Upper East Region. *International Journal of Innovative Research and Development*, *4*(1).

Bundy, D. A. (2009). Rethinking school feeding: social safety nets, child development, and the education sector. World Bank Publications.

Burnard P. (1991) A method of analysing interview transcripts in qualitative research. Nurse Education Today 11, 461–466.

Burnard P. (1996) Teaching the analysis of textual data: an experiential approach. Nurse Education Today 16, 278–281.

Campbell, D. T., & Fiske, D. W. (1959). Convergent and discriminant validation by the multitrait-multimethod matrix. Psychological Bulletin, 56, 81-105.

Canagarajah, S., & Nielsen, H. S. (2001). Child labor in Africa: A comparative study. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *575*(1), 71-91.

Catanzaro M. (1988) Using qualitative analytical techniques. In Nursing Research; Theory and Practice (Woods P. & Catanzaro M., eds), C.V. Mosby Company, New York, pp. 437–456.

Caulley, D. N. (1983). Document analysis in program evaluation. Evaluation and Program Planning: An International Journal, 6(1), 19-29.
Cavanagh S. (1997) Content analysis: concepts, methods and applications. Nurse Researcher 4, 5–16.

Centre of Excellence. World Food Program. (2016). http://www1.wfp.org/centre-of-excellence-against-hunger

CIA World Factbook. (2018). https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/
Cole F.L. (1988) Content analysis: process and application. Clinical Nurse

Specialist 2(1), 53–57.

Collins III, J. W., & Nancy, P. O. (2003). O'Brien. *The Greenwood Dictionary of Education*, *293*.

Corbin, J. & Strauss, A. (2008). Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Corsaro, W. A. (2005). The sociology of childhood. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.

Crabtree, B. F., & Miller, W. L. (Eds.). (1999). *Doing qualitative research*. sage publications.

Creswell, J. W. (2003). Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Creswell, J. W. (2007). Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five approaches (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Daly, J., Kellehear, A., & Gliksman, M. (1997). *The public health researcher: A methodological approach*. Melbourne, Australia: Oxford University Press.

David M, Sutton C (2004) Social Research: The Basics. Sage Publications, London.

De Vreyer, P., Lambert, S., & Magnac, T. (1999). Educating children: a look at household behavior in Côte d'Ivoire. *Document de Recherche EPEE*, 99-13.

Denzin, N. K. (1970). The research act: A theoretical introduction to sociological methods. New York: Aldine.

Denzin, N. K. (1978). The research act: A theoretical introduction to sociological methods. New York: Praeger.

Denzin, N.K. (1978). The Research Act, 2d ed. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Department of School Education & Literacy, Ministry of Human Resource Development Government of India. *Mid-Day Meal Scheme.* http://mhrd.gov.in/mid-day-meal

Dessy, S. E., & Pallage, S. (2001). Child labor and coordination failures. *Journal of development economics*, *65*(2), 469-476.

Dey I. (1993) Qualitative Data Analysis. A User-Friendly Guide for Social Scientists. Routledge, London.

Diokono, B. and Symaco, L.P. (2016). NGOs and Education in the Philippines in *Education and NGOs*. L.P. Symaco (Ed.). Bloomsbury Publishing.

Dollar, D., & Gatti, R. (1999). Gender inequality, income, and growth: are good times good for women? (Vol. 1). Washington, DC: Development Research Group, The World Bank.

Downe-Wamboldt B. (1992) Content analysis: method, applications and issues. Health Care for Women International 13, 313– 321.

Dumas, C. (2007). Why do parents make their children work? A test of the poverty hypothesis in rural areas of Burkina Faso. Oxford Economic Papers,59(2), 301-329.

Ebrahim, A. (2003). Making sense of accountability: Conceptual perspectives for northern and southern nonprofits. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*,*14*(2), 191-212.

Edwards, M. and Hulme, D. (1995). `NGO Performance and accountability in the post-cold war world', Journal of International Development, 7(6).

Edwards, M. and Hulme, D. (1995). `Too close for comfort? The impact of official aid on nongovernmental organizations', World Development, 24(6).

Eisner, E. W. (1991). The enlightened eye: Qualitative inquiry and the enhancement of educational practice. Toronto: Collier Macmillan Canada.

Elo, S., & Kyngäs, H. (2008). The qualitative content analysis process. *Journal of advanced nursing*, *62*(1), 107-115.

Emerson, P. M., & Souza, A. P. (2003). Is there a child labor trap? Intergenerational persistence of child labor in Brazil. *Economic development and cultural change*, *51*(2), 375-398.

Ersado, L. (2005). Child labor and schooling decisions in urban and rural areas: comparative evidence from Nepal, Peru, and Zimbabwe. World Development, 33(3), 455-480.

Flaspohler, P. D., Anderson-Butcher, D., & Wandersman, A. (2008). Supporting implementation of expanded school mental health services: Application of the Interactive Systems Framework in Ohio. Advances in School Mental Health Promotion, 1, 38–48.

Gall, M. D., Gall, J. P., & Borg, W. R. (2003). Educational research: An introduction (7th ed.). Boston, MA: A & B Publications.

Gelli, A., Masset, E., Diallo, A. S., Assima, A., Hombrados, J., Watkins, K., & Drake, L. (2014). Agriculture, nutrition and education: on the status and determinants of primary schooling in rural Mali before the crises of 2012. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *39*, 205-215.

Gelli, A., Meir, U., & Espejo, F. (2007). Does provision of food in school increase girls' enrollment? Evidence from schools in sub-Saharan Africa. *Food and Nutrition Bulletin*, *28*(2), 149-155.

Gibbons, E., Huebler, F., & Loaiza, E. (2005). Child Labor, Education, and the Principle of Non-Discrimination. Chapter, 10, 214.

Gill, G. K. (1994). Working to survive: Child labor in rural and urban areas of Punjab. International Review of Modern Sociology, 24(1): 45–56.

Gillies, D. (2017). Human Capital Theory in Education. *Encyclopedia of educational philosophy and theory*, 1-5.

Grant, M. J., & Behrman, J. R. (2010). Gender gaps in educational attainment in less developed countries. Population and Development Review, 71-89.

Grantham-McGregor, S. M., Chang, S., & Walker, S. P. (1998). Evaluation of school feeding programs: some Jamaican examples. The American journal of clinical nutrition, 67(4), 785S-789S.

Gray, D,E. (2004) Doing Research in the Real World. First edition. Sage Publications, London.

Grimsrud , B. , & L. J. Stokke . (1997) . Child labour in Africa: Poverty or institutional failures? The cases of Egypt and Zimbabwe . Oslo , Norway : Fafo Institute for Applied Social Science .

Grootaert, C. (1999). "Child labor in Côte d'Ivoire: Incidence and determinants". InThe policy analysis of child labor: A comparative study, Edited by: Grootaert, C. andPatrinos, H. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Gunnarsson, V., Orazem, P. F., & Sánchez, M. A. (2006). Child labor and school achievement in Latin America. *The World Bank Economic Review*, *20*(1), 31-54.

Hand H (2003) The mentor's tale: a reflexive account of semi-structured interviews. Nurse Researcher. 10, 3, 15-27.

Handy, F., Ranade, B., & Kassam, M. (2007). To profit or not to profit: Women entrepreneurs in India. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*, *17*(4), 383-401.

Hill, M. A., & King, E. (1995). Women's education and economic well-being. *Feminist Economics*, *1*(2), 21-46.

Holloway I, Wheeler S (2010) Qualitative Research in Nursing and Healthcare. Third edition. Wiley-Blackwell. Oxford.

Hsieh H.-F. & Shannon S. (2005) Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. Qualitative Health Research 15, 1277– 1288.

Illick, J. E. (2002). American childhoods. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

International Labor Organization. (2016). Informal Economy. http://ilo.org/global/topics/employment-promotion/informal-economy/lang--en/index.htm

International Labor Organization. (2016). http://www.ilo.org/ipec/facts/WorstFormsofChildLabour/Hazardouschildlabour/lang--en/index.htm?ssSourceSiteId=global

International Labor Organization. (2017). http://www.ilo.org/ipec/facts/WorstFormsofChildLabour/Hazardouschildlabour/lang--en/index.htm?ssSourceSiteId=global

International Labor Organization. (2017). http://www.ilo.org/ipec/facts/ILOconventionsonchildlabour/lang--en/index.htm

International Labor Organization. (2017). http://www.ilo.org/ipec/Regionsandcountries/Asia/lang--en/index.htm

Jacoby, E. R., Cueto, S., & Pollitt, E. (1998). When science and politics listen to each other: good prospects from a new school breakfast program in Peru. *The American journal of clinical nutrition*, *67*(4), 795S-797S.

Jamison, D and Leslie, J. (1990) 'Health and nutrition considerations in education planning: The cost and effectiveness of school-based interventions', in Food and Nutrition Bulletin (12) No. 3. United Nations University Press.

Jayaraman, R., & Simroth, D. (2011). The impact of school lunches on primary school enrollment: Evidence from India's midday meal scheme.

Jenks, C. (2005). Childhood. (2d ed.). London: Routledge

Jomaa, L. H., McDonnell, E., & Probart, C. (2011). School feeding programs in developing countries: impacts on children's health and educational outcomes. Nutrition reviews, 69(2), 83-98.

Kazianga, H., de Walque, D., & Alderman, H. (2009). Educational and health impacts of two school feeding schemes: Evidence from a randomized trial in rural Burkina Faso.

Khasnabis, C., Heinicke, M. K., Achu, K., Al Jubah, K., Brodtkorb, S., Chervin, P., & Goerdt, A. (2010). *Community-based rehabilitation: CBR guidelines*. World Health Organization.

Klasen, S. (1999). Does gender inequality reduce growth and development: Evidence from cross-country regressions (pp. 1-12). World Bank, Development Research Group, Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Network.

Krippendorff K. (1980) Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology. Sage Publications, Newbury Park.

Krippendorff, Klaus. (2004). Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology. 2nd Edition. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Kristjansson, E. A., Gelli, A., Welch, V., Greenhalgh, T., Liberato, S., Francis, D., & Espejo, F. (2016). Costs, and cost-outcome of school feeding programmes and feeding programmes for young children. Evidence and recommendations. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *48*, 79-83.

Kvale, S. (2007). Doing interviews. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Kynga¨s H. & Vanhanen L. (1999) Content analysis (Finnish). Hoitotiede 11, 3–12.

Laborda Castillo, L., Sotelsek Salem, D., & Sarr, L. R. (2014). The effect of poverty, gender exclusion, and child labor on out-of-school rates for female children. *Journal of Research in Childhood Education*, *28*(2), 162-181.

Lambert, S. and Magnac, T. (1997). Implicit prices and recursivity of agricultural households' decisions, Working Paper 9731, CREST, Mal

Lawson, T. M. (2012). Impact of school feeding programs on educational, nutritional, and agricultural development goals: A systematic review of literature. *East Lansing (MI): Michigan State University*.

LeCompte, M. D., & Schensul, J. J. (1999). *Analyzing & interpreting ethnographic data*. Rowman Altamira.

Levine, S. (2010). *School lunch politics: The surprising history of America's favorite welfare program*. Princeton University Press.

Levinger B (1994) Nutrition, Health and Education for All. Education Development Centre, United Nations Development Programme: New York.

Levinger, B. (1984). School feeding programmes: myth and potential. *Prospects*, *14*(3), 369-376.

Levinger, B. (1986). School feeding programs in developing countries: an analysis of actual and potential impact.

Lewis, M. A., & Lockheed, M. E. (2006). Inexcusable Absence: Why 60 million girls still aren't in school and what to do about it: Center for Global Development.

López-Calva, L. F. (2001). Child labor: Myths, theories, and facts. Journal of International Affairs, 55(1): 59–73.

Marshall C. & Rossman G.B. (1995). Designing Qualitative Research. Sage Publications, London.

Marshall, C. & Rossman, B.G. (1989). Designing Qualitative Research. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Masset, E., & Gelli, A. (2013). Improving community development by linking

agriculture, nutrition and education: design of a randomised trial of "home-grown" school feeding in Mali. *Trials*, *14*(1), 55.

Maxwell, J. A. (2005). Qualitative research design: An interactive approach (2nd ed.). Thousand: SageOaks.

McCain G.C. (1988) Content analysis: a method for studying clinical nursing problems. Applied Nursing Research 1(3), 146–150.

McEwan, P. J. (2013). The impact of Chile's school feeding program on education outcomes. Economics of Education Review, 32, 122-139.

McNamara, C. (2009). General guidelines for conducting interviews, from https://managementhelp.org/businessresearch/interviews.htm

Meng, X., & Ryan, J. (2010). Does a food for education program affect school outcomes? The Bangladesh case. Journal of Population Economics, 23(2), 415-447.

Merriam, S. B. (1988). Case study research in education: A qualitative approach. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Meyers, D. C., Durlak, J. A., & Wandersman, A. (2012). The quality implementation framework: A synthesis of critical steps in the implementation process. *American journal of community psychology*, *50*(3-4), 462-480.

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). Qualitative data analysis: An expanded source book (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Miles, M., & Huberman, M. (1994). Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook (2nd ed.). London: Sage.

Miller-Grandvaux, Y., Welmond, M., & Wolf, J. (2002). Evolving partnerships: The role of NGOs in basic education in Africa.

Ministry of Human Resource Development, Department of School Education and Literacy, Government of India: Mid-Day Meal Scheme. (2018). http://mdm.nic.in/

Morgan D.L. (1993) Qualitative content analysis: a guide to paths not taken. Qualitative Health Research 1, 112–121.

Morshed, K. A. M. (2009). Social safety net programmes in Bangladesh. *Dhaka: United Nations Development Program*.

Murphy, J. (1980). Getting the facts, a fieldwork guide for evaluators and policy analysts. Santa Monica, CA: Goodyear Publishing.

Murphy, J. M., Pagano, M. E., Nachmani, J., Sperling, P., Kane, S., & Kleinman, R. E. (1998). The relationship of school breakfast to psychosocial and academic functioning: cross-sectional and longitudinal observations in an inner-city school sample. *Archives of Pediatrics & Adolescent Medicine*,*152*(9), 899-907.

Nagar, R., & Raju, S. (2003). Women, NGOs and the contradictions of empowerment and disempowerment: A conversation. *Antipode*, *35*(1), 1-13.

Najam, A. (1996). `NGO accountability: a conceptual framework', Development Policy Review, 14.

Nath, S. R., Sylva, K., & Grimes, J. (1999). Raising basic education levels in rural Bangladesh: the impact of a non-formal education programme. *International Review of Education*, *45*(1), 5-26.

NGO Launches School Feeding Program. Ghana News Agency. September 15, 2013. http://www.ghananewsagency.org/education/ngo-launches-school-feeding-project-64782

Official Portal of Andhra Pradesh Government. (2018). http://www.ap.gov.in/about-ap/ap-at-glance/

Owen, G. T. (2014). Qualitative Methods in Higher Education Policy Analysis: Using Interviews and Document Analysis. The Qualitative Report, 19(26), 1-19.

Oxford English Dictionary (OED). http://www.oed.com/

Parfitt, J. (2005). Questionnaire design and sampling.*Methods in human geography: A guide for students doing a research project*, *2*.

Parker, A.R. (2003). Prospects for NGO Collaboration with Multinational Enterprises, in *Globalization and NGOs: Transforming Business, Government, and Society*. Doh, J.P. & Teegen, H. Eds.

Patton MQ (2002) Qualitative Research and Evaluation Method. Third edition. Sage

Patton, M. Q. (1990). Qualitative evaluation and research methods (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Peninsula School Feeding Association (PSFA). (2017). http://www.psfa.org.za/

Phillips, D., & Schweisfurth, M. (2014). *Comparative and international education: An introduction to theory, method, and practice*. A&C Black.

Polit D.F. & Beck C.T. (2004) Nursing Research. Principles and Methods. Lippincott Williams & Wilkins, Philadelphia, PA.

Psacharopoulos, G. (1997). Child labor versus educational attainment Some evidence from Latin America. *Journal of population economics*, *10*(4), 377-386.

Rahman, P. M. M., Matsui, N., & Ikemoto, Y. (2013). Poverty and food security. In *Dynamics of Poverty in Rural Bangladesh* (pp. 101-109). Springer Japan.

Ravallion, M., & Wodon, Q. (2000). Does child labour displace schooling? Evidence on behavioural responses to an enrollment subsidy. *The Economic Journal*, *110*(462), 158-175.

Rihani, M. A. (2006). Keeping the Promise: Five Benefits of Girls' Secondary Education. Academy for Educational Development.

Robson C. (1993) Real World Research. A Resource for Social Scientists and Practitioner–Researchers. Blackwell Publishers, Oxford.

Rogoff, B. (1990). Apprenticeship in thinking. New York: Oxford University Press.

Rose, P. (2009). NGO provision of basic education: alternative or complementary service delivery to support access to the excluded?.*Compare*, *39*(2), 219-233.

Rosenzweig, M. and Wolpin, K. (1985). Specific experience, household structure, and inter- generational transfers: farm family land and labor arrangements in developing countries, Quarterly Journal of Economics, 100.

Saharia, P. (2013). *The Transformation of Child Labor in Andhra Pradesh, India: Lessons for State-NGO Collaboration*. Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore.

Saith, A., & Wazir, R. (2010). Towards conceptualizing child wellbeing in India: The need for a paradigm shift. *Child indicators research*, *3*(3), 385-408.

Sakellariou, C. and Lall, A. 1999. "Child labor in the Philippines". In The policy analysis of child labor: A comparative study, Edited by: Grootaert, C. and Patrinos,H. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Sandelowski M. (1993) Theory unmasked: the uses and guises of theory in qualitative research. Research in Nursing & Health 16, 213–218.

Sandelowski M. (1995) Qualitative analysis: what it is and how to begin? Research in Nursing & Health 18, 371–375.

Schultz, T. P. (1993). Returns to women's education. Women's education in developing countries: Barriers, benefits, and policies, 51-99.

Sidaner, E., Balaban, D., & Burlandy, L. (2013). The Brazilian school feeding programme: an example of an integrated programme in support of food and nutrition security. *Public Health Nutrition*, *16* (6), 989-994.

Sperling, G. B., & Herz, B. (2004). What works in girls' education: Evidence and policies from the developing world. *Washington, DC: Council on Foreign Relations*.

Stake, R. E. (1995). The art of case study research. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Stasavage, D. (2005). Working paper No. 54: Democracy and Primary School Attendance: Aggregate and Individual Level Evidence from Africa. Afrobarometer Working Papers.

Subbarao, K., & Raney, L. (1993). Social gains from female education: a cross-national study (Vol. 194). World Bank Publications.

Subbarao, K., Bonnerjee, A., Braithwaite, J., Carvalho, S., Ezemenari, K., Graham, C., & Thompson, A. (1997). Safety net programs and poverty reduction. *World Bank: Washington DC*.

Sukontamarn, P. (2005). The entry of NGO schools and girls' educational outcomes in Bangladesh.

Summers, L. H. (1992). Investing in All People. Washington: World Bank cited in the International Economic Insights.

Thirkell, L. (2012). Children's mental health and civil society in the Gaza strip.*Psychiatria Danubina*, *24*(1), 106-108.

Thomas Reuters Foundation. (2018). Failure to educate girls could cost world $30 trillion: report. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-global-women-education/failure-to-educate-girls-could-cost-world-30-trillion-report-idUSKBN1K131U?utm_source=TopSheet&utm_campaign=a738a3348e-EMAIL_CAMPAIGN_2018_07_12_01_28&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_d40b014331-a738a3348e-176204361

Togunde, D., & Carter, A. (2006). Socioeconomic causes of child labor in urban Nigeria. Journal of children and poverty, 12(1), 73-89.

Tomlinson, M. (2007). School feeding in east and southern Africa: Improving food sovereignty or photo opportunity. *Health* Systems *Research Unit, Medical Research Council*. *Equinet Discussion Paper*, (46).

Turner, D. W. (2010). Qualitative Interview Design: A Practical Guide for Novice Investigators. The Qualitative Report, 15(3), 754-760. Retrieved from http://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol15/iss3/19

UNICEF. (2013). https://www.unicef.org/socialpolicy/files/UNICEF-WB_systems_note_formatted.pdf

UNICEF. (2017). *https://www.unicef.org/socialpolicy/index_socialprotection.html*

Valenzuela, A. (1999). Gender roles and settlement activities among children and their immigrant families. American Behavioral Scientist, 42, 720-742.

Verlet, M. (1994). Growing up in Nima: Domestic deregulation and investment in child labor. LABOUR Capital and Society, 27(2): 162–90.

Webb, E. J., Campbell, D. T., Schwartz, R. D., & Sechrest, L. (1966). Unobtrusive measures. Chicago: Rand McNally.

Weber R.P. (1990) Basic Content Analysis. Sage Publications, Newburry Park, CA.

Weisner, T. S., & Gallimore, R. (1977). My brother's keeper: Child and sibling caretaking. Current Anthropology, 18(2), 16

Wesley, J. J. (2010). Qualitative document analysis in political science. In *T2PP Workshop* (pp. 9-10).

Whiting, B., & Edwards, C. (1988). Children of different worlds: The formation of social behavior. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University

World Bank. (2016). No "One Size Fits All" Solution to Sustainable School Feeding Programs. http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2016/06/09/no-one-size-fits-all-solution-to-sustainable-school-feeding-programs

World Food Program. (2017). http://www1.wfp.org/

Yin, R. K. (1994). Case study research: Design and methods (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Yin, R. K. (2003). Case study research: Design and methods (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Young Lives. (2017). https://younglives-india.org/

Young, D. R., Bania, N., & Bailey, D. (1996). Structure and accountability a study of national nonprofit associations. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*, *6*(4), 347-365.

Zaidi, S. A. (1999). NGO failure and the need to bring back the state. *Journal of international development*, *11*(2), 259.

Zelizer, V. (1985). Pricing the priceless child. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press