Briefing Paper

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Girls' participation in education

Findings from a multi-stakeholder context analysis in Northern Ghana

SNV-Ghana is in the process of moving from a generic approach in local governance, i.e. supporting general decentralisation processes, to a sector-based approach. As part of this shift, the portfolio team of advisers covering Northern Ghana (based in Tamale) carried out a context analysis of the education sector, involving other actors with a longer experience in education. The focus of the analysis was the position of girls in primary education.

The general picture emerging is that significant gains have been made recently in increasing the access to education for girls in many areas of Northern Ghana (although by no means all). This can in large part be attributed to long-term interventions by the many NGOs and donor agencies and projects, operating in Northern Ghana, as well as the more recent capitation grant system, effectively lifting many of the monetary barriers to educational participation. This raises three key challenges for educational policy:

- 1. There are still many girls not participating in education: a broad-based approach may not suffice to reach these girls, and a more targeted approach for reaching girls from marginalised communities may need to be considered.
- **2.** Increased educational access does not automatically translate into improved outcomes: with the increased participation of girls in primary school, capacities to manage the educational system in order to achieve sustainable and better outcomes are key to consolidating the gains made.
- **3.** Centralisation in donor funding requires political will to bring about regional balance: with donor agencies pooling resources and moving from projects to support for educational policies, targeted interventions and NGO funding are likely to dwindle, putting the onus on the government to address the structural constraints hindering development in Northern Ghana, as opposed to the Southern parts.

This Education Briefing Paper describes the way through which the northern portfolio of SNV-Ghana carried out the context analysis and shares some of the key findings and conclusions. Key partners in this analysis were TICCS (Tamale Institute for Cross Cultural Studies), NNED (Northern Network for Education Development) and CEF (Commonwealth Education Fund). Based on this analysis, and feedback elicited through this Briefing, SNV-Ghana will position its educational interventions and make its strategic choices for supporting local organisations and working in partnership with like-minded organisations and institutions.

1. National education policies

The elimination of gender inequalities in all spheres of life including education, as both a human rights issue and as an impetus for poverty reduction and development generally, has gained centre stage in the global and national

development agendas. Girls' education is particularly acknowledged as being a major catalyst in this endeavour, and has found explicit expression in most developing countries' national development policies, programmes and strategies. Two of the 18

targets for the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) are focused on eliminating gender discrimination and inequalities in educational access and achievements at all levels by 2015 (See box 1).

Ghana has begun the implementation of its second Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS II – 2006-2009). GPRS II expresses the national vision to be a middle-income country within the next decade. To make that happen, developing its human resources is considered as one of the three main thematic areas of GPRS II. Thus, a stronger emphasis on creating competent man-

power for development of the country. However, GPRS II aims not only to meet the MDG 2 goal, but also to put the lost quality back into basic education, especially for rural and deprived areas, and gives premium to bridging the yawning gap between girls' and boys' education in the country.

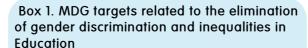
The Education Strategic Plan (ESP) for 2003-2015 is based on the Poverty Reduction Strategy and operationalises the Sector Wide Approach (SWAp) for education, which in Ghana is situated within the Multi-Donor Budget Support (MDBS) framework. ESP serves as the framework by which Ghana meets its commitments to achieve the MDGs in education – Gender Parity

by 2005 and Universal Primary Completion by 2015. In this regard, primary education is designated a sector priority within the ESP. Some specific and bold decisions have been taken by the government in a bid to boost the achievement of universal primary

completion target. These include the institution of the capitation grant scheme, albeit deemed inadequate, and the school feeding programme for poor districts in the country (see box 4). These are in addition to other specifically targeted initiatives to promote girls' education.

Decentralisation of decision-making power to District Assemblies and providing them with control over human resources and funds is expected to increase allocative efficiency and responsiveness to local needs as districts, schools and school management structures know the

special needs of local areas better than the centre. It is envisaged that the decentralisation of the education sector is completed and integrated into the local government administration system by 2007. This will have implications for various stakeholders in the sector and will require among others, fiscal and financial re-



<u>MDG target 3</u>: Ensure that by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling.

<u>MDG target 4</u>: Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015.



Eager faces of children in class





Not all schools have this type of facility

English class under the tree

forms, and strong capacity development support.

Although a commitment to decentralisation in Ghana within the local government concept is well articulated in policy documents, its complete implementation is still constrained by a number of factors. First, sectoral policies have not been clearly aligned with the broader local government policy, resulting in parallel planning, budgeting and financing of the education sector and the District Assembly. Secondly, weak linkage/harmonization of education development priorities and plans with those of local government, and unclarity in lines of authority, responsibility and accountability between the decentralized sectoral departments (including education) and the District Assembly creates sometimes conflict and tension at the local level. Furthermore, decentralized education sector management and governance structures at the local level are still very weak or non functional, especially at the school/community level. School Management Committees (SMCs) and Parent Teachers Associations (PTAs) are either not existing or have very weak capacity to effectively engage the education system. Finally, education authorities have still not made a sufficient mind shift to effectively work in partnership with other stakeholders in the education sector, particularly civil society and local communities.

2. The context analysis process

The strategy development process has been a combination of client engagement, exploring and deepening our understanding of the education context in Ghana and looking out for opportunities for strategic partnerships in the sector. This approach has proved useful in shaping our choice of focus, enabling us build relevant relationships as well as announce our entry into the education sector.

The initial point of departure in the context analysis for improving girls' education in Northern Ghana was on improving Gender Parity in education, mainly by focusing on access (quantity). Through a stakeholder-led process we realised the need to broaden from enrolment as key determinant of GPI, to also focus on educational outcomes as an essential dimension of our intervention choices. In addition, general policies (such as the Capitation Grant) are ineffective in addressing particular constraints faced by girls from marginalised communities.

The following steps were taken in the process.

The preparation of an inventory paper: A short inventory paper was prepared by the lead adviser for education. It made an inventory of issues on girls'

education in Northern Ghana based on existing literature/documentation, formulated provisional objectives and proposed the process for developing the education strategy.

Studies on gender in education: To validate the initial findings, TICCS was commissioned to carry out a study on cultural barriers to educa-

Box 2. Partnership between NNED, CEF AND SNV-Ghana

The partnership between the Northern Ghana Network for Education Development (NNED), the Commonwealth Education Fund (CEF) and SNV-Ghana Northern Portfolio emerged through SNV's positioning process in the education sector in Northern Ghana, and was driven by two factors: making use of opportunities/utilising needs expressed; and bringing different stakeholders together for a common agenda.

As an education network with a very unique and broad range of membership, NNED's engagement is in three key areas: Advocacy on education Policy; Education Research; and Awareness raising on education issues in communities. This makes NNED a critical strategic partner for SNV-Ghana for maximizing the impact of its intervention in the education sector.

SNV Northern Portfolio supported NNED to undertake a research on Gender Parity in Education in the three northern regions of Ghana. The research was designed as a collaborative research by NNED, SNV and CEF, a funding partner of NNED. The purpose of the research was to establish a credible baseline on the status of girls' education, particularly Gender Parity in education as a key target of both the MDGs and the global EFA Campaign. The research findings were to be used for a more targeted design of an advocacy strategy by NNED and SNV.

This joint activity was designed from a capacity building perspective, and viewed as enabling SNV, NNED and CEF, to build a relationship of trust which is essential for the envisaged long term capacity building engagement between NNED and SNV.

Through this process we broadened our focus from increasing access only to "Quantity @ Quality" for improving girls' education.

tion in Northern Ghana. This fed into a subsequent joint study to research the actual situation on the ground with respect to GPI in three selected districts in Northern Ghana. The study was jointly funded with CEF, and was di-

rectly supervised by NNED with SNV technical advice and support (see box 2). The studies confirmed the recent achievements made in GPI as well as the remaining strong barriers to girls' education for some particular communities.

Consultative meeting: Key players in education and SNVers from Ghana, Burkina Faso and Benin participated in a meeting to deepen the discussion on girls' education and refine/define the strategic direction. The meeting offered an opportunity to share our thoughts and provisional strategic objectives and enabled us gain the perspectives of other actors in the education sector. It was structured to combine presentations with a field visit and discussions. The field visit enabled us to confront the literature with the realities on the ground.

Nairobi workshop: In East Africa a number of SNV country programmes are involved in a similar positioning exercise to get involved in education. We had the opportunity to share our findings with those countries in a workshop by end of May (see box 3).

Complementary study: An intern was supported to conduct a research on female realities in basic education in Bole District. It uses the capability approach to explore the girls' and parents' attitudes and perceptions to formal education, and whether they think formal education can enhance the capabilities of girls. Do girls find relevance in the school system? The research was carried out in close cooperation with IBIS Ghana and PAPADEV, a local NGO.

Box 3. Nairobi Workshop on Positioning In Education Sector

SNV East and Southern Africa (ESA) Region organized a two days workshop in May 2006 in Nairobi, Kenya to review progress of the regional and country positioning processes in the education sector. Participants came from Ethiopia, Zambia, Uganda, Tanzania, Kenya, Rwanda, Sudan and Ghana.

The workshop aimed to:

- finalise a regional framework for SNV: map out opportunities in education and identify potential SNV added value in this sector for country and regional positioning and
- exchange information between the country teams on methods used and progress made so far in their actual positioning at country level

It has been observed that there is a lot of commonality between the East and Southern Africa region and Ghana (and likely the other West and Central African countries) in terms of education development and challenges for education financing, management and governance. Although there are some structural differences, particularly between the Francophone and Anglophone countries, as these blocks had different political and administrative experiences in their development history, key education issues are likely to be the same. Whereas educational supply is determined by (government) institutional arrangements, education demand is more determined by socio-cultural factors. It could well be that the situation between Northern Ghana and Northern Benin (and/or Southern Burkina Faso) has more similarities in this respect than between Northern and Southern Ghana. A coordinated positioning exercise in WCA, as carried out in ESA, could shed light on these questions and issues.

3. Results of the analysis

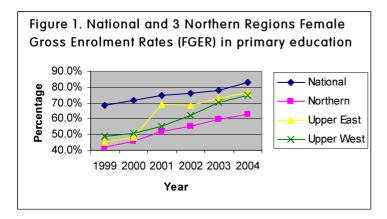
3.1. Indications of progress

The Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy identifies the three northern regions of Ghana - that is the Northern Region, the Upper East Region and the Upper West Region - as being the most deprived regions of the country and therefore most in need of support. Northern Ghana particularly presents very poor human well-being indicators, with high infant and maternal mortality rates, high illiteracy rates especially for females, food insecurity and its attendant causes of high prevalence of diseases and malnutrition etc. Education being an enabling factor for securing livelihoods of the poor, education of women and girls is particularly important for sustainable development outcomes in Northern Ghana. For this reason, these three regions are often those that attract support, including support for the education sector, from the country's development partners. These efforts are beginning to show positive results in the education sector, with varying degrees in the three regions.

Female Gross Enrolment Ratio (FGER)

With regard to the primary gross enrolment ratio, Ghana shows very positive trends over the past five years. GER in the country has increased by about 11.8% between 1999 and 2004, with that of females increasing with 12.8%. In 2004, boys' school enrolment stood at 90.5%, and for girls at 84.4%. However, these data mask the differences across the districts and regions of the country. For example, the level of female GER in districts varies from 111.4% in the Berekum district of the Brong Ahafo Region to 34% in Gushiega-Karaga district of the Northern Region.

Following the national trend, the three northern regions showed a significant increase in female GER (see figure 1). In 1999, the Upper East and



Upper West Region had a female GER that lagged far behind the national average, while in 2004 the gap is narrowed. This is indicative of a much faster growth in female enrolment in these regions than in the country as a whole, and indeed, whilst the national figure increased by 12.8% over the period, that of the Upper East and Upper West regions grew by 31.4% and 26.1% respectively. Northern Region has had a slower growth due to a combination of socio-cultural, economic, and religious factors. The demand-based interventions of many NGOs and donor agencies have created less impact in Northern Region, due to the marginalised position of many communities in that region.

Again, these figures mask district specific realities. Interestingly, data of primary GER, disaggregated by gender, demonstrated a higher growth rate in female school enrolment than that of boys (see table 1). While it explains the high performance in the increase in primary GER, these findings may also indicate the re-

Table 1. Increase 2001-2004 in primary GER, disaggregated by gender					
	GER	Male GER	Female GER		
National	13.0%	12.0%	14.1%		
Upper West	32.7%	29.6%	35.9%		
Upper East	22.5%	20.1%	24.0%		
Northern	18.6%	12.8%	26.6%		

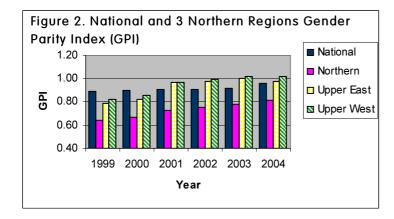
verse effect of girls' education interventions in some districts in the Upper West and Upper East regions, where now a higher percentage of boys is not in school compared to girls.

Gender Parity Index (GPI)

In addition to the growth in FGER, some of the districts in the Upper East and Upper West Regions have performed well with achieving Gender Parity (see figure 2). The Gender Parity Index is calculated as the ratio of Girls gross enrolment (GER) to Boys' enrolment (GER). Eight (8) districts in Ghana have so far achieved Gender Parity in education, of which six (6) are located in the two Upper regions.

A closer look at the GPI, however, provokes an observation that GPI is not always indicative of a high female GER or vice versa. For example Bawku West district in the Upper East Region ranks number 4 in terms of Gender Parity (1.09) but still has a female GER of only 47.5% (ranking 107 for this indicator), whilst Tamale Municipality in the Northern Region ranks at 102 in terms of the Gender Parity Index with a figure of 0.81, yet has an overall female GER of 92.9% (ranking 17 for this indicator).

This suggests that using GPI alone is not a good measure of girls' education and that whilst Gender Parity (MDG target 4) may be achieved as an end in itself, in progressing towards the MDG 2 target of Universal Primary Completion for both girls and boys, it is essential to focus on total gross enrolment (and eventually net enrolment) rates and not take it for granted that having achieved Gender Parity, all girls are in school. There may still be many girls and boys to get into the classroom. About 40% of children in Northern Ghana between the ages of 6 – 14 years are missing education.



3.2. Challenges related to girls' education

In this section, the main issues and challenges relating to girls' education in Northern Ghana are presented. It concerns issues that apply to both boys and girls (retention, completion and achievement and quality education) and other factors (economic and socio-cultural factors) that are gender-based dimensions of educational issues which apply to girls alone.

Retention, completion and achievement

While the Upper regions may have achieved

parity of enrolment at primary levels, there is certainly not equality of achievement. A focus on enrolment figures alone can lead to guestionable conclusions. A quick look at the closing of the gender gap (GPI) can also lead to misleading assumptions that boys are now at a disadvantage. This may not be the case, at least not in relation to girls. A UNICEF report indicates for example that



A girl being encouraged to answer a mathematical question on the board

the retention rate of cohort girls in the Northern Region that started primary class in 1997 and reached primary class 6 in 2002 was 51.3% while the transition rate for girls from P6 to JSS1 in the region in 2002 was 77.2%. There obviously is a greater loss of girls between P1 and P6, and therefore a need for greater focus in improving primary sector enrolment, retention, completion and achievement in school if the MDG targets in education are to be met in Northern Ghana. Female enrolment figures for tertiary education are also low. In Teacher Training Colleges the proportion of female enrolment is only 35.9 % and in tertiary institutions this proportion is 29.7%. In Technical and Vocational Institutions under the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, female enrolments account for only 13.7% of the total.

Quality education

Ghana has for some time now focused on improving access to education without paying equal attention to education quality. As a result, quite some significant progress has occurred in increasing education quantity, includ-

ing narrowing the gender disparity gap in education, but education quality has suffered drastically as a result. For example, the current Capitation Grant Scheme aimed at increasing access to primary education has resulted in overcrowding of the classrooms at the lower primary level, with no attendant increase in the number of teachers, tables/chairs, teaching and learning

materials etc. The challenges of weak human resource management in terms of quantity, quality and equity of teacher deployment, weak supervision, poor pedagogic practices, questionable relevance of school content to the developmental needs of both pupils and the country, and low level of communities' engagement with the education system, are not adequately addressed.

This situation can in part, be attributed to the heavy dependence on external funding for education financing in Ghana and the current focus of the donor community on quantity in education at the primary level (Gender Parity and Universal Primary Completion within a specific time frame) which tends to undermine other sub-sectors in education. More and more, it is being argued that an undue focus on universal

Box 4. School Feeding

Since the Catholic Relief Service (CRS) started to feed school children in Northern Ghana in 1958, School Feeding Programmes (SFPs) have been implemented in the three northern regions. In Northern Ghana people living below the poverty line range between 69 and 88%, and they are prone to experience food insecurity. It is generally acknowledged that the World Food Programme (WFP) Girls School Feeding Programme was one of the factors of an extremely large growth in enrolments and Gender Parity between 1999 and 2004 in Upper East and Upper West Regions (see table 2).

Current major players of SFPs in Northern Ghana are still CRS and WFP and positive outcomes have been confirmed in their beneficiary schools. However, both of them will be phased out from the arena: CRS by the end of 2008 and WFP by the end of 2010.

Table 2: FGER and GPI in primary schools						
	1999		2004			
	FGER	GPI	FGER	GPI		
National	68.5%	0.89	83.1%	0.96		
Upper East	45.0%	0.79	76.4%	0.98		
Upper West	48.8%	0.82	74.9%	1.02		

Meanwhile, the Government of Ghana (GoG) has initiated its intention to expand this service in the country. There are three enabling factors for this. First, the opinion in the international community to urge the government to pay basic services to assure achievement of MDGs has become stronger and stronger. Secondly, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) selected Ghana as one of ten countries where NEPAD SFP will be implemented. Thirdly, the Government of Netherlands pledged to support the GoG to establish its national SFP under the NEPAD concept.

Thus, the pilot phase of the Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP) was launched in 2005 under the NEPAD "Home Grown" SFP concept, which aims to contribute to not only improvement of the education service delivery but also agricultural development. Locally produced food would be purchased to feed school children, school gardens would be established, and agriculture would be incorporated into school curricula.

In order to consolidate the GSFP programme design by the end of the pilot phase, CRS with its donor, USAID, and WFP have started a series of dialogues to share their expertise with the Programme Secretariat in Accra, while the operational responsibility at the local level is left to District Assemblies (DAs).

It is obvious that success of GSFP will depend on how partnership at the local level among different actors, such as DA, GES, SMC, PTA, private sector, farmers and communities, can be built and strengthened for the programme. A key challenge to the government is the sustainability of school feeding. Whereas there appears to be strong donor support at present, whether the government has the political will on the longer term to continue with school feeding is largely a political question. The government needs to consolidate strong achievements realised in Northern Ghana due to NGO and donor support, while mainstreaming its national policies.



School Feeding in Tolon-Kumbungu

primary completion (MDG 2) alone at the expense of the entire education sector will not yield the desired poverty reduction outcomes.

Economic factors

Across Northern Ghana, there are high levels of poverty, and inadequate resources. As poor families struggle to eke out a living, girls play a key role in the survival of these households, by bringing income either indirectly through taking

responsibility for household chores including caring for younger siblings while their mothers work on the farm or trade, or directly through their engagement in petty trading/street hawking or serving as house helps. The economic dimensions of low enrolment and/or high dropout rates for girls in Northern Ghana, especially in the Northern Region, is also manifested in the high rural-urban, but more importantly, north-south migratory patterns among the

"there are only two girls in class 6 but they are not in today, they don't come to school on Fridays because it's market day, they are helping their mothers".

Teacher in one of the communities in Bole district in the Northern region



Should I help my family or go to school?

youth, especially girls. The emergence of the child labour phenomeespecially non, with respect to the kayayee, which is to a large extent a preserve for girls from the Northern region, has a direct relation to limited levels of education and limited economic opportunities in the rural communities of Northern Ghana.

Socio-cultural factors

Although useful lessons could be learned from the successes in these two Upper regions in addressing gender inequality issues in education in other parts of the country, it would be worth noting that the push factors for sending girls to school differ between socio-cultural and geographic areas. It would appear most com-

munities/parents are quite aware now of the value of girls' education, as well as girls' intellectual abilities and capabilities to achieve educational heights. However, while physical and economic factors may still constitute major barriers to girls' access, retention and achievement in school in some locations, the fundamental causes in some other areas would be significantly social and psycho-cultural. Thus the de-

sign of intervention programmes and strategies would have to be informed by the specific location realities.

"Most parents have the crude notion that girls' education is at the kitchen. Hence, they do not want to use their resources on the girl child's education".

Respondent from Savelugu-Nanton district, NNED research.

Box 5. Marginalisation

The Birifors are a linguistic or tribal group, mostly found in the northwest corner of Ghana, where the borders of Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana meet, with the Black Volta defining this border. The Birifor in Sawla-Tuna-Kalba District constitute one of the two predominant tribes in the district. Indeed, the Birifor form the majority population in the district.

Kalba, which is often called the capital of the Birifors, is surrounded by some 80 Birifor communities, a half of which do not have access to formal basic education or non-formal education. Located in a new district where poverty is endemic and illiteracy is widespread, the Birifor are the most deprived in terms of resource allocation and the distribution of public services and social infra-

structure.

'There is a primary school and a
JSS, but now the JSS is closed up
and the primary is not functioning well because there are no
teachers. There is only one
teacher who is untrained'.
Assemblyman, community in SawlaTuna-Kalba district,
Northern region

However, there are some community initiatives in some Birifor communities to start their own school. In one village I visited, the community had come together to start a school for their children. They

have put up a temporary structure (see picture), and have engaged a Senior Secondary School Leaver to teach the children.

The issue of marginalization stems from the fact that the Birifors are not indigenes of the land, and therefore social services to these communities are not given a priority.



School put up by a Birifor community

Source: SNV intern research by Ivy Anan and IBIS report on the Birifor

4. Conclusion

The achievements that have been realised in getting girls to school in some specific parts of the North (mostly Upper West Region, and also Upper East Region), have not given the same results in Northern Region. It appears, that some specific population groups do either not respond to increased incentives, or face structural socio-cultural barriers preventing them from using increased opportunities.

With regard to education quality, an additional challenge is now becoming apparent. The question whether the education provided does indeed enhance capabilities to deal with life as presented in Northern realities is a further moot point which deserves urgent attention.

SNV will take these above observations as starting point for the positioning of its interventions. The SNV team of advisers in Tamale will embed the initial experiences with education in Northern Ghana within the wider SNV Ghana strategy, and will seek to build coalitions and alliances of both civil society organisations as well as government institutions to address these emerging challenges. It will further seek to build contact with SNV programmes in the neighbouring countries for the eliciting of common experiences and lessons. On the basis of these experiences, final strategic choices will determine the direction of the SNV interventions in Northern Ghana.

This briefing paper was prepared by the Northern Portfolio Office of SNV-Ghana, based in Tamale. It is part of a series of papers written by SNV-Ghana to inform clients, partners and other stakeholders about SNV's "work in progress" and to contribute to discussions on current issues in capacity building or thematic areas. The document may be used for the purposes of advocacy, education and research provided that the author is informed for impact assessment purposes.

The data on which this briefing is based were collected through two studies:

- 1. TICCS (Tamale Institute for Cross Cultural Studies) was commissioned by SNV to research on cultural barriers to education in Northern Ghana. They published their report as: Mahama, E.S. and Suran-Era, J. 2005. "Cultural practices that impede girl child education in Northern Ghana".
- 2. With co-funding from CEF (Commonwealth Education Fund) and SNV, a consultant was commissioned by NNED (Northern Network for Education Development) with technical inputs from SNV to develop the research report "Achieving Gender Parity in Basic Education in Northern Ghana" (NNED, CEF and SNV. 2005).

Reports of these two studies are available at SNV-Ghana Northern Portfolio Office.

Our acknowledgement goes to UNICEF Ghana, as we also refer some statistical data from the 2004 UNICEF Ghana report, "Ghana: Achieving Gender Parity by 2005". Data on GER and GPI have been compiled from the Ministry of Education, Science and Sports report "Preliminary Education Sector Performance Report 2006" (MES, PESRP, June 2006)



Schooltrip to Mole National Park

SNV-Ghana

SNV is a Dutch-based organisation providing advisory services to client organisations. SNV focuses on capacity development of meso-level organisations, as the link between macro-level policies and micro-level livelihoods and realities. The advisory practice consists of a combination of change management support and thematic expertise, delivered by advisers working in a portfolio team. One of the SNV themes is Responsive and Accountable Local Governance, as part of which this study was carried out.

The briefing paper is a product of Northern portfolio of SNV Ghana, and has been prepared by Justina Anglaaere, Hiroko Yashiki and Rinus van Klinken, with editorial and lay-out support from Elsbet Lodenstein (based in Accra).

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