

EXPLAINING EDUCATION REFORMS IN GHANA:
AN INSTITUTIONAL AND IDEATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

A Thesis Submitted to the
College of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
In the Johnson Shoyama Graduate School of Public Policy
University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon

By

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ABSTRACT

In Sub-Saharan Africa, scholars have mainly deployed structural (conditionality thesis) and institutional (path dependence) frameworks to explain policy stability and change, thus neglecting other mechanisms such as ideational processes. Yet, there is evidence of path departing changes in education reforms and other policy areas in Ghana and Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), which call for ideational analysis. Drawing on insights from institutional and ideational explanatory frameworks, this study analyzes the 1987 and 2007 education reforms in Ghana to ascertain the factors, the key actors, and the mechanism employed to influence these reforms. Consequently, the study explores the processes of bricolage and translation that informed these two reforms. To achieve these research objectives, the study adopts the case study approach based on qualitative methods of inquiry, which involves face-to-face interviews and document analysis. The study identified that, in addition to state actors, two groups of non-state actors (Domestic Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) and Trans-national Actors (TNAs)) mattered for education reforms in Ghana. Unlike what is implied by the conditionality thesis, these non-state actors use ideas channeled through conferences, issuing of annual reports, workshops and press releases to influence these reform processes and generate policy legitimacy and local ownership among national policymakers. More generally, the study argues that the educational sector in Ghana has witnessed both policy stability and change when the dimensions of the reforms are specified along objectives, content, financing, and structure and duration. Thus, whereas financing of basic education witnessed policy stability, the objective, content, and structure witnessed significant changes in 1987 and marginal changes during the 2007 reform. Finally, the study also argues that, regardless of the political regime in place, the socio-cultural and political duality of the Ghanaian society was ignored during the reform processes. As such, a key group of actors, traditional institutions, was marginalized by national policymakers.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

*This is my story, this is my song,
Praising my Savior all the day long (SASB 310)*

I am most grateful to God for seeing me through this PhD program successfully at the Johnson Shoyama Graduate School of Public Policy (JSGS). I am sincerely grateful to my supervisor, Professor Daniel Béland for his guidance and tutelage. His doors were always opened to me and he provided timely and positive feedback on my draft chapters. In addition to this, he had a listening ear to my personal issues. Thank you Sir!

I am equally grateful to my thesis committee members: Professor Emeritus Donald Ray, Professor Margot Hurlbert, Dr. Janet Okoko and Dr. Julie Kaye for their timely and constructive feedback that helped shape this thesis. I also appreciate the insights and perspectives of my external examiner, Prof. Charles Conteh, which enriched my work. My heartfelt appreciation to all teaching and non-teaching staff of JSGS for the beautiful environment they create for academic work to flourish. The courses I took in my first year helped me to properly situate my research within the policy literature. The administrative support received from Amy and Amanda is worth acknowledging. I also acknowledge my colleague students especially Priva, Giustino and Vincent for the thought-provoking discussions we had over the years.

To my wife, Johana, daughter Nana Efua and son Kwabena Antwi, thank you so much for your sacrifices, love and continuous support. To my mum, Florence; my siblings: Augustina, KD, Rosina and Benjamin; in-laws George and Elizabeth, thank you so much for everything. My in-law, Elizabeth, left behind her husband and children to come to Canada to assist in taking care of my children while I focused on completing this thesis. I truly appreciate your sacrifice mummy.

I will forever be grateful to my interviewees for their time and great responses during my field trip to Ghana. Thanks to all my friends especially Dr. Rosina Foli, Grace Mary Aboni, Ebenezer Tannor, Donald Dela Dartey, Samuel Okoto Amankwa and Vida Bodi for their support and encouragement over the years. To my church family, The Salvation Army, Berkshire Citadel, Calgary; Saskatoon Temple and William Booth Temple, Madina-Accra, thank you so much for your continuous prayer support and kind words over the years. I am most grateful. God bless you all!

DEDICATION

To my dear wife, Johana Efua; daughter, Nana Efua Boakyewaa and son, Kwabena Antwi, for their love, sacrifices and support.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADPE	Accelerated Development Plan for Education
AFRC	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council
AGI	Association of Ghana Industries
BESIP	Basic Education Sector Improvement Project
BREB	Behavioral Research Ethics Board
CAADP	Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Programme
CHASS	Conference of Heads of Assisted Secondary Schools
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CPP	Convention Peoples Party
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
CSSPS	Computerized School Selection and Placement System
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
EKE	Education for Knowledge Economy
ESWG	Education Sector Working Group
FCUBE	Free and Compulsory Universal Basic Education
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEA	Ghana Employers' Association
GES	Ghana Education Service
GHALOP	Ghana Accountability for Learning Outcomes Project
GNAT	Ghana National Association of Teachers
GNECC	Ghana National Education Campaign Coalition
GNUPS	Ghana National Union of Polytechnic Students
GPS	Ghana Partnership Schools
GSFP	Ghana School Feeding Programme
HI	Historical Institutionalism
ICT	Information Communication Technology
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGOs	International Non-Governmental Organizations
JHS	Junior High School
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency

JSS	Junior Secondary School
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MoE	Ministry of Education
NAGRAT	National Association of Graduate Teachers
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NESAR	National Education Sector Annual Review
NFED	Non-Formal Education Division
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NI	New Institutionalism
NLC	National Liberation Council
NPP	New Patriotic Party
NRC	National Redemption Council
NUGS	National Union of Ghanaian Students
PAMSCAD	Program of Action to Mitigate the Social Costs of Adjustment
PNDC	Provisional National Defence Council
PNP	People's National Party
PP	Progress Party
PRAAD	Public Records and Archives Administration Department
PSDP	Primary School Development Project
RCT	Rational Choice Theory
RME	Religious and Moral Education
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SHS	Senior High School
SI	Sociological Institutionalism
SMC	Supreme Military Council
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
SSS	Senior Secondary School
TEWU	Teachers & Educational Workers Union of Ghana
TNAs	Trans-National Actors
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UPE	Universal Primary Education
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WFO	World Food Organization

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction and background of the study

The current thinking about social policy revolves around the efforts of the state to reduce economic inequality and insecurity through the provision of certain floors on incomes (such as minimum wages) and basic services (such as healthcare coverage) to the prevention of income losses (such as employment benefits). Thus, social policies (both income programs and social services) are meant to ensure that every member of the community gets a certain minimum standard of living and opportunities (Amenta, 2003; Titmuss, 1974). Such programs include public services or income programs that govern the well-being of citizens, aiming at providing remedies for what William Beveridge (1942) termed as the ‘five social maladies’ – poverty, poor health, inadequate housing, lack of education, and unemployment. In recent times, issues such as good drinking water, sanitation, infrastructure, and roads have been added to Beveridge’s list (Mundial, 2004). Accordingly, social policies aim at providing welfare for citizens including the attainment of both economic and non-economic objectives; and involve some measure of progressive redistribution in command-over-resources (Alcock et al, 2001:213).

There is consensus among scholars and policymakers that education, at least basic education (an example of social policy), is key to the attainment of the above objectives of ensuring that every member of the community gets certain minimum standard of living and opportunities (Nowak, 2001; Schultz, 1993). This is argued, in part, by human capitalist theorists (Schultz, 1993) and, to some extent, by modernization theorists (Inkeles, 1969) who view the stock of knowledge or characteristics of a worker (either innate or acquired) as contributing to his or her productivity. As Nowak (2001:245) aptly puts it:

Education is a precondition for the exercise of human rights. The enjoyment of many civil and political rights, such as freedom of information, expression, assembly and association, the right to vote and to be elected or the right of equal access to public service depends on at least a minimal level of education, including literacy. Similarly, many economic, social and cultural rights, such as the right to choose work, to receive equal pay for equal work,

the right to form trade unions, to take part in cultural life, to enjoy the benefits of scientific progress and to receive higher education on the basis of capacity, can only be exercised in a meaningful way after a minimum level of education has been achieved.

Such a view enables us to think of not only the years of schooling, but also of a variety of other characteristics (e.g. school quality, training and attitudes towards work) as part of human capital investments. Thus, basic education is seen to be critical to enhancing the quality of human life and ensuring social and economic progress (United Nation's Report on the World Social Situation, 1997). As captured by Quashigah (2001:3), education is globally seen as the "root of all development; the crucible for democracy and liberty and is as indispensable to national development as it is to individual development". Accordingly, basic education has now become a basic human right in most countries (both developed and developing) and a necessity for survival in the modern era. As such, basic education has over the years become an important function and policy area of the state and its governance institutions at both national and local levels. Thus, under the direction of the state, education has been designed according to official policy to redress social inequity, achieve the well-being of the citizenry and provide a critical pool of human resources for accelerated development of a modern economy. In the popular *Brown versus Board of Education*¹ case in the United States of America (1954), Chief Justice Warren noted:

Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may

¹ 347 US 483, 74 S.Ct. 696, 96 L.Ed. 873 (1954).

reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.

In view of the above argument, the post-colonial Ghanaian state has consistently viewed basic education as its core responsibility; and an important tool for national development. In view of this, successive governments since 1957 have introduced many reforms to improve education outcomes in Ghana. The emergence of these reforms is not only as a result of the changing socio-economic environment of the Ghanaian state. They are largely due to the systemic flaws attributed to the indiscriminate importation of western models and concepts of education since the 1950s, which ill-suited Ghana's social, cultural, and economic systems. However, the nature of these reforms and praxes, the factors that drives these reforms and their impact has received little attention in the literature on education reforms in Ghana. As the literature largely suggests, the objectives, financing, structure, and duration of formal basic education in Ghana has its roots in Ghana's colonial past (see Adu-Gyamfi, S., Donkoh, W. J., & Addo, A. A., 2016; Aissat, D., & Djafri, Y., 2011; McWilliam, H. O. A & Kwamena-Poh, M. A., 1975). To break away from this past, successive governments have introduced a number of policy reforms and initiatives aimed at improving the provision of education in the country. While the educational system has largely seen some stability in terms of financing since 1945, the objectives, content, structure, and duration have seen some significant and dramatic changes over the years, a situation worth exploring (Adu-Gyamfi, Donkoh, & Addo, 2016; Akyeampong, 2010; Inoue, & Oketch, 2008; Kadingdi, 2006). For example, the current goals of education in Ghana that emanated from the 2007 reform seek to promote global competitiveness and at the same time preserve indigenous cultural practices and knowledge. These goals are different from the goals of education in the 1950s through to late 1970s, which emphasized the identity-creating potential of education. Education in this period was used as a tool for nation building due to the multiple identities that existed in the country at the time of independence. In addition, the current structure and duration of pre-tertiary education in Ghana, which is a 14-year system consisting of 2 years of kindergarten, 6 years of primary education, 3 years of Junior High, and 3 years of Senior High School (usually referred to as the 2:6:3:3 system), is different from the 17-year structure consisting of 6 years of primary education, 4 years of middle school, 5 years secondary

education and a 2-year sixth form education (6:4:5:2) that existed from the 1950s through to late 1980s.

The making of public policy and subsequent changes in these policies (be it education, health, or transportation) are a widely researched area in the social sciences. This is so because the world is not static, and the constitutive elements (e.g. actors, problems, institutions) are ever changing especially in developing countries such as Ghana. Accordingly, policies undergo changes to reflect the environment (political, economic, social and cultural) within which they exist. Explaining these policy changes is an area of continuous research and debate in Sub-Saharan Africa. Consequently, a number of explanatory frameworks have been put forward to account for the changes including the conditionality thesis captured under structural explanations, psychological explanations and institutional frameworks. However useful they are, these frameworks have not considered the socio-cultural and political duality of most Sub-Saharan African states, and as a result miss out on some of the key actors that matter for socio-economic policies in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). Again, there are instances where SSA countries have undertaken policies in contrast to what have been set out in the conditionalities² attached to loans and assistance from wealthy countries and international bodies.

Of importance to this work are ideational frameworks that have been propounded with the hope of better explaining how these policies are made or changed (see Campbell, 2004; Blyth, 2002; Jenkins-Smith & Sabatier, 1993; Hall, 1993). However, these frameworks have largely been tested in advanced countries to the neglect of the Global South, particularly, SSA. In recent times, attempts have been made to apply these frameworks to policy studies in healthcare, poverty, and pensions in SSA, including Ghana (see Foli, Béland, & Fenwick, 2018; Wireko, & Béland, 2017; Kpessa, & Béland, 2012; Kpessa, 2010).

The application of ideational frameworks to explain education reforms in developing countries could solidify the explanatory capacity of the frameworks because, in Ghana, like many other SSA countries, there exist a dual political and governance structure in what Ray (1996) termed as “divided sovereignty”. The duality of the Ghanaian society presents an opportunity to ascertain how different actors within the policy space use ideas as a power

² This is further discussed in Chapter 2.

resource to influence the policy process and bring about change or otherwise. Such an exercise could in turn help address many of the teething problems with education delivery in developing countries, including many SSA countries that missed out on achieving the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) 2 of providing universal primary education by 2015. For example, Ghana's Fourth Republican Constitution (1992 Constitution, Chapter 6, Section 38, Sub-Section 2) mandates the state to ensure that every Ghanaian child obtains at least basic education. This culminated in the formulation and introduction of the free and compulsory universal basic education (FCUBE) for every school-age child in 1996. Several reforms have been introduced to fulfill this constitutional requirement³, but these reforms have not yielded the desired outcome, as accessibility and quality of education continue to be key challenges of Ghana's educational system. There is limited number of primary schools especially in rural Ghana, which reduces access to basic education. Currently, Ghana has over 18,500 primary schools and 8,900 junior high schools (JHS) across the country (Ghana Education Service, 2018). In addition, many teachers refuse postings to the few available rural basic schools due to poor incentive structures and the poor living conditions in these rural areas, thereby affecting the quality of education being provided. These challenges have negatively impacted the attainment of the objectives of the FCUBE policy. According to UNESCO Institute of Statistics (2018), the net primary enrolment in Ghana as of 2018 was 83.59%. A total number of 682, 596 school-going children (representing 16.41%) were out of school during this period.⁴

Furthermore, the application of these frameworks in a sub-Saharan context could help improve the effectiveness of education policy development if the Global South is to meet Goal 4 of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which aims at ensuring inclusive and equitable quality education and promoting lifelong learning opportunities for all by 2030. The study, therefore, draws on new institutionalism and ideational perspectives to explain education reforms in Ghana. To enhance the explanatory power of these perspectives, especially new institutionalism, the study deploys Campbell's (2004) concepts of bricolage and translation.

³ These policies include the Free School Uniform Program introduced in 2009; the Capitation Grant introduced in 2004; and the Ghana School Feeding Program introduced in 2005.

⁴ <http://uis.unesco.org/country/GH>. Accessed on 17th May 2019.

1.2 Statement of Problem and Research Questions

With formal education dating back to colonial era in the late 1880s (Aissat & Djafri, 2011; McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, 1975), successive governments in post-colonial Ghana have made conscious efforts to improve upon enrolment figures and the quality of education at the pre-tertiary levels in the country regardless of their ideological stance. Accordingly, pre-tertiary education in Ghana has largely been characterized by efforts of successive governments to make basic education free for all Ghanaian children. This has been the case since 1945, when the colonial government proposed a 10-year plan to universalize basic education in 25 years. A number of reforms have been undertaken since independence in 1957. These reforms have dealt with a number of issues including objectives, financing, structure, and duration of education in the country. For example, in tandem with the ideological orientation of the Convention Peoples Party (CPP), in 1951 the CPP administration introduced the Accelerated Development Plan (ADP), which abolished tuition fees, with the objective of achieving Universal Primary Education (UPE) for all Ghanaians within 15 years. In furtherance to this, the CPP government introduced the 1961 Education Act, which made universal primary education compulsory in order to consolidate the gains of the ADP. Consequently, pre-tertiary education was completely free in northern Ghana while southern Ghana enjoyed limited cost-bearing for parents. Thus, the Act focused on eliminating all forms of financial barriers to basic education in the country. This paid dividend as by the end of 1961, the number of primary schools had increased from 1,083 to 8,144; middle schools from 539 to 2,277; and secondary schools from 13 to 105. Primary enrolment during the same period increased from 153,360 to 1,137,495; middle school enrolment from 66,175 to 267,434; and secondary school from 5,033 to 42,111 (Hayford, 1988: 35). Successive governments since the overthrow of the CPP government in 1966 have embarked on similar reforms even in the face of harsh economic conditions.

The efforts of governments to make basic education universal was enhanced when the 1992 constitution of Ghana made provisions for same under Chapter 6 Section 38 Sub-Section 2. In line with this provision, in 1996, the then ruling National Democratic Congress (NDC) introduced the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE). In 2004 and 2005, the New Patriotic Party's (NPP) administration, which took over from the NDC in 2000, also introduced the school capitation grant and then, the school feeding program. The overall

objective of these reforms was to remove all forms of financial barriers to basic and secondary education. The educational sector has therefore, witnessed policy stability since independence in terms of financing basic education. Successive governments have continuously financed basic education regardless of the economic outlook since the 1950 reform. Why is this the case, especially in the face of the neoliberal economic policies pushed by the Bretton Woods Institutions (International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB)) on countries such as Ghana under the guise of economic recovery programs? Interestingly, the current NPP-led administration has introduced a free Senior High School policy beginning the 2017/2018 academic year across the country in the face of an IMF-led Extended Credit Facility program, which expires in December 2018.

However, there have been two major reforms in Ghana since 1951 (i.e. 1987 and 2007 reforms) dealing mostly with the objectives, structure, content and duration of basic education in Ghana. The first is the Evans-Anfom reform in 1987. This reform altered the structure, duration and content of basic and secondary education in Ghana. The reforms introduced the concept of Junior Secondary Schools to replace middle schools. The 1987 reforms reduced the first circle of education to nine years (i.e. 6-year primary education and 3-year JSS), with the seventh through ninth grades designated as Junior Secondary School (JSS). This marked a departure from the structure of 10-year basic education inherited from the missionaries and the British colonial administration, which comprised of six years of primary school and four years of middle school. Successful candidates from the JSS then proceeded to a 3-year senior secondary education. Thus, pre-tertiary education in Ghana was shortened from seventeen years to twelve years. In addition, the reforms diversified the secondary school programs into five different components: Agriculture; General Arts and Science; Business; Technical; Vocational.

The second major education reform occurred in 2007 following the victory of the NPP, who during the electioneering campaign promised to overhaul the education sector should it win the 2004 general elections. The government set up the Anamuah-Mensah's committee to introduce educational reforms to reflect the human capital needs of the country; preserve the cultural identity/traditional indigenous knowledge or creativity of the Ghanaian; and to bridge the science and technology knowledge gap. The reform reviewed both the content and duration of basic and secondary education. Consequently, a 2-year kindergarten education was added to

the already existing 9-year basic education to make it 11-year basic education. The 3-year senior secondary school (renamed Senior High School (SHS)) was increased to 4 years with the 1st year in the SHS dedicated to the study of 5 “core subjects” (i.e. English Language, Mathematics, Integrated Science, Information Communication Technology (ICT) and Social Studies)⁵. However, governments over the years do not implement the entirety of recommendations made by education reform committees. Ruling governments always modify these recommendations. For example, while the 2007 committee recommended that at the lower primary level (i.e. primary 1 to 3), pupils should be instructed in their local language in line with a 1971 education policy, the government opted for the use of the English language. Again, the government rejected the committee’s proposal to introduce the teaching of Religious and Moral Education (RME) in the curricular of SHS. The government also rejected the proposed 3-years SHS system and instead introduced a 4-year system. In 2010, the ruling NDC reversed the 4-year SHS education to 3-years in fulfillment of their electioneering campaign promise during the 2008 general elections.

Cumulatively, these reforms (i.e. 1987 and 2007) marked a dramatic change in the objectives and structure of Ghana’s education policy. There has been a shift from the identity-creating potential of education to a focus on the economic value of education with significant modification to the structure and reduction in the number of years of pre-tertiary education. Despite these reforms, accessibility and quality continue to be major problems of the education sector in Ghana. The trend is more worrisome as school children move up the education ladder. For example, primary school enrolment in 2014 was 96.5%, junior high school was 80.6% while the senior high level recorded 31.7% (IMANI Ghana Report, 2014). In 2018, primary school enrolment dropped substantially to 83.59%, junior high enrolment marginally dropped to 79.2% while senior secondary education increased to 59.01%⁶. Thus, percentages of school children keep dropping as they move up the education ladder. What therefore has been the impact of these reforms on education outcomes in Ghana? In answering such a question, there is the need to account for these policy reforms. Why have there been dramatic changes in the objectives, duration (i.e. time spent at the basic school level), and structure of education at both the primary

⁵ Significant was the introduction of ICT as a core subject in addition to the existing 4 core subjects (i.e. English Language, Mathematics, Integrated Science, and Social Studies).

⁶ <http://uis.unesco.org/country/GH>. Accessed on 17th May, 2019.

and secondary levels of education vis-à-vis the seeming stability in the financing of basic education?

The literature on policy change largely focuses on institutions⁷ and in particular the mechanisms of path dependency⁸ (Schneiberg, 2006; Pierson, 2000) and conditionality⁹ (Pronk, 2001; Kahler, 1992; Loxley, 1990; Havnevik, 1987). However, as discussed earlier, the education reforms of 1987 and 2007 led to path departing changes. Unfortunately, not much work has been done on path departing changes occurring in the education policy space in SSA. It will therefore be interesting to ascertain what occasioned these path departing changes in both 1987 and 2007 reforms. This is because the much-popularized conditionality thesis has not always led to the desired outcome as has been shown by Dijkstra's (2002) analysis of policy conditionalities in eight different countries using a principal-agent framework. In recent times, policy conditionalities are simply not adhered to by recipient countries in SSA, as other factors shape education reforms (see Kanbur, 2000; Crawford, 1997; Collier, Guillaumont, Guillaumont, & Gunning, 1997). As Conteh and Ohemeng (2009:59) note, "it is wrong to assume that all developing countries are merely 'policy hooks' in the decision making game of the international community".

Beyond conditionalities, what other mechanisms may be responsible for education reforms in Ghana? In view of the above, the study undertakes an ideational analysis of education reforms in Ghana using Campbell's (2004) concepts of bricolage and translation¹⁰. The main objective of this research is to analyze education reforms in Ghana from an ideational perspective. The concepts of bricolage and translation to be employed will show how different actors within the policy space affect the reform processes and the means by which they affect these processes.

In terms of case selection, my choice of Ghana is informed by the relative stability of the country since its return to democracy in 1993. This stability has led to the expansion of the role of the non-state actors in the policy space. These actors include Civil Society Organizations (CSOs); Non-governmental Organizations (both domestic and international); Traditional

⁷ Forms of constraint (formal or informal rules and norms) that human beings devise to shape human interaction.

⁸ The idea that policy legacies or past policy choices constraining future choices so that policy change.

⁹ Conditionality is the setting of policy conditions for aid.

¹⁰ These concepts are discussed under literature review and theoretical framework in Chapter 2.

Authorities; Trans-national Actors (TNAs); the Media; and Faith-based Organizations. Again, Ghana's educational system has undergone two major reforms (1987 and 2007) since independence which have been path departing. In addition, there have been several policy reviews in between these reforms that are worth exploring. More significantly, there exist a dual political and governance structure in Ghana, where the formal state structures exist side-by-side with the traditional political system. It is therefore worth exploring how all these actors shape the policy process especially in the area of education.

In line with the above, the study will be guided by these research questions:

1. Why has Ghana experienced both policy stability and change in its education reforms?
2. What factors have driven these education reforms?
3. In the context of asymmetric power relations, what policy actors exert the most direct influence on education reforms? Why are these influential actors able to exert more direct influence on the policy process?
4. Do these actors use bricolage and translation as ideational and institutional mechanisms for education reforms?
5. If they do, what type of ideas (i.e. paradigms, programs, frames, and public sentiments) do they use, and how do they use them to influence education reforms?

1.3 Significance of the Study

The study examines the processes involved in the design and implementation of the major education reforms (1987 and 2007) in post-independent Ghana. In so doing, the study provides answers to how different causal factors interact to bring about these education reforms. The study argues that, although new institutionalism provides some answers to education reforms or policy change in Ghana, the mechanisms through which these reforms take place are not adequately covered by this theory. Accordingly, the study shows that Campbell's (2004) concepts of bricolage and translation, which are ideational mechanisms, are useful to explain

policy change while making a strong case for new institutionalism. Even though these two concepts have been applied to developed countries, their application to developing countries, particularly SSA countries, have been very minimal. The duality of most SSA countries, a characteristic many developed countries do not have, makes such application more interesting. Again, as suggested in this thesis, the concepts of bricolage and translation point to the fact that, beyond conditionalities, other factors shape education reforms in Ghana. This is because there are instances where technically superior policies from the international donor community have been rejected by governments because they lacked political support (Adu-Gyamfi et al, 2016; Gilson, et al, 2003).

Turning to bricolage and translation is helpful to show that path dependency has not always been the dominant pattern in education reforms in Ghana but there are instances where path departing changes have taken place, especially during the 1987 and 2007 education reforms. More critically, bricolage and translation, as ideational mechanisms, elucidate the important role actors play in the policy space. As such, the study identifies the key actors (i.e. policy entrepreneurs) that matter in a dualist society such as Ghana for education reform.

While the state and its institutions; and CSOs, TNAs and NGOs are identified in other studies as key actors, traditional institutions are clearly omitted despite the socio-cultural and political duality of the Ghanaian state. Since the return to multi-party democracy in 1993, successive governments have extended some form of recognition to these traditional institutions. Accordingly, there are instances where the state and traditional authorities complement each other. For example, in many rural communities, traditional authorities have complemented the efforts of the state to ensure the success of the FCUBE policy introduced in 1996 by sanctioning parents whose children are found in farms or other places instead of in classrooms during schooling hours. The study recognizes this duality and traditional institutions in order to broaden the reach of bricolage and translation in explaining policy change in Ghana in later chapters. This socio-cultural and political duality is common with most SSA countries; hence lessons from this study could be applied to other SSA countries.

Ultimately, the study draws the attention of policymakers to this group of actors for them to better understand the political and social forces that shape education reforms and their

subsequent outcomes in Ghana. This is particularly important if Ghana and SSA are to meet the 10 targets set under Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 4 of ensuring inclusive and quality education for all and promoting lifelong learning as many SSA countries missed out on the MDG 2 targets in 2015. With these in mind, policymakers in Ghana and beyond will be provided with the theoretical frameworks and analytical tools to better understand their own actions and, especially, the broad ideational, institutional, and political context in which they operate.

1.4 Plan of the Study

The study follows the plan laid out below. Chapter Two reviews the literature on policy change, drawing on the strengths and weaknesses of the four logics of explanation outlined by Parsons (2007). The study identifies the institutional and ideational logics as most suitable for the study and proceeds to discuss these logics. Drawing on the weaknesses of institutionalism, the chapter lays out an analytical framework which focuses on Campbell's (2004) ideational mechanisms of bricolage and translation. This framework makes use of the four types of ideas (programs, frames, public sentiments and paradigm shift) identified by Campbell (2004). In this regard, an actor-centric framework is developed to identify the key actors that matter for education reform in Ghana. This framework is then used to explain path departing reforms in Ghana's education in 1987 and 2007.

Chapter Three focuses on the research design. This chapter outlines the methodological framework of this study. The qualitative case study approach employed for this study and the rationale for selecting the country (Ghana) and cases (reforms) are briefly discussed. In addition, this chapter discusses the data collection technique used in acquiring data for the analysis. The chapter explains how respondents were recruited using both purposive sampling technique and snowballing. First, an eligibility criterion was developed to ensure that selected participants could provide useful information for addressing the research questions. In addition, an institutional map was developed to ensure that participants were drawn from different state and non-state institutions. This was to ensure that different perspectives were brought to bear on the research questions. Based on the above, the study conducted a semi-structured face-to-face interview with 39 participants. The chapter also shows how the interview data was transcribed and analyzed using the qualitative software, Nvivo (v. 12), to systematically generate major themes for the analysis in subsequent chapters.

Chapter Four discusses the educational system in Ghana since independence. This chapter highlights some of the education reviews that have taken place prior to the two major reforms in 1987 and 2007. Specifically, the chapter provides a brief overview of Ghana's pre-independence educational system and proceeds to discuss the post-independence educational system, thereby laying the foundation for the two empirical chapters that follow.

Chapters Five and Six examine the two major reforms under study in detail using the theoretical framework developed in Chapter 2. Specifically, Chapter Five examines the 1987 reform employing Campbell's (2004) bricolage and translation mechanism. It shows how the different actors employed different strategies to influence the reform process. This chapter shows how the asymmetric power-relation among the actors played out to shape the outcome of the reform process. The analysis shows that the 1987 education reform was as a result of both internal and external factors. Internally, the PNDC government and the general population were dissatisfied with the existing educational system, which was seen to be elitist and overly grammarian. Externally, trans-national actors (TNAs) (i.e. IMF and WB) required the government to reduce its education spending which was conditionality for accessing financial assistance under the Economic Recovery Programme in 1983. In addition, these institutions pushed for a paradigm shift in the objectives of education in developing countries (i.e. the global adoption of Education for Knowledge Economy). With their financial resources, the IMF and WB were able to infuse their ideas into the policy process as against other domestic non-state actors. The study also shows that, during the 1987 reform, there was a non-existent civil society organization due to the culture of silence that had permeated the Ghanaian society because of the military rule at the time. Thus, the space for participation in the policy process was limited to the state and its allied agencies. Finally, the study reveals that the duality of the Ghanaian political system was taken for granted as the traditional institutions were completely ignored in the reform process in 1987.

On the other hand, Chapter Six examines the 2007 reform and shows how the state and its institutions influence the policy process for political gains, ignoring, in most cases, ideas from TNAs. However, the study shows how TNAs are strategically using domestic NGOs to push through their ideas because of their financial resources since ruling governments, for political support, are more inclined to listen to domestic NGOs than TNAs. This chapter also shows how

traditional authorities are marginalized in the reform process in spite of the duality of the Ghanaian society.

Chapter Seven summarizes the main findings of this study. It also discusses the lessons learnt and draws implications for public policy practice and opportunities for further studies, particularly for domestic and international policy practitioners interested in education reform in Ghana and SSA.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

Many of the early public policy literature on the causes of policy stability and change focused on policy stability (see Campbell, 2004; Pierson, 2000; North, 1990; Lindblom, 1959). However, in recent times, there have been a number of works that highlight the possibility of path departing policy change (Jones & Baumgartner, 2005; Hall, 1993). This literature is relevant for this thesis because we need to explain why Ghana shifted from an identity-creating educational system in the 1950s and 1970s to a system based on economic-values in the late 1980s till present. Particularly useful here is the work of Craig Parsons (2007), who offers a typology to map four types of explanations of political actions and decisions (i.e. structural, institutional, ideational, and psychological explanations).

This study adopts an institutional and ideational explanatory framework to discuss the 1987 and 2007 education reforms in Ghana. In the ensuing paragraphs, I will discuss these two explanations, highlighting their strengths and weaknesses. I will then proceed to develop an analytical framework based on the institutional and ideational logics espoused by Parsons (2007) for this study. The choice of these logics is based on their adequateness in explaining educational reforms in Ghana. As later paragraphs will show, the institutional logic elucidates the impact of institutions on the determination of political and social outcomes. Policy change is therefore seen as following an evolutionary path resulting in incrementalism; which is characterized by the making of successive marginal changes to existing policy (Lindblom, 1959) and path dependency where existing policies that take a particular course induce further movements along the same pattern (Pierson, 2000; North, 1990). To adequately explain education reforms in Ghana and SSA, there is the need, however, to complement this logic with the ideational logic as ideas can both constraint and facilitate reforms. As such, the study employs Campbell's (2004) concepts of bricolage and translation to explain how ideational mechanisms inform the policy process in Ghana. The turn to ideas is very critical to analyzing education reforms in Ghana for two main reasons: first, it allows the study to acknowledge that dramatic education reform is possible; and second, it recognizes that both internal and external actors within the policy arena influence the policy process. The latter is of critical importance to this study. While many studies have identified actors that matter for any policy studies in Ghana and SSA, many of them ignore

the socio-cultural and political duality of these societies. As such, a key type of actors, the traditional institutions, are marginalized or ignored completely. Consequently, the deployment of both the institutional and ideational logics allows this study to develop an actor-centric framework that suits a dual political society, like that of Ghana, to explain policy change, in this case, education reform.

2.2 Existing Explanatory Frameworks

As indicated earlier, Parsons (2007) offers a typology to map explanatory arguments. Parson (2007) begins by first identifying two broad distinctions in order to map out his logics of explanation. The first distinction Parsons (2007) makes is that of the logics of *position* and *interpretation*. Parsons (2007: 14-15) argues that an explanation can emphasize *the situation* an actor is in (logic of position) within certain external circumstances (reality), or the operator's *understanding* of the situation (logic of interpretation).

A logic-of-position claim details “the landscape around someone to show how an obstacle course of material or man-made constraints and incentives channels her to certain actions” (Parsons, 2007: 13). Simply put, this is “an explanation based on rationality under constraints” (Daigneault, & Béland, 2015: 387). On the other hand, the logic of interpretation, refers to explanatory claims based on irrationality or multiple rationalities. Such claims show how “someone arrives at an action only through his/her interpretation of what is possible and/or desirable” (Parsons, 2007:13). These explanatory claims (whether based on the logics of position or interpretation) lay emphasis on the importance of the micro-foundations of action. Thus, to understand decision-making, one ought to know and understand the individual.

We are thus embroiled in the never-ending debate about what Stone (2012) termed as the “rationality project” in policy making. The dominant approach to public policy (i.e. traditional rational choice theory) begins with an assumption of rational behavior where individuals are motivated exclusively by their desire to maximize their self-interests (Stones, 2012). Downs (1957) therefore suggests that every individual has both private motive and social function with the private motive underpinning the social function.

On the other hand, the theory of intended and bounded rationality (i.e. of the behavior of human beings who accept an available option as satisfactory because they have not the wits to maximize) challenges the conventional rationality project, which requires complete knowledge and anticipation of the consequences of each choice one makes; a perfect anticipation of values; and a choice among all possible alternative behaviors (Simon, 1997, p. 81). Though Simon (1955) assumed that rationality was “bounded”, he did not mean that people were stupid. Rather, he argued that the nature of rational decision-making required an appreciation of both the cognitive limitations and the nature of the work environment; what Lindblom (1959) termed the ‘branch method’. Thus, the innumerable barriers to collecting all the information required to know all possible policy alternatives and consequences of each alternative, including the cost of information gathering; the availability of information and the time involved in its collection; the insufficiently advanced predictive capacities of the social, behavioral, physical and biological sciences to enable policymakers to understand the full range of consequences of each policy alternative and the personal needs, inhibitions and inadequacies of policymakers which prevent them from performing in a highly rational manner constitute great barriers to rational policy making (Simon, 1955: 103-110). Thus, bounded rationality is anchored on organisms’ goals, known information and the conceptualization the social and political actor has of the situation.

Ideational approaches to politics tend to start from the assumption that rational actors face considerable uncertainty about their interests or how to pursue them due to both cognitive limitations and incomplete information. The introduction of new ideas therefore causes actors to reshape their policy preferences, making interests less stable than rationalist predict. Thus, norms and ideas partly constitute an actor’s interests and policy preferences. In view of this, Orenstein (2008: 5-6) suggests that ideas: reduce uncertainty in times of crisis by providing problem definitions that enable actors to understand the situation that they are in; make collective action and coalition building possible by allowing agents to redefine their interests under conditions of uncertainty and to link up with other actors behind new programs; used as weapon in the struggle over existing institutions where they help to delegitimize current institutions and the norms and ideas of opponents as well as justify policy preferences of reform advocates; act as blueprint for new institutions, suggesting policies and methods of achieving stated goals; and make institutional stability possible by providing justifications for institutions’ existence and the policies that they transmit.

The second broad distinction Parsons (2007) makes is that of *general* and *specific* (*particular*) explanations. General explanations are those explanations believed to apply to all humans; for example, a way of thinking or structural factors that affect all people across time and space. Such explanations are considered exogenous, and thus generate deterministic or probabilistic regularities that follow from exogenously given conditions. On the other hand, where explanations offer segmented logic through time, they become particular or specific, located in a particular time and place. In other words, such explanations are distinctive to a particular historical or geographical context. Thus, the cause of particularistic explanations is man-made as “people’s choices were contingent until they built their own causal dynamics around them” (Parsons, 2007: 13). This means that, at some point, the selection and acceptance of certain institutions or ideational elements were contingent as other institutions or ideas could have been settled on or made. Hence, institutional and ideational explanatory claims are inherently particularistic, and both psychological and structural claims are generalistic in nature.

These two broad distinctions outlined above culminate into four explanatory arguments about human action: structural, institutional, ideational, and psychological explanations (see figure 2.1 below).

Figure 2. 1: Fundamental matrix of explanations of action

	General	Particular
Position	Structural	Institutional
Interpretation	Psychological	Ideational

Source: Parsons (2007: 15).

As stated earlier, the study adopts both the institutional and ideational explanations to examine the 1987 and 2007 education reforms in Ghana because they provide specific explanations to these reforms as opposed to the general explanations provided by structural and psychological explanations. As shall be discussed later, institutional and ideational explanations both take

context into account. In discussing education reforms in Ghana, it is therefore imperative that the socio-cultural, economic and political contexts are taken seriously.

2.2.1 Institutional Explanations

Institutions are simply defined as the formal and informal procedures, routines, norms and conventions embedded in the organizational structure of the polity or political economy that constrain and channel the behavior of the actors operating within them (Trebilcock, 2014; Parsons, 2007; Campbell, 2004; Hall & Taylor, 1996; North, 1990). Unlike structural explanation, which relies on objective constraints on policy options such as geography, natural resources and the contingencies of history, institutional explanations assume that, that which constrains policy actors are human-made institutions which are patterns of behavior among a group of people; hence these institutions are malleable. Accordingly, this approach largely seeks to explain political and social phenomenon using institutions, as they see institutions as shaping the behavior of individuals via the “incentive structures and, in turn, raise the costs of some options to the point of infeasibility and lower others to the point of near necessity” (Trebilcock, 2014: 32). As illustrated in Stromquist & Monkman’s (2014) analysis of globalization and education; Boezeroy’s (2006) study on the influence of environmental contingencies on strategic choices of higher education institution; Corbett’s (2005) analysis of developing European higher education policy; Steinmo’s (2002) work on welfare states; Rothstein’s (1992) study on unionization and Immergut’s (1990) analysis of institutions and the politics of health care policy, institutions were empirically seen to have profound effects on shaping political strategies, outcomes and political preferences. Thus, the institutional framework of a country shapes the policies that are made; and may account for policy variations across countries (Gourevitch & Shinn 2005; Hall & Soskice, 2001).

For example, in Tsebelis’s (1995) ‘veto players’¹¹ concept, there is the reduced probability of enacting a policy change when there is an increase in the number of veto players in the policy space. Similarly, when there is a dissimilarity of policy positions among veto players, the possibility of a policy change is reduced. Again, when there is an increase in the cohesion of a given veto player’s constituent group, policy change may be difficult to achieve (Trebilcock,

¹¹ Tsebelis (1995:301) defines veto player as “an individual or collective actor whose agreement (by majority rule for collective actors) is required for a change in policy”.

2014; Orenstein, 2008; Tsebelis, 1995). Thus, the more the players, the more the difficulty in achieving policy change and vice versa. The number of veto points at any point is mediated by the formal institutional design of the state (e.g. regime type, party system, executive, legislature, judiciary, media, etc.) and less formally by the presence of entrenched interest groups such as the education and health coalitions in both the education and health sectors respectively (Trebilcock, 2014). In the case of Ghana, the duality of the political system and the return to multi-party democracy in the 4th republic (1993 to present) has seen a number of veto players emerge in the education sector, especially the non-state actors¹². Could this account for the seeming stability in financing basic education? However, the treatment of political institutions as an external incentive structure limits our understanding of their overall impact on political decision-making. Resultantly, there have been overtures in the scholarly circles to move beyond the deductive study of formal structures of political institutions (organizations) that characterized traditional institutionalism to inductive study of impact of institutions (formal rules and informal conventions) on individuals as well as the interactions between them. This resulted in the emergence of new institutionalism in the 1970s. The emergence of new institutionalism (NI), as a distinct theoretical research approach was therefore in reaction to the behavioral perspectives' explanation of social and political phenomena and outcomes.

2.2.1.1 New Institutionalism

New institutionalism (NI), as noted earlier, emerged in the 1970s to reflect the definition of institutions as “any form of constraint that human beings devise to shape human interaction” or as “regularities in repetitive interactions ... customs and rules that provide a set of incentives and disincentives for individuals” (North, 1990: 4). In doing so, the new institutionalist sought to elucidate the impact of institutions on the determination of political and social outcomes (Lowndes, 2010:60-61; Weyland, 2008; Hall & Taylor, 1996:936). While NI concerns itself with institutions and change (i.e. the reasons for the existence of institutions; and their remarkable stability and ability to endure past the point of usefulness), this thesis is grounded in the assumption that the underlining change mechanism such as path dependency, increasing returns,

¹² This includes the GNECC, Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT), National Association of Graduate Teachers (NAGRAT), and Ghana Association of Private.

and choice within institutional constraints are no different when it comes to policy change (Campbell, 2004).

Thus, the new institutionalist perspective on policy change places much emphasis on the impacts of formal and informal institutions, veto points, and policy legacies (Lowndes, 2010; Hall & Taylor, 1996). The assumption therefore is that, the established institutional structure tends to regulate the activities of political actors, including the very strategies they typically employ in pursuing their interests. As such, the nature of the political system in place (i.e. centralized or decentralized; parliamentary or presidential; unitary or federal; democratic or nondemocratic; and one-party or multi-party electoral system) and the extent to which it allows interest groups to veto or influence policy outcomes is critical to explaining policy change and stability. Policy change is, however, seen by most new institutionalists to follow an evolutionary path resulting in incrementalism; which is characterized by incremental changes to existing policy (Lindblom, 1959) and path dependency, where existing policies that take a particular course induce further movements along the same pattern (Campbell 2004, Pierson, 2000, North, 1990; for a recent overview on path dependence see Conteh, & Panter, 2017; Cecere, et al, 2014; Tonts, Plummer, & Argent, 2014; Boas, 2007; Page, 2006). This is because policies, once adopted and implemented, develop gridlocks in the form of constituents and other vested interests that hardly make dramatic policy change possible. Yet, there are those who argue that, despite strong policy inertia, radical change is possible (Baumgartner 2013; Wilsford, 1994; Baumgartner & Jones, 1993; Meyer et al, 1990), especially in periods of crisis. The emphasis on different causal mechanisms of change has led to three strands of new institutionalism namely: rational choice, organizational, and historical institutionalism.

2.2.1.1.1 Rational Choice Institutionalism

Rational Choice Institutionalism (RCI) stresses individual material self-interest (utility maximization) as the main factor that shapes political behavior. According to Parsons (2007: 49, 67), RCI shares the rationality assumptions of the structural logic of explanation, where individuals are free agents who choose their fates and how much their choices are dictated by larger forces, but emphasizes man-made institutional constraints in addition to structuralism's material landscape. A number of shared assumptions therefore underlie RCI. First is the assumption that confronted with options to choose from, an individual selects the option that best

serves his or her interest (Green, & Shapiro, 1996; Arrow, 1951). Consequently, humans generally seek to maximize their benefits during decision making at any given time and that social outcomes/collective decisions are the by-products of choices made by individuals. Rational choice theorists, therefore, formulate explanations of collective outcomes by reference to individual intentions as well as the beliefs and desires upon which those intentions are based. The question, therefore, is what shapes those intentions, beliefs and desires? Ostrom (1998:2) mentions many structural variables including size of a group, heterogeneity of participants, their dependence on the benefits received and information available to participants. Thus, to understand how policy actors arrive at policy decisions, RCI asserts that we find common grounds between explanations based on structural and individual choice (Ostrom, 2000). The second assumption is that certain consistency requirement must be part of the definition of rationality, which is seen as essential to a science of rational action (Green, & Shapiro, 1996). In this case, it should be possible to rank-order the available options and these orderings should be transitive (Arrow, 1951). Again, it is routinely assumed that each individual maximizes the expected value of his/her own pay off, measured on some utility scale (Rabin, 2013). Fishburn (1988:267) observes that expected utility remains “the preeminent model of rational decision making under risk and uncertainty”. Lastly, scholars generally agree that the relevant maximizing agents are individuals (Green, & Shapiro, 1996; Buchanan & Tullock, 1962). In this light, Buchanan and Tullock (1962:13; see also Coleman, 2009) see collective actions as “the action of individuals when they choose to accomplish purposes collectively rather than individually” thereby “seeing the state as nothing more than the set of processes, the machine, which allows such collective action to take place”.

In line with the above assumptions, we could plausibly argue that policy change or stability is mediated by certain human-made obstacle course of organizations, rules and flows of information that alter the cost-benefit calculations of rational human beings. Hence, politics is seen as a series of collective action dilemmas that emphasizes the role of strategic interaction, and individuals who make choices within constraints structured by institutions in the determination of political outcomes (Levi, 1997). Therefore, rational choice institutionalists argue that policy change is meant to address problems or shortcomings of existing policies as “rational social actors seek to pursue some set of preferences in a rational way” (Knight, 1998: 95; see also Boudon, 2009; Scott, 2000; Levi, 1997; Goode, 1997; Calvert, 1995; Shepsle, 1986).

The drive for policy change is therefore attributed to the dissatisfaction with the status quo because policies, like institutions exist to serve a purpose; hence the need to review and change them when they are no longer fit for purpose. Policy change, therefore, occurs when an existing policy institution is no longer fit for the purpose it was established or when actors perceive a different arrangement would be more beneficial. For example, both the 1987 and 2007 reforms were occasioned by the general dissatisfaction with the existing educational system. In 1987, the PNDC government, WB, IMF and the general population of Ghana were dissatisfied with the educational system at the time. The duration of the educational system at the time was generally seen to be too long, too expensive and overly focused on grammar education to the neglect of vocational and technical educations. Similarly, during the 2007 reform, it was generally argued that the existing educational system was too grammarian and ineffective in producing the needed human resource for the country's developmental agenda. These dissatisfactions therefore led to the two reforms. Accordingly, RCI see policy change to be incremental and evolutionary because it occurs through the path dependent mechanisms of feedback, increasing returns, and choice within constraints (Campbell, 2004). The idea is that once a policy has been implemented, the costs of reversal are very high, and not simply because history matters (Levi, 1997: 28).

However, the theory fails to provide insight into where the dissatisfaction with the status quo emanates from. Does the dissatisfaction with a policy emanate from the citizens, policymakers, politicians, or civil society organizations including transnational actors; and by which mechanisms are these dissatisfactions channeled? In line with this, there are conscious attempt by rational choice institutionalists to recognize the impact that ideas, cognitive structures, belief systems, and norms have on change even though most rational choice theorists have paid rather limited attention to how ideas like these come into play and understand very little about how they operate.

2.2.1.1.2 Sociological Institutionalism

Sociological (also known as organizational) institutionalism (SI), focuses on culture to explain why organizations take on specific sets of institutional forms, procedures or symbols that are diffused through organizational fields. Thus, SI concerns itself broadly with the "embeddedness of social structures and social actors in broad-scale context of meaning" (Jepperson, 2002: 229; see also Thornton, & Ocasio, 2008; Ostrom., 2000; Powell & DiMaggio, 1991; Meyer, 1983). It

broadens institutions beyond formal rules, procedures and norms to include symbol systems, cognitive scripts and moral templates that provide the frame of meaning guiding human actions (Hall & Taylor 1996:947). Thus, SI differs from RCI in its greater emphasis on normative and cognitive ideas. Hence, norms and values are recognized as an important part of institutional life because organizations respond to the norms and values in their environment. These norms and values result in behaviors that do not fit traditional theories of organizational decision making, which rested on rationalist and utilitarian assumptions (Campbell, 2004; Jepperson, 2002). Thus, to SI, organizations seek to act appropriately vis-à-vis their cultural environments rather than instrumentally vis-à-vis their official goals making the difference between the cultural logic of appropriateness and the rational-choice logic of instrumentality central to contemporary SI (Parsons, 2007:67; Campbell, 2004: 18-20). Thus, in policy change, actors are guided by the appropriateness of their actions and not just their material interests or goals. This explains why education reforms by successive governments in Ghana since independence have maintained and even expanded free and compulsory basic education regardless of the economic health of the country. As Parsons (2007:75) points out, to sociological institutionalists, "... actors inhabit a prison without bars or locks, being channeled to particular actions by shared perceptions of appropriate or conceivable options rather than by a tangible obstacle course". The emphasis on norms and values by SI is therefore critical to understanding the less "rational" decisions humans or policymakers sometimes make. For example, the decision by successive governments in Ghana to continue financing basic and secondary education in spite of the Bretton Woods Institutions' pressure to cut social expenditures in favor of neo-liberal economic policies and other social demands could well resonate with a sociological institutionalist.

However, SI provides little insight into how these norms and values emerge and formalize. Again, Parsons (2007) dismisses sociological institutionalism as a variant of new institutionalism, and rather places it under his ideational category. To Parsons (2007: 75-76; see also Douglas, 1986):

Sociological institutionalists focus on the subset of institutions (defined broadly) that affect action by becoming cognitively 'rulelike' aspects of how people interpret the world. People maintain such patterns not because it is just less costly to do so ...

but because they have difficulty imagining other behaviors, or because they see other behaviors as illegitimate.

What Parsons (2007) fails to acknowledge is the fact that what he refers to as “cognitive rulelike” aspects of how people interpret the world do, in fact, provide incentives and disincentives for individual action. This is at the core of any definition of institution. As such, once these “cognitive rulelike” aspects provide incentives and disincentives for individual action, then we could confidently argue that SI is indeed a strand of new institutionalism. The most important point here is that, these cognitive rulelike aspects of how people interpret the world impact the policy process in a way that focuses on the logic of appropriateness and not on instrumentality, as indicated earlier. As such, policy change tends to be incremental due to path dependence based on constraining normative aspects of institutions (Campbell, 2004:11).

2.2.1.1.3 Historical Institutionalism

Historical institutionalism (HI) is seen as a rather loose collection of writings by authors that tend to mix elements of rationalistic and constructivist explanations - or the ‘calculus’ versus the ‘cultural’ approach by combining mechanisms of constraint and legitimacy (Parsons, 2007: 67). HI emphasizes the constraint of group conflicts and institutional structures on social and political behaviors and outcomes (Hall & Taylor 1996:937). Central to HI is the idea that the institutions that guide decision making reflect historical experience or past ‘legacies of political struggles’ and encourage actors to conform to the agreed-upon rules while punishing deviations (Thelen, 1999: 388; see also Skocpol, & Amenta, 1986; Skocpol, 1979). Thus, once policies, just like institutions, have been established through complex struggles and bargaining among organized groups, they have a continuing effect on subsequent decision-making and institution-building episodes (Campbell, 2004; Skowronek, 1982). This assumes asymmetrical relations of power in institutional operation and development; path dependent social causation (policy legacies – past policy choices constraining future choices); and diffusion of ideas (impact of integration of institutions with ideas or beliefs on political outcomes) (Hall & Taylor, 1996:941). In line with these assumptions, one could observe how the 10-year Accelerated Development Plan for Education (ADPE) launched by Prime Minister Nkrumah in 1951 shaped and constrained the choices of education policymakers in Ghana in later reform initiatives. For example, since the

launch of the ADPE in 1951, which de-emphasized grammar-type education, all subsequent reform initiatives have followed the path of emphasizing vocational and technical education.

HI accordingly extends the meaning of institutions beyond organizations to include formal and informal rules, procedures, norms, and conventions embedded in the organizational structure of the polity (Hall & Taylor 1996:938). It conceptualizes two broad contradictory interactions between institutions and individual behavior – strategic interaction (consistent with RCI) and interpretive interaction (consistent with SI). The strategic interaction (calculus) approach posits instrumental human behavior based on strategic calculation to maximize utility and that the preferences of actors are given through institutions exogenously (Hall & Taylor, 1996:938). To this end, choices made about the institutional design of government systems influence the future decision-making of individuals (Lowndes, 2010:65). Conversely, the interpretive interaction (cultural) approach postulates that political actions are bounded by worldviews. This is because the individual is an entity deeply embedded in a world of institutions, composed of symbols, scripts and routines, which provide the filters for interpretation of situations and oneself, out of which a course of action is constructed. Institutions, therefore, provide the moral/cognitive templates for interpretation and action (Hall & Taylor, 1996:939). HI is therefore distinct from other social science approaches by its attention to real world empirical questions, its historical orientation, and its attention to the ways in which institutions structure and shape political behavior and outcomes. Therefore, HI sees policies as the products of a combination of circumstances set in a specific historical context, which tend to continue beyond their functionality because of their embeddedness and the incentive system they create resulting in path dependence based on learning and coercive process (Conteh, & Panter, D. 2017; Campbell, 2004).

The three strands of NI discussed above provide useful insight in understanding policy change based on path dependence, but with different causal emphasis. The major strength of the new institutionalist school of thought is its appreciation of how policies are constrained at the micro and macro levels in the lead up to decisions that ultimately generate policies and the changes that may occur thereafter. NI shows how governments and its institutions and the attendant policies they generate are constrained at the macro level by culture, resources, historical paths, class antagonisms, gender biases and existing institutions. Most importantly,

RCI shows that policy actors are not simply victims of forces and pressures beyond their control but recognizes that there is a micro policy world in which administrators and political actors operate, and it is not the totality of macro constraints enumerated above. NI (especially RCI), therefore, has at the heart of policy programs and change, the individual actor and adequately connects the aspirations and limitations at the individual level to the capacity of governments to both create and realize their objectives. Accordingly, NI appreciates individual decision makers situated within the macro constraints, but also the micro constraints that people face as a result of their own cognitive processes and limitations. Consequently, NI enables us to tease out the policy actors that are essential for policy change in education.

2.2.2 Ideational Explanations

The role of ideas in policy change is increasingly being recognized by many scholars particularly those of the institutionalist perspective because ideas can both constrain and facilitate policy change. As Blyth (2002:25) notes, ideas are first and foremost perceived as “normative context that helps define the interest of actors”. Consequently, [they] “become the focal points for convergence in conditions of multiple equilibria”, and when perceived as “functional devices, [they] promote cooperation among agents”. Ideas therefore shape the entire policy process beginning from agenda setting involving the definition of the problem at hand through to policy solution/formulation; implementation; legitimization and evaluation/termination (Béland, 2005; Kingdon, 2003; Blyth, 2002; Stone, 2002). Thus, instead of seeing ideas as just instruments for utility maximizing, ideational scholars perceive ideas as fundamental or causal factors for policy making and change (Baumgartner, 2013; Harmer, 2011; Wincott, 2011; Béland & Cox, 2010; Béland, 2009; Blyth, 2002; Stone, 2002; Hall, 1993). Ideas are generally defined as the culture, practices, symbols, norms, grammars, models, beliefs, intellectual paradigms, worldviews and/or identities through which certain people interpret their world (Parsons, 2007; Campbell, 2004).

Fischer (2003:24) opines that “ideas constitute the world as humans know it, understand it, and guide their action”. Campbell (2004) provides two conceptual distinctions to identify different types of ideas and their effects on policy change. These are the background and foreground assumptions on one side; and the cognitive and normative values that underlie policy decisions and change on the other side (Campbell, 2004). Background assumptions are the underlying and often-taken-for granted assumptions of decision-making debates which are rarely

contested except in times of crisis (Schmidt, 2008). Foreground assumptions, on the other hand, are the concepts and theories that are discussed, debated, and explicitly articulated by decision-makers on regular basis. For cognitive ideas, they provide descriptions and theoretical analyses that specify cause-effect relationships. These ideas are therefore outcome oriented. Normative ideas, on the other hand, are non-outcome-oriented consisting of values, attitudes and identities (Campbell, 2004).

Table 2. 1: Types of Ideas and Their Effects on Policy Making

	<i>Concepts and Theories in the Foreground of the debate</i>	<i>Underlying Assumptions in the Background of the debate</i>
<i>Cognitive (outcome oriented)</i>	Programs	Paradigms
	Ideas as elite prescriptions that enable politicians, corporate leaders, and other decision makers to chart a clear and specific course of action	Ideas as elite assumptions that constrain the cognitive range of useful program available to politicians, corporate leaders, and other decision makers
<i>Normative (Non-Outcome Oriented)</i>	Frames	Public Sentiments
	Ideas as symbols and concepts that enable decision makers to legitimize programs to their constituents	Ideas as public assumptions that constrain the normative range of legitimate programs available to decision makers

Source: Campbell (2004:94).

The permutation of these two conceptual distinctions generates four types of ideas (paradigms, programs, public sentiments, and frames) that affect policy change differently as shown in Table 1 above (Campbell, 2004). Paradigms are the core of organizing ideas, values, and principles of knowledge and society that orient thinking and decision making. Paradigms therefore reflect the background theoretical and ontological assumptions of policymakers about how the world works, which in turn inform the course of policy action they take. Consequently, they limit the range of alternatives that policymakers are likely to consider as useful and worth considering through the structuring of discourse. Thus, what are the underlying theoretical assumptions of policy actors that inform education reforms in Ghana? What theoretical underpinning occasioned the move from the identity-creating objectives of education to the economic potentiality of education in Ghana in the late 1980s?

Programmatic ideas are ideas that offer concrete solutions to policy problems. These ideas are outcome oriented because they define the “the problems to be solved by such policies, the issues to be considered, the goals to be achieved, the norms, methods and instruments to be applied, and the objectives and ideals which all in all frame the more immediate policy ideas proposed as solutions for any given problem” (Schmidt, 2008:4). So, programs enable policy change by specifying for policymakers how to solve specific problems through self-reinforcing or path dependent effects (Pierson, 1993). There is therefore a clear and concise course of action based on an understanding of the cause-effect relationships relevant to the problem at hand. For example, a major problem that the 1987 and 2007 reforms were meant to solve was the high level of unemployment in Ghana. The reason assigned for this problem was the ineffectiveness of the educational system to produce the needed human resources for the growing economy. Thus, the education system churned out unemployable students with no skills; hence the need for specific program interventions such as vocational and technical training.

Public sentiments are ideas that “encapsulate broad-based attitudes and normative assumptions by large sections of the general public about what is desirable” (Schrad, 2010:23). They cover wide-ranging socio-politico-economic issues and do not present a coherent and consistent position, as public opinion in one policy area may contradict the basic tenets of another set of policies. However, public sentiments limit the range of programs that policymakers are likely to perceive as acceptable and legitimate both to their constituents and themselves by acting as normative locks (Campbell, 2004:94-100). Ghana has seen this in the structure and duration of pre-tertiary education. Public sentiments on the need to move from an educational system bequeathed to Ghana by the British colonial administration led to the 1987 reform that changed the colonially bequeathed middle school; and the ‘O’ and ‘A’ level system to the Junior Secondary and Senior Secondary systems. This drastically reduced pre-tertiary education from 17-years to 12-years.

Frames, on the other hand, are the mobilization of symbols and interpretation to be utilized by policymakers or entrepreneurs. As Schrad (2010:23) rightly notes, “frames are (the predominantly) normative ideational notions located in the foreground of policy debates, which are strategically crafted and manipulated by political elites—or framers—to legitimize and drum up support for particular policy programs among policymakers and public sentiment”. Thus,

through framing, actors can create new institutional solutions, proposals, and programs through bricolage, or the recombination of existing practices and principles into new programs that may have substantial similarities with previous ones. Frames, therefore, enable policymakers to legitimize their programs and policy changes to their constituents and themselves. Such has been the case in education reforms in Ghana. Framing education issues around unemployment and remnants of colonial policies has created the fertile grounds for education reforms to emerge.

Thus, ideas do affect policy relations rather than simply reflecting them (Campbell, 2004). They have since become weapons and blueprints with which agents (policymakers) contest and replace existing policies (Blyth, 2002). Thus, in the context of education reforms in Ghana, the actors involved continuously make use of one or a combination of these types of ideas to influence the reform process. Whether actors employ the mechanisms of bricolage or translation, they do make use of these ideas. This research therefore attempts to examine how these ideas have shaped the various education reforms that have been implemented in Ghana since 1987.

The turn to ideas for explaining policy change is largely due to the institutionalist penchant to see change as basically evolutionary or incremental due to path dependence. Campbell (2004) for example, notes that policies move along a similar pattern based on adaptations at the margin of previous policies, which constrain the bounds of the policy even if alternative policies are more efficient and effective. However, Jones and Baumgartner (2005) argue that rapid change in public policy can and do occur but are obscured by the long periods of stability which makes scholars focus on the equilibrium of current policy compromises rather than the punctuations in the equilibrium by dramatic change. Drawing on the concepts of policy image (positive or negative) and the venues of policy action (existing set of political institutions), they opine that the interaction between the image and the venue may produce a self-reinforcing system characterized by positive feedback mechanisms which can produce both long periods of no change or dramatic reversals in outcomes in relative short periods of time.

Similarly, Hall (1993) claims that we are bound to have a dramatic policy change once there is a paradigm shift. Hall (1993) identifies three levels of change: first order change (new policy settings), second order change (new policy instruments), and third order change (new

goals). Each of these three orders of change may occur at any point in time independently of the others. For example, the first order change may occur when policy settings such as the eligibility criteria of, say, School Feeding Program, is changed. A second order change may involve an introduction of a new system of monetary control by Ghana's Central Bank. Both first and second order changes are incremental in nature, thus relating to Campbell's programs and frames. Thus, ideas in the form of programs and frames may result in first and second order changes as espoused above. The third level of change involves an entire change in the goals, the instruments for achieving those goals, and the instrumental settings of the policy. When such a change occurs, Hall (1993) indicates that a "paradigm shift" has occurred. This means the main ideas embodying the existing framework have changed. Thus, the change becomes revolutionary and not evolutionary. Although this is not something Hall (1993) discusses directly, third level of change (i.e. paradigm shift) may also be occasioned by public sentiments as these sentiments may cause a shift in the existing policy paradigm. For example, during the education reform of 1987 in Ghana, the global push for the adoption of EKE by the IMF and WB influenced public sentiments on the objectives of the educational system in Ghana. This consequently led to a paradigm shift from the identity-creating potential of education during the early days of Ghana's independence to a focus on the economic value of education. In the 1951 Accelerated Development Plan for Education (ADPE), President Nkrumah and his CPP administration used education as a tool for "national integration and nation-building which aimed at disabusing the minds of the citizens of the colonial history, experiences and vestiges" (Nudzor, 2017:243). However, due to the global influence of IMF and WB in the 1980s, there was a paradigm shift in the objective of education in developing countries to what was referred to as Education for Knowledge Economy (EKE). This paradigm shift influenced Ghana's 1987 education reform, which focused on churning out highly skilled, flexible human capital capable of competing in the global market.

Another ideational perspective, Kingdon's multiple-stream approach to agenda setting traces a particular change to a "policy window," through which the problem, the policy, and the politics streams converge at a certain point in time (Kingdon, 2003: 87; for more recent works on policy window see Dudley, 2013; Jaiani, & Whitford, 2011; Guldbrandsson, & Fossum, 2009). In this regard, until a policy meets a conducive environment involving decision makers and public mood that favor it that policy may not be enacted (Kingdon, 2003). With this approach,

incrementalism is not always the norm, as a favorable ‘window of opportunity’ may lead to a dramatic change in policy. So as Kingdon (2003: 89) opines, “a problem is recognized, a solution is available, the political climate makes the time right for change, and the constraints do not prohibit action”, dramatic policy change is bound to occur.

Similar to new institutionalism, ideational analysis of policy change also emphasizes the important role of actors or policy entrepreneurs in the policy process (Kingdon, 2003; Campbell, 2004). Anderson (1978:23) observes that “the deliberation of public policy takes place within a realm of discourse . . . policies are made within some system of ideas and standards which is comprehensible and plausible to the actors involved”. Similarly, Campbell (2004:100) notes, “ideas do not emerge spontaneously or become influential without actors”. Ideas are seen to float in and among actors such as researchers, decision makers, theorists, framers, constituents, and brokers who embrace, fabricate, manipulate and carry the different types of ideas discussed earlier. As Kingdon (2003:230) argues, policy making does not involve smooth phases neither does it proceed in orderly steps as: “agenda setting, the development of alternatives, and choices among alternatives seem to be governed by different forces. Each of them is complicated by itself, and the relations among them add more complications. These processes are dynamic, fluid, and loosely joined”. Policy entrepreneurs are therefore needed to take advantage of when a window of opportunity opens by coupling the policy making streams (problem, politics, and the policy streams). Policymaking and change are therefore essentially the working of these entrepreneurs who are constantly looking for connections between these streams and are ready with policy proposals when the window opens.

Similarly, Hall’s (1993) social learning and Rose’s (1991) lesson drawing concepts emphasize that policy change is occasioned by actors when there is an indication of dissatisfaction with the current performance of a policy. As Hall (1993:279) notes, social learning is “a deliberate attempt to adjust the goals or techniques of policy in response to past experience, and new information”. Social learning, which is primarily about first and second order change, is yet another example of ideational perspective in policy analysis.

2.3 The theoretical/explanatory framework of the study

In view of the never-ending debate on policy change because policy change, like institutional change, takes multiple forms, and strategies for policy change systematically differ according to the character of policies and the political settings in which they are situated, this study draws on an institutional approach together with ideational analysis to explain education reforms in Ghana. While the study acknowledges that both structural and psychological explanations offer some insights into policy change, the institutional and ideational explanations offer greater insights as they are particular and contextual. Any explanatory framework that refuses to tackle the issue of context and place lends itself to much criticism (Therborn, 2009; March & Olsen, 2009; Tilly & Goodin, 2009). This is because context and place matter to systematic description and explanation of social and political processes. Context shapes understanding of the social and political processes, the evidence available for empirical examination of social and political processes and the processes themselves. Hence the valid answer to each big question of social policy studies or the social sciences in general depends on the context in which the social and political process under study occurred.

Though contextual effects subvert the pursuit of parsimonious generalizations we may deal with this either by designing the studies in such a way as to “control for context”, thereby eliminating contextual variability or by trying to “correct for context” hence taking systematic account of how different contexts might matter to the phenomena under study (Tilly & Goodin, 2009: 450-451). Similarly, place, as Therbon (2009) argues, is fundamental for understanding social action because place is the forming mold of actors; it is a compass of meaning to the actions of actors; it is the immediate setting in which actions occur or takes place; it crucially affects the consequences of action; and the character of a place is an eminent outcome of action (Therborn, 2009: 501-15). Consequently, the historical context in explaining social and political phenomena becomes essential. This is so because every socio-political phenomenon lives in history and requires historically grounded analysis for its explanation; thus, any explanatory framework that ignores historical context does so at its peril (Tilly, 2009: 536).

In explaining policy change or reform in a sector such as education, being cognizant of the historical, political, economic, and social context of public policy will provide better insight and offer stronger explanations. In this regard, Parsons’ institutional and ideational explanations

enable us to emphasize the actors, their positions and the interpretations they bring to bear in policy studies and analysis (Parsons, 2007).

While the study acknowledges that the adopted explanatory frameworks are essentially Euro-centric, they have been applied to the study of other policy areas in Ghana including health care, pensions, and poverty (see Foli, Béland, & Fenwick, 2017; Wireko, & Béland, 2017; Kpessa, & Béland, 2012; Kpessa, 2010). These approaches provide useful answers to address the research questions of explaining the factors that drive these education reforms; the key actors involved and the extent of their involvement; and the outcomes of these reforms (i.e. either change or stability). While Campbell (2004) draws on the literature on new institutionalism and favors incrementalism over rapid change as discussed earlier, he nonetheless argues that to address the problem of change, there is the need to specify the institutional dimensions and time frames to ascertain whether evolutionary or revolutionary change had occurred. Evolutionary change is characterized by the gradual accumulation of small, incremental changes over long periods of time, while revolutionary change is characterized initially by prolonged periods of either equilibrium and stability or evolution that are suddenly interrupted by a crisis.

The benefit of Campbell's approach is that, by specifying the institutional dimension, we are able to determine the direction of change, if there is any. This enables a researcher to avoid the temptation of assuming institutional stability, as has been the case with most institutionalist research in the past. As Scott (2005:8) postulates, institutions are variously comprised of "cultural-cognitive, normative and regulative elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life". An analyst's theoretical perspective, therefore, may lead him/her to focus on one of these three components of institutions.

Flowing from this perspective, policy change also has various dimensions, and by specifying the dimensions of a policy, we would be able to tell what kind of change had taken place. Accordingly, to explain education reforms that have taken place in Ghana since the 1950s, the dimensions of the reforms must be specified. Unfortunately, many studies on education reforms in Ghana are descriptive and do not attempt to specify the dimensions to ascertain and explain the direction of change (e.g. Abukari, Kuyini, & Mohammed, 2015; Agbemabiese, 2007; Akyeampong, et al, 2007; Kadingdi, 2006, 2004; Oduro, 2000; Blakemore, 1975). Almost all the

education reforms that have taken place since 1957 have Scotts (2005) cultural-cognitive, normative and regulative elements. However, because studies on education reforms have not specified the dimensions of the reforms, many of these studies focus on the regulative elements, which are akin to the 1st and 2nd order changes proffered by Hall (1993), to the neglect of the other elements of education reforms. It is therefore important to undertake a study such as this to unpack the various dimensions of education reforms in Ghana. A careful look at the various reforms in Ghana suggests four key dimensions: objectives; financing; content and structure and duration. These dimensions reveal interesting findings as to which areas experience change and those that experience stability. In addition, Campbell (2004) indicates the need to specify the time frame of the analysis. This requires the analyst “to identify the temporal parameters of social processes and outcomes that have their own internal temporal rhythms” (Campbell, 2004:44). It is the case that the regulative elements of institutions when specified over a time frame tend to change rapidly while the normative and cultural-cognitive elements change incrementally or slowly. Accordingly, the present study examines two major reforms (1987 and 2007) to track changes in these reforms overtime. To better explain education reforms in Ghana and SSA in general, it is necessary to specify the dimensions of the reforms and time frame within which the reforms occurred.

More importantly, to better situate education reforms in Ghana within an institutionalist perspective, Campbell (2004) again argues that there is the need to identify the causal mechanisms by which the change occurs. He argues that by identifying the mechanisms, we are enabled to understand the details of causal processes; hence reducing “the risk of lapsing into either erroneous functionalist account in which institutional outcomes are explained by their consequences” (Campbell, 2004:63). In line with this, Campbell (2004) postulates that the mechanisms of path dependent and diffusion do not adequately unpack the processes that are involved in both evolutionary and revolutionary changes. He therefore introduces the concepts of *bricolage* and *translation*, which are grounded in ideational and institutional analysis. Bricolage, according to Campbell (2004), follows logic of instrumentality by recombining already existing institutional principles and practices to innovate. Bricolage therefore enables policymakers to make significant policy changes to existing policies internally. Thus, “even when new paradigmatic ideas are developed elsewhere, these ideas need not be imposed from without by a shift in the locus decision-making authority or a change of decision-making venue” (Wilder &

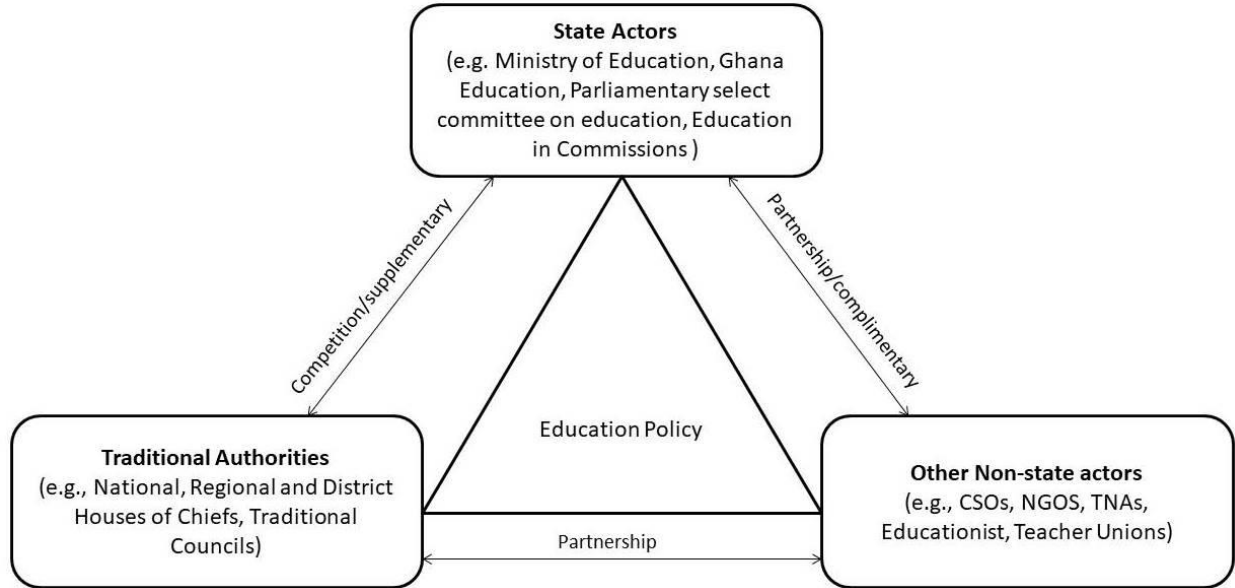
Howlett, 2014:187). Thus, the processes of bricolage make policy change less rapid and all-encompassing, reflecting instead a more “gradual, hermeneutic and discourse-intensive activity” (Wilder & Howlett, 2014:188). This has been the case with the various education reforms that has taken place in Ghana since independence. Generally, the ruling government sets up an Education Review Committee or Commission to study the existing educational set-up, identify challenges and weaknesses and make appropriate recommendations for reforming the existing system. The reform processes have therefore been largely driven from within rather than an imposition from without.

Translation, on the other hand, is the recombination of new externally given ideas with already existing ideas to pursue policy change. The idea is that existing institutions provide repertoire that may be recombined with local norms or new ideas to pursue change. These new ideas usually come from policy entrepreneurs who are mostly trans-national actors working within the Global South. Changes that emerge from translation are usually third order change (i.e. paradigm shift) as was the case with Ghana’s shift from an identity-creating educational system to an economic-value focus education in the late 1980s. Campbell’s mechanisms of bricolage and translation are adopted for this study because these mechanisms of change point to the fact that the state is not as autonomous as state-centric theorist argue (see Evans, 1995). Again, these concepts systematically address the issue of agency and transnational influence, which is central to this study (see Streeck & Thelen, 2005; Hacker, 2004; Thelen, 2004). Thus, the adoption of these concepts brought into focus the key actors (i.e. state actors, traditional authorities, and other non-state actors) in education reforms in Ghana. The question therefore is, in education reforms that feature bricolage, who have been the key actors and what has been the mechanism employed to influence the reform agenda? Conversely, in situations where translation occurred, who have been the key actors and what has been the mechanism used to influence the process?

Campbell’s (2004) concepts of bricolage and translation are not grounded in the SSA context, as the development and application has mostly been in developed countries. Critical to Campbell’s (2004:101) concepts of bricolage and translation is the role of agency as ideas do not emerge spontaneously. They are carried by key actors (entrepreneurs) who “embrace, fabricate, manipulate and carry the different types of ideas”. As noted earlier, from a new institutionalist

perspective, we can see change as emanating from actors pursuing their perceived interests, which they understand through the ideas they believe in. However, the key actors identified in many studies on education reform do not adequately reflect the policy community in Africa. While both NI and ideational perspectives consider the role of businesses, civil society organizations (CSOs), transnational actors (TNAs) and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in educational reforms in Africa (Mundy et al, 2010; Mundy et al, 2007; Murphy, 2005; Lexow, 2003; Miller-Grandvaux, Welmond, & Wolf, 2002; Mettle-Nunoo & Hilditch, 2000), they largely ignore pre-existing political and social institutions of African states such as the chieftaincy institution and other traditional forms of governance. There are attempts to treat traditional institutions as part of CSOs but both theories fail to acknowledge that these traditional institutions are rooted in the customs and traditions of the people and are therefore not on the same analytical level with other CSOs. Again, a variant of NI, sociological institutionalism, which emphasizes culture and ideas, largely miss out on these institutions. The inclusion of traditional authorities in any actor-centric explanation of policy change within both the new institutionalist and ideational approaches will reflect the political duality of most SSA countries. Based on this, the study identifies three categories of key actors within Ghana's policy space (i.e. State Actors, Traditional Authorities, and Other Non-State Actors as shown in the figure 2.2 below:

Figure 2. 2: Actor-Centric Education Policy Change in Ghana



The figure above shows the three core sets of actors in education policy¹³ in Africa: state, traditional authorities, and other non-state actors. The importance of the state to the study of education and other social policy interventions in Africa cannot be over-emphasized (Skocpol, 1985). This is because the state and its institutions are the official policymakers who possess the legal authority to engage in the formulation of public policy (Anderson, 1979). This includes the executive, legislative and judiciary branches of government. The possession of legal-rational power also enables the state to either include or exclude certain types of actors from the policy process. This was the case during the 1987 education reform in Ghana where the PNDC administration limited the participation of non-state actors in the reform process. Thus, without the state providing the enabling environment for participation, markets and the other master institution of modern society such as CSOs, TNAs, NGOs and businesses cannot function effectively (Conteh, 2007; Evans, 1995). Accordingly, the new institutionalist school of thought, HI in particular, see the state as having an independent impact on social policymaking, be it education, health, sanitation or transportation. Skocpol (1985) argues that social scientific research is impoverished when scholars ignore states as units of analysis of social structures, attitudes, and behaviors. She therefore sees the state as central to the explanation of certain sorts

¹³ This model can be used to study other policy areas including health and agriculture in Ghana and other SSA countries.

of social change. As she notes, “states conceived as organizations claiming control over territories and people may formulate and pursue goals that are not simply reflective of the demands or interest of social groups, classes, or societies. This is what is usually meant by “state autonomy.” Unless such independent goal formulation occurs, there is little need to talk about states as important actors” (as quoted in Béland & Mahon 2016: 25). However, policy change in areas such as education, health, and transportation in Africa has not been the preserve of the modern state apparatus. This function has rightly been augmented by non-state actors especially in democratic societies where both the material and human resources of different groups (be it ethnic, religious, political, or social groups) are expected to be harnessed for the collective good of society.

The framework, however, divides these non-state actors into two categories. One is the pre-existing political and social institutions (i.e. traditional authorities) that both colonial and post-colonial African states, tried as they did, failed to dislodge. The relationship between the state and traditional authorities in Ghana has evolved over the years. The traditional institution has survived attempts by the colonial administration to use colonially crafted mechanisms¹⁴ to break its authority and influence as well as the imperceptible marginalization by the immediate post-colonial CPP administration in Ghana’s political life through legislative provisions¹⁵. In recent times, the relationship between the two has been one of a competition. In many instances, traditional authorities are seen to play a supplementary role to the state. Thus, where, the state had failed to provide social policies for their citizens, traditional institutions have stepped in to play supplementary roles, making them competitors to the state in some instances (Ray, 1996). In situations where land becomes vital for the discharge of a social policy intervention, there have been instances of head-on clash between the government and traditional authorities who mostly lay claim to these lands (Molomo, 2011). With such powers and influence, we ignore them at our own peril when attempting to explain policy change in Ghana. This is because of the most often tensed relationship between the traditional authorities and the post-colonial state

¹⁴ Some of the Laws/Ordinances passed included the Supreme Court Ordinances of 1853 and 1866; Native Jurisdiction Ordinance of 1883; Gold Coast Native Jurisdiction (Amendment) Ordinance of 1910; and Lands and Native Rights Ordinance of 1927.

¹⁵ These legislations included the Administration of Lands Act, 1962 (Act 123), the Concession Act, 1962 (Act 124), Akim-Abuakwa (Stool Revenue) Act 1958 (Act 8), the Ashanti Stool Act 1958, and the Stool Land Control Act 1960 (Act 79). In furtherance of the attempt to control chiefs, the Chiefs Recognition Act of 1959 was passed to give powers to the CPP government to accord recognition to or to withdraw same from any chief.

apparatus in what Ray (1996) termed as “contested sovereignty”. As Ray (1996: 1) aptly puts it “when chiefs have been seen as competitors for sovereignty, the state has moved to limit their power”. However, as Taylor (1994:98) argues, the politics of multiculturalism in contemporary societies turn on the need and the demand for recognition. This demand for recognition is subsequently “given urgency by the links between recognition and identity where “identity” designates an understanding of who we are, and of our fundamental defining characteristics as human beings” or groups. This is because human cultures that have animated whole societies and the globalizing world have something important to say. Thus, every society, culture, its intrinsic values, and the dignity of individuals, call for recognition (Svetelj, 2013). This means that this “recognition is not a gift, but a fragile achievement that constantly needs to be shored up and defended” (Svetelj, 2013:45; Taylor, 1994). This has been the struggle of the traditional institutions since colonial rule to the present democratic dispensation. This study attempts to explore if this group of actors matter for education reforms in Ghana.

The other category of non-state actors comprises domestic CSOs and transnational policy actors (TNAs) including INGOs, business organizations and individuals (Béland & Mahon 2016; Orenstein, 2008; Orloff, & Parker, 1990; Skocpol, & Amenta, 1986). These non-state actors effect policy change not only through the imposition of conditionalities as has traditionally been argued (see Noorbakhsh, & Paloni, 2001; Abrahamsen, 2000; Robinson, 1993; Riddell, 1992; Havnevik, 1987); but in recent times, through political engagement (i.e. the spread of ideas and practices), institutional participation, and provision or production¹⁶ of policies. Accordingly, TNAs develop and publicize policies they are interested in and put reforms on the agenda in many countries through sponsorship of conferences, seminars, training, workshops as well as funding reform teams (Orenstein, 2008:167). A number of these TNAs (e.g. JICA¹⁷, UNICEF, CIDA, USAID, UNESCO and DANIDA) are involved in various socio-economic policies in Ghana by setting policy agendas through “knowledge creation and expert and moral authority” (Orenstein, 2008:167). The influence of these TNAs are exerted through membership with

¹⁶ For further discussions on these types, see Farnsworth Farnsworth, K. and Holden, C. (2006) ‘The Business-Social Policy Nexus: Corporate Power and Corporate Inputs into Social Policy’, *Journal of Social Policy* 35(3): 473-494.

¹⁷ Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) engages in a lot of education related projects in Ghana including the project to support the operationalization of the in-service training policy; the technical and vocational education and training support project, project for improvement of access to basic education in deprived areas.

politicians of the same networks, or engaging in various forms of lobbying, funding politicians or their parties directly, or funding think tanks and research institutes that help to shape debate. They also participate in institutions that manage or influence welfare outcomes making them critical to policy change analysis (Farnsworth & Holden, 2006). In recent times, the widespread perceptions of corruption, misappropriation and mismanagement of resources by government officials in the capital, Accra, has led to an increase in the partnership between NGOs¹⁸ and traditional authorities where many of these NGOs engage directly with the local communities through the traditional institutions.

The importance of these non-state actors to policy design and change has been enhanced with the global adoption of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in 2000 and subsequently the Sustainable Development Goals in 2015. Again, the emphasis on the eradication of poverty, diseases, hunger and improving education and its outcomes in SSA has placed these non-state actors in the limelight with regards to policy development and change. While these other set of non-state actors largely complement the effort of African governments, majority of them have recognized the important role of traditional institutions and now partner them in bringing about policies and policy change (Keating, 2011; Ray & Eizlin, 2011).

It is important to consider the asymmetric power relations among these actors; and how these power relations impact the influence they have on education reforms in Ghana. To Foucault, power is discourse and discourse is power as “[it] designates relationships between partners” (1982: 786). Such a designation ultimately makes some people subjects to others. Thus, Foucault sees power as inherently sociological and opines that “a society without power relations can only be an abstraction” (1982: 792). Lukes, on the other hand, draws on the influential work of pluralists such as Dahl (1961), Polsby (1958), and on the work of Bachrach & Baratz (1962) to explain power. For the pluralists, power is essentially power over others (i.e. the ability to get others to do something that they would not otherwise do). This is what Lukes (2005) term as the one-dimensional view of power. The two-dimensional view of power builds (see Bachrach & Baratz, 1962) on the one-dimensional view and introduces the concept of “mobilization bias” where “a person or group - consciously or unconsciously - creates or reinforces barriers to the

¹⁸ Many of the TNAs outlined above work closely with a local NGO, Ghana National Education Campaign Coalition (GNECC), to bring about reforms in education in recent times.

public airing of policy conflicts” (Lukes: 2005: 20). The two-dimensional view of power therefore postulates “direct participation in the policymaking process and the creation or the reinforcement of ‘social and political values and institutional practices that limit the scope of the political process to public consideration of only those issues which are comparatively innocuous’ to actors behind such a creation or reinforcement” (Beland, 2010:146). Thus, in analyzing power relations, the two-dimensional view of power pays attention to the question of the “control over the agenda of politics and of the ways in which potential issues are kept out of the political process” (Lukes: 2005: 25). Power, in this sense, embraces coercion, influence, authority, force, and manipulation. However, the two dimensions discussed above associate power with actual observable conflict. Criticizing the behavioral focus of the first two dimensions discussed above as too individualistic, Lukes (2005) introduces the three-dimensional view of power that allows the consideration of the many ways in which potential issues are kept out of politics, whether through the operation of social forces and institutional practices or through individuals’ decisions. As Lukes (2005:27) opines:

A may exercise power over B by getting him to do what he does not want to do, but he also exercises power over him by influencing, shaping or determining his very wants. Indeed, is it not the supreme exercise of power to get another or others to have the desires you want them to have – that is, to secure their compliance by controlling their thoughts and desires?

From the above argument, Lukes’ three-dimensional view of power sits well with neo-Marxist view that power is power over another or others (Lukes, 2005:73). Accordingly, power is seen as the ideological capacity to shape the preferences of other actors misleadingly to reinforce one’s domination (Béland, 2010). This view makes power relational and asymmetrical. It is therefore clear that power is both the ability to cause someone or a group to behave in a manner they would not have behaved on their own (power over); as well as the capacity to affect certain outcomes (power to) (see Béland, 2010:147; Morriss, 2006). For the purposes of this research, power is defined as the latter (i.e. the capacity to have an impact on outcomes). This is because, while the state exerts power over society, other non-state actors have the power to influence policy outcomes, as seen in education reforms in Ghana.

The task therefore is assessing how the various actors involved in education reforms in Ghana affected the outcome of these reforms through their power (in this case ideational power, but at times financial resources). By so doing, we will know the level of influence of these actors on education reforms in Ghana. As discussed earlier, ideas as power resources can be used by actors (especially as programs, frames and paradigms) to convince the public and “specific interest groups that the existing state of affairs is inherently flawed, and that major reforms are necessary to solve the perceived problems of the day, which are largely ideational constructions themselves” (Béland, 2010: 148; see also Stone, 2012; Blyth, 2002; Hall, 1993). In the context of education reforms in Ghana, the other non-state actors comprising of TNAs, domestic CSOs and NGOs, employed paradigms and programs as their major means of influencing education reforms especially in the 1987 and 2007 education reforms respectively. This was largely helped by the financial resources of this group of actors. The traditional institutions played a marginalized role in these reforms due in part to inadequate power resources (i.e. both ideational and financial resources).

Generally, the asymmetric power relations among the actors identified (the state, traditional authorities and other non-state actors) affects the level of influence of these actors on education reforms in Ghana. In a democratic society such as Ghana, the state possesses legal-rational authority that enables it to initiate and implement policies; and demand obedience and compliance to these policies. Though the state may solicit the views of other actors, ultimate decision-making powers lies with the state. It will therefore be important to ascertain how other actors (non-state actors) are able to influence the policy process in Ghana. More so, within the state apparatus, there are asymmetric power relations among the state actors. The various ministries, departments, and agencies¹⁹ within the state compete for relevance and space within the policy arena. Consequently, education reforms have been contested among different state actors. The Ministry in charge of Education is the policy making body, the Ghana Education Service (GES) is the implementing agency, and the Parliamentary Select Committee on Education performs oversight roles over these bodies. Many a times, policies developed by the ministry which is headed by a political appointee, is politically motivated, and the GES had to implement those policies regardless of their opposition. The select committee that performs

¹⁹ This includes MoE, GES, NaCCA, NTC, and the Parliamentary Select Committee on Education.

oversight role has mostly been partisan in the discharge of their function for partisan political purposes.

Traditional authorities, on the other hand, derive its legitimacy primary from the customs and traditions of the Ghanaian people. Tried as they did, both the colonial administration and post-independence governments were unable to dislodge the basis of legitimacy of traditional rulers (i.e. tradition). As Hameit-Sievers (1998: 58) opines, “chieftaincy is always understood and legitimized as being founded on the principle of tradition; chieftaincy without reference to tradition seems an unimaginable concept - a contradiction in itself.” The legitimacy of traditional institutions therefore lies in the traditional assumption of sovereignty which implies a supreme, independent and original authority. This is because sovereignty is derived from three principal sources: the degree of respect merited by an institution, the capacity to rule, and the recognition that the authority acts on behalf of and for the benefit of the people. These attributes are equally shared by the modern state apparatus and traditional institutions in Ghana. The awareness of the power and influence of traditional rulers in the Ghanaian society in recent times cannot be taken for granted in policy making. Again, the asymmetric power relations among the various traditional areas make some more influential in the policy space than others. For example, the Asantehene²⁰, is more influential in matters of national policy in Ghana than other traditional rulers. Any political party or ruling government that confronts the king head-on does so at the risk of losing the next election. In spite of this, the state has continuously marginalized the traditional institutions in the policy space.

The other non-state actors such as NGOs, INGOs, CSOs and the media have become key actors in the policy space as discussed earlier. It is however important to note that there are unequal power relations among these other non-state actors. Some, especially TNAs, wield more influence in Ghana’s policy space due to the power resources they possess. For example, transnational actors such as IMF and WB have had considerable influence on various policy initiatives in Ghana using conditionalities and diffusion of policy ideas.

²⁰ The Asantehene is the King of the Asantes, and arguably the most powerful traditional ruler in Ghana, in terms of territory and population. He has a foundation – the Otumfou Education Fund – that provides scholarship for over 20,000 brilliant but underprivileged Ghanaian students.

2.4 Conclusion

To conclude this chapter, a number of points need to be reiterated. First, the adoption of institutional and ideational analysis for this study allows for greater contextual analysis. Consequently, institutional and ideational analytic frameworks allow this study to examine the environmental forces and situational opportunities and constraints that informed both the 1987 and 2007 education reforms in Ghana. This is because facts, events, or opinions are subjectively construed by varying and often conflicting cross-cultural norms and beliefs. Secondly, the typology of actors postulated above, and the asymmetric power relations among them, enable the study to unpack the key actors who matter in both the processes of bricolage and translation. This is particularly important because the two education reforms under study (i.e. 1987 and 2007) occurred under different political regimes. While the 1987 education reform occurred under a military regime, the 2007 education reform occurred under a democratic regime. Under military regimes, the space for participation in the policy process is usually limited to the military government and its allied or coopted agencies. On the other hand, under democratic regimes, there is the liberalization of the policy process with more non-state actors given the opportunity to participate. With regards to the various education reforms in Ghana, this framework allows the study to ascertain the dominant mechanism -bricolage or translation- that accounted for the reforms. It is a common assumption in the literature that the Nkrumah led-CPP in the 1950s and 1960s did not have a good working relationship with both sets of non-state actors (i.e. the traditional authorities and other non-state actors, particularly international ones) (Rathbone, 2000; Ray, 1996). However, the situation changed in the early 1990s, when traditional authorities became more vocal and prominent in national issues in spite of the many constitutional restrictions imposed on them (Ray, 2003). Again, Ghana witnessed a plethora of civil society organizations especially transnational actors in its policy space during the days of the structural adjustment in the 1980s and the return to democracy in 1993. The framework above therefore allows for the study to examine the ideas and those who carried those ideas that informed the education policy reforms that have taken place since the 1950s. Such an enterprise helped to unravel why some policies enjoyed stability, while others saw dramatic changes.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Assumptions – Ontology and Epistemology

My ontological position is that the social world exists independently of our subjective understanding, but that it is only comprehensible through respondents' interpretations and which may be further interpreted by the researcher. This aligns closely with what Hammersley (1992) describes as "subtle realism". I therefore acknowledge the critical importance of research participants' own interpretations of relevant research questions, which then suggest the existence of different types of understandings. Yet, I believe that diverse viewpoints reflect the multifaceted nature of external reality and add richness to the ways in which reality is experienced. Epistemologically, while I may not consider myself entirely in line with a single epistemology, I see myself more as an interpretivist than as a positivist. This is because in my research, I seek to understand and interpret the meanings informing human behavior. As such, "interpretive researchers assume that access to reality (given or socially constructed) is only through social constructions such as language, consciousness, shared meanings, and instruments" (Myers, 2008: 38). For an interpretivist, it is, therefore, important to understand motives, meanings, reasons and other subjective experiences, which are time and context bound.

My leanings towards interpretivist research therefore stems from the fact that I see knowledge acquired in the social sciences as socially constructed rather than objectively determined and perceived. As an interpretivist, I believe that reality is multiple and relative (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I therefore share in Neuman's (2000) argument that these multiple realities also depend on other systems for meanings, which make it even more difficult to interpret in terms of fixed realities. Being an interpretivist therefore affords me the opportunity to avoid the rigid structural frameworks, as seen in positivist research, and adopt more personal and flexible research frameworks. These flexible frameworks are amenable to capturing meanings in human interaction and making sense of what is perceived as reality (Carson et al., 2001).

More significantly, as an interpretivist researcher, I strongly believe people cannot be separated from their knowledge; hence, there is a clear link between the researcher and the research subject. I am therefore able to see myself and my informants as interdependent and mutually interactive. This allows me to remain open to new knowledge throughout the study.

The use of such an emergent and collaborative approach is consistent with the interpretivist belief that humans have the ability to adapt, and that no one can gain prior knowledge of time and context-bound social realities (Schwandt, 2000: 191).

3.2 Research Design

The research design is the strategy a researcher adopts to integrate the different components of a study in a coherent and logical way to effectively address the research problem and questions posed. The design therefore sets out the methods for collecting and analyzing data in attempting to describe or explain a given phenomenon. Over the years, there have been two major types of research designs – quantitative and qualitative; and in recent times, a combination of the two in what is called the mixed methods. However, the same logic of inference (scientific research) underlies these research designs; and the choice of one depends on the specific phenomenon a researcher seeks to study. Since scientific research is designed to make either descriptive or explanatory inferences based on empirical evidence about the world, social science research for that matter seeks to both describe and explain the world (Mahoney, 2010). Accordingly, systematic descriptions of specific phenomena are often indispensable to scientific research, but the accumulation of facts alone is not enough (King, Keohane, & Verba, 1994). Facts can be collected (by qualitative or quantitative researchers) systematically, but the particular definition of science requires the additional step of attempting to infer beyond the immediate data to something broader that is not directly observed (Creswell, 2014; King, Keohane, & Verba, 1994). Again, a phenomenon may involve either descriptive inference or causal inference and the domain of inference can be restricted in space and time or it can be extensive. In either case, the key distinguishing mark of scientific research is the goal of making inferences that go beyond the particular observations collected (King, Keohane, & Verba, 1994).

In view of the above, this study adopts the case study approach based on the qualitative methods of inquiry to address the research questions. The choice of the qualitative method was informed by the focus of the study, which examines how education reforms come about in Ghana. Specifically, the study seeks to understand and explain how ideas and institutions combine to produce reforms in a Sub-Saharan country such as Ghana. In so doing, the study examines how key actors influence education reforms by shaping policy ideas in Ghana. Qualitative research is therefore a situated activity that locates the observer in the world (Denzin

& Lincoln, 2005). It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that makes the world visible. These practices turn the world into a series of representations including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memos to the self. Hence, a qualitative researcher attempts to make sense of or to interpret social and political phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Consequently, qualitative research helps in developing explanations for specific cases, including the processes involved in producing certain outcomes of a given case. This is particularly so when the cause of an event or a case such as education reform is complex because of the multiplicity of explanatory factors impacting the outcome(s) (Kaplan & Maxwell, 2005).

Thus, qualitative research seeks to understand a given research problem or topic from the perspectives of the local population it involves. As Kaplan and Maxwell (2005:35) note, qualitative researches are “used to understand perceptions of information system by its users, the context within which the system is implemented or developed, and the processes by which changes occur or outcomes are generated”. Since the study is about understanding and explaining education reforms in Ghana, the qualitative approach is more useful because it enables us to critically explore the perceptions of the various actors, the contextual factors (such as the institutional and ideational factors), and how these factors shape the processes of policy reforms. In the words of George and Bennett (2005:32), if a study is “concerned with understanding context, or process, or is consultative or strategic in its aim, then qualitative evidence alone may be needed”. The qualitative method of inquiry (research interviews) therefore enables the researcher and the participant (respondent) to build a less formal relationship than a quantitative method of inquiry would provide. This is because participants can respond more elaborately and in detail than is typically the case with quantitative methods. The researcher in turn can respond immediately to what participants say by tailoring subsequent questions to information the participant has provided already (Mack et al, 2005). Accordingly, the study adopts the case study approach to understand and explain the education reforms of 1987 and 2007 that took place in Ghana.

3.3 Case Study Approach

A case study approach in the social sciences draws from the subject disciplines of law, psychology and medicine. A case study is an intensive study of a single case (bounded²¹ system) or cases (multiple bounded systems) for the purposes of understanding complex social phenomena (Creswell, 2013:97-102; Yin, 2009; Gerring, 2004:341-354). It is therefore widely accepted to mean an intensive study of a specific individual or context. As Gerring (2004:342) opines, “to refer to a work as case study might mean (a) that its method is qualitative (small-N); (b) that the research is ethnographic, clinical, participant-observation, or otherwise “in the field”; (c) that the research is characterized by process-tracing (d) that the research investigates the properties of a single case; or (e) that the research investigates a single phenomenon”. Baxter and Jack (2008) also argue that a case study method should be considered when: (a) the focus of the study is to answer “how” and “why” questions; (b) you cannot manipulate the behavior of those involved in the study; (c) you want to cover contextual conditions because you believe they are relevant to the phenomenon under study; or (d) the boundaries are not clear between the phenomenon and context.

Case studies are particularly useful when contextual conditions are central to understanding what happens and, when, because of the nature of the phenomena being studied, the potential for rival interpretations exists. Therefore, in a case study, as Creswell (2013:97) rightly points out, the researcher “explores a real-life, contemporary bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information (e.g. observations, interviews, audiovisual material, documents and reports), and reports a case description and case themes”.

Case studies are very good in developing and evaluating theories, as well as formulating hypotheses or explaining particular phenomena by using theories and causal mechanisms (Vennesson, 2008: 227). They have over the years become the main approach to study the policy process in developing world when the goal is to build a theory of the policy development. As Zainal’s (2007: 2) asserts, “unlike quantitative analysis which observes patterns in data at the macro level on the basis of the frequency of occurrence of the phenomena being observed, case

²¹ This means a case is bounded by time and place.

studies observe the data at the micro level.” The case study approach enabled this research to undertake an in-depth examination of a single case (education reform), which provided a systematic way of observing the events, collecting data, analyzing information, and reporting the results. Within this case (i.e. education reform), two specific reforms were examined in detail. These were the 1987 and 2007 reforms. These reforms were selected because they are the only two major reforms that have taken place in Ghana since Ghana’s independence in 1957. Accordingly, the choice of these two reforms enabled the study to address the question of policy stability and of policy change (either incremental or dramatic) in education reforms in Ghana. Particularly, it enables the study to explore the complex manner in which different types of causal factors (particularly institutions and ideas) interact to produce policy stability and/or change within the education sector in Ghana.

Despite its clear qualities, the case study method has been criticized on several fronts. One such criticism is its inability to provide scientific generalization due to the small number of subjects (mostly one subject) involved. However, Garson (2002:212) strongly opposes this criticism and argues that “generalizability of findings is a function of the range and diversity of settings in which a theory is tested, not of the testing methodology per se”. Garson (2002:212) eventually suggests that “judicious case selection to identify cases illustrating the range of a theory may result in more generalizable research than, say, the attempt to test the same theory based on a random sample of students in one university”. Therefore, establishing the parameters and objectives of the research when using the case study method becomes very important than in a big sample size (Hamel, Dufuor & Fortin, 1993). It is for this reason that this study explores two major education reforms (1987 and 2007) under four themes (objectives, financing, structure, and duration) within these reform agenda to ascertain whether bricolage or translation occurred.

3.4 The Research Site - Ghana

The research site for this study is Ghana. Ghana, formerly called Gold Coast, is a West African country which shares border with Burkina Faso to the north, the Gulf of Guinea and the Atlantic Ocean to the south, Togo to the east and Cote d’Ivoire to the west. The total land surface area is estimated to be 238,540 square kilometers. The Northern Region is the biggest region with a land surface area of 70,384 square kilometers, while the Greater Accra is the smallest with a land

surface area of 3,245 square kilometers. Colonized by the British, Ghana became the first Sub-Saharan country to achieve independence on the 6th of March 1957 under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah. Since independence, Ghana has had 4 republics (1960-66, 1969-72, 1979-81 and 1993-present). In between these republics, there have been 4 military rules (1966-1969, 1972-1979, 1979-1979 and 1981-1993) with the longest being the rule of the Provisional National Defence Council²² (PNDC). All these governments, including the colonial administration, have attempted reforming Ghana's educational system. The most significant reform during the colonial period was the promulgation of the 1925 Education Ordinance under Governor Gordon Guggisberg. This ordinance was informed by what became commonly known as the "sixteen principles of Guggisberg". The next significant reform was the introduction of a 10-year Accelerated Development Plan for Education (ADPE) by the CPP administration in 1951 under Prime Minister Nkrumah. Subsequently, the CCP government passed the 1961 Education Act (Act 87) to replace the 1925 Education Ordinance passed by Governor Guggisberg. This was to reflect the vision of an independent Ghana by incorporating all the changes, which had been introduced into the educational system since the introduction of the ADPE in 1951. The next significant reform took place in 1987 under the PNDC military administration. This reform re-structured and reduced the number of years of pre-tertiary education. It culminated in the introduction of the Junior and Senior Secondary School concepts to replace the existing Middle and Sixth Form school systems that had been in place since colonial rule. In 2007, NPP, under the presidency of John Kuffour introduced another education reform that led to the promulgation of 2008 Education Act (Act 778).

Furthermore, based on the 2018 World Population Review, the population of Ghana stands at 29,463,643 (Male 49.85% and Female 50.15%). One of the unique features of Ghana is the different ethnic and cultural groups that make up the population. These ethnic groups include Akan²³ (47.5%), Dagbani (17%), Ewe (14%), Ga-Adangbe (7%), Gurma (6%), Guan (4%), Gurunsi (2.5%), and Bissa (1%). Due partly to the many ethnic groups and British colonialization, the official language in the country is English even though the Twi language of the Akan is the most widely spoken language in the country. As of 2018, the literacy rate in Ghana was 76.6% (Knoema, 2018). The estimated gross domestic product (GDP) for 2017 stood

²² The PNDC later became the National Democratic Party (NDC) that contested and won the 1992 general elections.

²³ The Akan group is the largest ethnic group in Ghana.

at \$47 billion with a year-on-year growth rate between 7% and 9% (GSS, 2018). Ghana is well-known for its rich culture and mineral resources²⁴.

The return to multi-party democracy in 1993 ushered in Ghana's 4th republic which has since witnessed 7 successive presidential and parliamentary elections (1992, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012, 2016), making it the longest in the history of the country. Though Ghana is a multi-party democracy, based on a system of government many have described as neo-presidentialism, (Crawford, 2004; Ayeni, 1993), only two political parties²⁵ have had a chance to rule in the 4th republic. Administratively, Ghana has 16 regions with Accra as its capital. The seat of government is in Accra. In addition, Accra is home to many of the headquarters of both public and private organizations. To involve the local people in the governance of their communities, Ghana embarked on a decentralization exercise in 1988. This culminated in the passage of the Local Government Act, 1993 (Act 462). Currently, there are 254 Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAS) in the country. The basic unit of organization and governance in these assemblies are the unit committees which are headed by assembly men and women.

The choice of Ghana as the study site was informed by several considerations. First is my familiarity with the country. To undertake a qualitative study, which is time bound, one has to be abreast with the socio-cultural, economic and political environment of the study area. Being a native of Ghana, and having schooled and worked in Ghana, I have a fair understanding of this environment in which education reforms and other social policies operate and function. Again, funding was an important consideration. As the study was not funded, it was important I undertook a task that fell within my constrained budget. Being a native, the cost of undertaking field research was significantly reduced because I already had transportation and accommodation in Ghana, thereby I did not need to spend much money on these items. More importantly, the choice of Ghana was largely due to the duality of the Ghanaian society as discussed earlier. Many studies miss out on this duality that impacts education reforms in Ghana. Studying education reforms in Ghana therefore mirrored the duality of SSA countries.

²⁴ Ghana is the 2nd largest producer of cocoa in the world. In addition, Ghana produces gold, diamond, bauxite, salt, and in recent times oil for export.

²⁵ The NDC ruled from 1993-2000 and 2009-2016. The NPP also governed from 2001-2008 and 2017 to Present. The current President is Nana Addo Danquah Akuffo Addo, who assumed office on the 7th of January 2017. These two parties command over 95% of votes cast during general elections since 1992.

3.5 Data Collection

In addressing the research questions, the study used two main sources of data: primary and secondary sources. The primary data was collected between June and September 2018 in accordance with the timetable for this research. The period chosen for the primary data collection coincided with the long vacation of basic schools in Ghana, which made it relatively easier for the researcher to identify potential participants. It also afforded the potential respondents enough time to participate and provide useful information to address the research questions due to the reduction of their workload during such vacations. The primary source of data was a face-to-face open-ended interview of 39 key policy personnel and individuals using a semi-structured interview guide (see Table 4).

Throughout the interviews, I engaged my participants with the view of co-creating knowledge with them. Co-creation of knowledge is a collaborative development of new values (i.e. concepts and solutions) together with experts and stakeholders (Ramírez-Montoya & García-Peñalvo, 2018). Knowledge co-creation enables researchers and participants to transfer and share their knowledge in an attempt to learn something new or something that is not yet there to be learnt. For example, treating my interviewees as co-creators of knowledge enabled me to explore traditional institutions that are absent in policy making in Ghana. In effect, ideas are shared and improved together, rather than kept to oneself. Since social policy making is mostly contextual, knowledge co-creation plays a central role in the process of developing and implementing social policies to address challenges across social issues including educational issues. It also enabled me to address the research objectives and questions outlined.

I stopped the interview process after the 39th interview because I got to the point of saturation where no new information emerged from further interviews. In addition to getting to the point of saturation, I had gathered enough data for analysis in order to address the research questions and objectives. The face-to-face interviews enabled the study to explore the views, experiences, beliefs and/or motivations of individuals on education reforms with emphasis on the 1987 and 2007 reforms. The interviews sought to explore the ideas behind these reforms, and how existing institutions (including past reforms) served as constraints or incentives for new reforms as informed by the theoretical foundations of this research. Such an exercise also provided a ‘deeper’ understanding of the social phenomenon under study than would be obtained

from purely quantitative methods, such as survey questionnaires. This is because research interviews center on the interviewee's lifeworld and seek to understand the meaning of phenomena in his or her lifeworld. Most importantly, these interviews were opened for ambiguities, changes and took place in an interpersonal interaction (Kvale, 1983:174). The use of semi-structured interviews enabled the study to stay on track, but also enabled the researcher to follow topical trajectories in the conversation that strayed from the interview guide. To be eligible for selection as a participant, the following criteria were adopted based on the key actors identified in the literature during the discussions on the theoretical framework underpinning this research:

Table 3. 1: Eligibility Criteria

Criteria	
1.	Members of the various education reform committees
2.	Members of the select committee on education in Ghana's parliament (both past and present)
3.	Desk Officers/Staff from institutions who are responsible for the implementation of education reforms and other related social policies (e.g. GES)
4.	Political party officials who are involved in the drafting of party's manifesto in the lead up to general elections
5.	Civil society organizations whose primary focus is on education policy.
6.	Transnational Actors (e.g. WB, IMF, UNESCO, UNICEF)
7.	Traditional Authorities
8.	Academics

3.5.1 Recruiting Respondents

Based on the criteria above, the study recruited respondents using the stratified and purposive sampling techniques. A stratified sampling is a probability sampling technique that allows a researcher to divide the entire population into different subgroups or strata, and then proceed to randomly select respondents proportionally from the different strata (Särndal, Swensson, &

Wretman, 2003). Some of the most common strata used by researchers include age, gender, nationality, socio-economic status, level of education and religion. Thus, with stratified sampling, participants are randomly selected across relevant groups on the same phenomenon with each group homogenous enough to allow for cross-group comparisons (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Purposive sampling technique²⁶ on the other hand is a non-probability sampling technique that enables a researcher to draw a sample from the entire population based on characteristics of a population and the objective of the study. Due to the technical nature of the phenomenon being studied, it was appropriate these two methods were combined to recruit respondents. Accordingly, the stratified purposive sampling method was employed to enable the researcher to identify key individuals who could provide useful and helpful information based on their experience and knowledge of education reforms, as well as traditional institutions in the area of education.

With the above criteria drawn up, a sampling frame was generated from which participants were recruited. The sample frame, which was organizational, was informed by the research questions and the theoretical framework of the study. As Ritchie and Lewis (2003:93) note, organizational sample frame is relevant for “generating a sample frame for a group which cannot be identified through official statistics or administrative records, and which are too scattered or small to be identified easily through a household screen”. Accordingly, an institutional map based on the criteria above was drawn up, and individuals from these organizations that were involved in the various reforms identified for the study were interviewed.

Table 3. 2: Institutional Map

Institutions/Organizations	
1.	Ministry of Education
2.	Ghana Education Service
3.	Parliament of Ghana (Select Committee on Education)
4.	Ministry of Gender and Children’s Affair
5.	Presidential Committee on Review of Education Reforms in Ghana (Anamuah-Mensah Committee)

²⁶ Some refer to it as judgmental, selective or subjective sampling technique.

Institutions/Organizations	
6.	Council of State
7.	Metropolitan/Municipal and district assemblies
8.	National House of Chiefs
9.	Traditional Councils
10.	College of Education, University of Ghana
11.	Institute for Educational Research and Innovation Studies, University of Education, Winneba
12.	New Patriotic Party
13.	National Democratic Congress
14.	Conference of Heads of Assisted Secondary Schools
15.	Ghana National Association of Teachers
16.	National Association of Graduate Teachers
17.	Ghana National Education Campaign Coalition
18.	Forum for Education Reform (FFER), IMANI-GHANA
19.	CARE Ghana
20.	World Bank
21.	International Monetary Fund
22.	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
23.	Danish International Development Agency
24.	Canadian International Development Agency
25.	Japan International Cooperation Agency

However, I was aware that individuals who participated in reforms dating back to the 1950s through to the 1987 reform may not be available for face-to-face interviews either due to death or ill health. In such situations, official records and interviews with experts in the field of education reforms in Ghana were relied upon. I contacted the Ministry of Education (MoE), GES and the Parliament of Ghana for the list of the members of the 1987 and 2007 reform committees. Unfortunately, these institutions did not respond to my request, so I reviewed official records from Public Records and Archives Administration Department (PRAAD) for the list. I was not

able to contact any member of the 1987 reform, but I contacted and interviewed the chairman of the 2007 reform.

After setting out the organizational map, I sent out letters of recruitment to these organizations after I obtained my ethics clearance certificate from University of Saskatchewan's Behavioral Research Ethics Board (BREB). This was done a month before my departure to Ghana in May 2018. However, I received no response from any of the organizations. Upon arrival in Ghana, I followed up personally on the recruitment letters. After several visits to some of these organizations, I finally had some responses. I conducted my first interview, with MoE, on June 29, 2018; 1 month after my arrival and two months after sending out the recruitment letters. Subsequently, I began to have responses and in the space of one month, I conducted 25 interviews. The interviews slowed down afterwards due to the scheduled education week from 6 August to 10 August 2018 and parliament's recess. I had the opportunity to attend this meeting after seeking permission from MoE through email. At the meeting, I met a number of organizations who were not on my institutional map and individuals who were involved in education policy in Ghana. I contacted and booked interview appointments with them.

Realizing the difficulty in securing further interviews, I made use of the snowball-sampling technique. This method enables the researcher to locate research subjects, as one subject recommends another subject, who in turn refers another subject. Though the snowballing method may significantly skew the data because participants were more likely to recommend only like-minded people, I ensured that participants adhere to the eligibility criteria provided earlier. The next 14 interviews followed from 14 August 2018. The last interview (i.e. the 39th) took place on 9 October 2018. Out of the 39 interviews, 33 were conducted in Accra and 2 each were conducted in Cape Coast in the Central Region, Hwidiem in the Brong Ahafo Region, and Koforidua in the Eastern Region.

Table 3. 3: List of Institutions and Number of Individuals Interviewed

Institutions/Organizations	Number of Participants
1. Ministry of Education	1
2. Ghana Education Service	2
3. National Council for Curriculum and Assessment	1
4. Transforming Teacher Education and Learning	1
5. National Council for Tertiary Education	1
6. Parliament of Ghana (Select Committee on Education)	3
7. Presidential Committee on Review of Education Reforms in Ghana (Anamuah-Mensah Committee)	2
8. Traditional Councils	3
9. Institute for Educational Research and Innovation Studies, University of Education, Winneba	2
10. University of Ghana	1
11. Conference of Heads of Assisted Secondary Schools	1
12. Ghana National Association of Teachers	1
13. National Association of Graduate Teachers	1
14. Ghana National Education Campaign Coalition	1
15. Child Research Center	1
16. Action for Rural Education	1
17. Right to Play	1
18. World Education, Ghana	1
19. International Child Development Program	1
20. Education International	1
21. World Vision	1
22. VSO International	1
23. Action Aid	2
24. US Aid	2
25. United Nations International Children' Emergency Fund	1

Institutions/Organizations	Number of Participants
26. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization	1
27. Ghana National Association of Private Schools	1
28. Parent-Teacher Association	1
29. Education Expert	2

All the research interviews were conducted in strict accordance to the conditions set out in my ethics clearance certificate. After securing a participant, I emailed the consent form to them in advance before the scheduled meeting appointment. Prospective participants chose the time and venue of the appointment. I however, ensured that the venue was safe and conducive for interviews. On 4 occasions, I had to politely suggest to the participants to kindly reconsider a proposed venue for the interview due to the noisy environment. The participants agreed and moved the venue to a more conducive environment²⁷. I always carried hard copies of the consent form with me on each interview appointment and made sure participants read and signed the form before I proceeded with the interview. Since this was basically an interview with elites, all interviews were conducted using the English language, the official language in Ghana. The interviews lasted between 20 minutes and 90 minutes. The earliest interview appointment I had was 6:30am and the latest was 9:00pm²⁸.

Before each interview, I reminded the participant of the objectives of the study and their rights of withdrawal at any point during the interview and after the interview. I sought the permission of the respondents to record the interviews and 38 of them granted the permission except for 1 respondent. In addition to the audio-taping, I took down field notes during my visits which aided with the analysis. All the respondents granted permission to cite and quote them in person. There were instances respondents asked me to differentiate between them as individuals and their answers captured as their personal views and not the views of their organizations. As indicated earlier, the interview was guided by a semi-interview guide. Accordingly, all participants were not asked the same questions in the same order. Depending on the organization

²⁷ Most of the interviews took place in the offices of the participants during official working hours (i.e. between 8am and 5pm).

²⁸ All times were recorded in the GMT zone. These interview times were due to the busy and loaded work schedule of the respondents who could grant me interview during office hours.

and individual being interviewed, I changed the sequence of the questions. This is the flexibility a semi-structured interview gives a researcher. For example, when interviewing actors from state institutions such as MoE and GES, I did not have to ask them about their role in education reforms as that was an obvious question. However, when interviewing CSOs and TNAs, I asked them about their involvement in education reforms in Ghana. Again, I did not ask academics their role in education as I sought their opinions on education reforms in Ghana.

In addition to the primary data discussed above, the study also used secondary sources of data through document reviews. Prior to the face-to-face interviews as discussed above, official documents from MoE and GES were reviewed to identify concepts and themes, which were patterns within the documents under review that described, organized, and interpreted various features of education reforms in Ghana, particularly the key actors involved. Thus, existing documents on education reforms in Ghana and SSA were reviewed in order to gain a detailed and a comprehensive understanding of these reforms. These documents were mainly scholarly books and journal articles; relevant government documents such as acts of parliament, legislative instruments, annual budget statements, governments' speeches and press releases; domestic newspapers; reports of civil society organization in education; political party documents (manifestoes and constitutions) and reports from international organizations (e.g. UNESCO, UNICEF, WB, IMF). These documents were retrieved from the libraries of MoE, GES, PRAAD, GNAT, George Padmore and University of Ghana. Other reports and policy documents on education reforms were retrieved online through the websites of the issuing organizations. Peer review articles were downloaded from online journals including SAGE, Jstor, and Taylor and Francis portals. The document review was important because past events and experiences; communications; as well as private and public records provide some understanding of specific phenomenon under study (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Again, as Ritchie and Lewis (2003) points out, in situation where direct observation is impossible, document review becomes vital. Accordingly, this review enabled me to ascertain what has been done by earlier scholars in the field of study, and the gaps that needed to be filled. It also enabled me to map out the key actors and institutions that were involved in education reforms in Ghana. Lastly, through the document review, I identified themes and concepts such as political interference, political consideration, ideas, international norms and external influence that assisted me to design the interview guide to address the research questions and objectives.

3.6 Data Processing and Analysis

To process and analyze the data gathered, I first engaged in content analysis of the secondary data gathered. This process was guided by the four dimensions (i.e. objectives, financing, content and structure and duration) of education reforms the study sought to analyze. As Berg and Lune (2012:49) notes, content analysis is “a careful, detailed, systematic examination and interpretation of a particular body of material in an effort to identify patterns, themes, biases, and meaning.” I therefore reviewed official documents (e.g. 1951 ADPE, 1961 (Act 87), 1967 Kwapong Committee Report, 1974 Dzobo Committee Report, 1987 Evans-Anfom Commission Report, 1992 Constitution, 2002 Anamuah-Mensah Committee Report, 2008 Education Act (Act 778)) in order to ascertain their content and context. In conducting document analysis of 1951 ADPE and 1961 Education Act, I established the four key dimensions of the reforms. Accordingly, the objectives, financing, the structure, and content of the prevailing educational system were outlined. Similar exercise was undertaken for the 1974, 1987 and 2007 reforms. This informed the thematic analysis that was conducted using the Nvivo software. In the course of the document analysis, I identified further important themes such as ideas informing the reform processes, political influences, conditionalities, and key actors involved in the reform processes. I was always mindful of the context within which these themes were used in these documents. After this process, I used the qualitative software called NVivo (Version 12) to analyze the primary data obtained through interviews. The audio-taped research interviews from the field was first transcribed manually and later uploaded into the data management and analysis software, NVivo (v. 12). Based on the objectives of the study, I conducted thematic analysis of the acquired data taking into account the four dimensions of the various reforms. I systematically developed common themes that emerged from the responses given by the interviewees and coded them into nodes in NVivo to fit the concepts (e.g. bricolage, translation) derived from the document analysis. The major themes developed were those perspectives or opinions that were shared by most participants consistently across the interviews. To develop these themes, I used the analytic coding scheme. This coding scheme alerts a researcher of new messages or ideas; helps a researcher to explore and develop new categories; and pursue comparison (Richards & Morse, 2012). Accordingly, analytic coding allowed me to not just develop and link categories theoretically to the data (i.e. deductive), but more importantly, it enabled me to question the data about the new ideas developing (inductive). To this end, I engaged in both pre-set and open

coding process. Thus, the analysis was guided by both inductive and deductive approaches depending on the specific research question. For instance, in analyzing the extent to which bricolage or translation informs education reforms in Ghana, a deductive approach was employed. In this case, respondents were asked to indicate whether ideas that influenced the specific reform in question originated from within or were imported from outside. Those ideas that were originated from within were coded as bricolage while those that emanated from outside were coded as translation. However, the bulk of the analysis was guided by an inductive approach through an iterative process of coding and re-coding, as and when relevant ideas or themes emerged. This is because the objective of the research was focused on exploring new phenomena and exploring previously researched phenomena from a different perspective.

To begin the analytic coding, I began with a “start list” of pre-set codes (themes) derived from my prior knowledge of the subject matter. For example, to address the question of actors who exert the most direct influence on education reforms, I developed themes such as traditional authorities; state actors; civil society organizations and transnational actors. In addition to the pre-set codes (themes), I looked out for emergent themes that are different than the pre-set codes. For example, two emergent themes that emerged when addressing the question of key actors that mattered for education reforms in Ghana were the education labor unions and education experts/consultants. Similarly, while addressing the question of the factors that shape education reforms in Ghana, I had a start list that included ideas, political consideration, financial resources, institutional factors and conditionalities. In addition to this, two emergent themes from the data were international and global norms and conventions and public dissatisfaction. These emergent themes were added to the pre-set themes as they formed the basis of interesting stories and indeed became part of the major storyline told in my evaluation. Therefore, coding themes were added, collapsed, expanded, and revised (Gibbs, 2007) as the data allowed in order to address the research questions. In all situations, I was guided by the rule of thumb for coding which is “to make the codes fit the data, rather than trying to make your data fit your codes” (Gibbs, 2007). Accordingly, the identified themes delivered key ideas and actionable insights into education reforms in Ghana as they link these themes up in the data. As Richards and Morse (2012: 154) rightly notes, “codes lead you from the data to the idea, and from the idea to all the data pertaining to that idea”.

To address the question of stability and change, I compared the overall structure proposed by the in-coming reform with the existing structure to see the differences and similarities. The more similarities there were, the higher the probability of stability and vice versa. To solidify the claim of stability or change, I then proceeded to compare the four dimensions of the proposed reform with the dimensions of the existing system. For example, comparing the 1974 educational structure to the 1987 structure, I identified that the 3-tier structure (basic, secondary and tertiary levels) was maintained. However, while this structure was piloted in 1974 and co-existed with the 1961 educational structure (primary, middle school, secondary, 6th Form and tertiary), the 1987 reform undertook a nation-wide roll-out of the 3-tier structure and abolished the 1961 structure. A similar analysis was conducted for the 2007 reform. The overall structure instituted in 2007 was compared to the 1987 structure. While the 3-tier system was maintained, the basic level was expanded to include pre-school education. Similarly, the four dimensions were compared and analyzed.

To ascertain the level of influence of the identified key actors in education reforms in Ghana, I asked respondents to indicate which actor(s) was/were most influential. I proceeded to tabulate the responses given. The actor(s) who received the most nomination was then considered to be the most influential and those with the least nomination considered least influential. In short, as Polsby (1963: 113) notes, it is important “to study specific outcomes in order to determine who actually prevails in [policymaking]”. Thus, by this process, I was able to identify the influence levels of the actors identified earlier. Clearly, the data showed that the government through its agencies had greater influence in education reforms. They are closely followed by TNAs, especially those in the shape of international organizations, who exert influence due to their financial resources. The financial powers of TNAs enabled them to embark on community projects, which are later used as evidence-based ideas to influence governmental decisions on education reforms. The type of actors that has the most limited influence on education policy seems to be the traditional authorities. This is partly due to the government’s attempt to marginalize them despite the huge influence this group of actors has in their localities. The analyses conducted above then informed the discussions in the empirical chapters (5 and 6) and the conclusions that were drawn in chapter 7.

3.7 Researcher's Biases / Reflexivity

The biases and subjectivity of a researcher is a major challenge for any qualitative research making it difficult to achieve neutrality and objectivity. Being closely associated with the Kubease chieftaincy stool in the Ashanti Region, I am sympathetic to the course of the chieftaincy institution in Ghana. It is therefore impossible to suggest that this research was completely free from the researcher's personal biases and views. However, the selection of different institutions and individuals based on an institutional map and selection-criteria allowed this research to have a broader and wider perspective of the 1987 and 2007 education reform processes in Ghana. In addition, the researcher conducted face-to-face open-ended interviews with 39 respondents using a semi-structured interview guide. This enabled the researcher to engage the interviewees in an objective manner. In addition to this, the researcher used triangulation (a variety of sources of information including official documentations, annual reports, scholarly articles and books) to support the findings from the interviews, thereby reducing if not eliminating the biases of the researcher.

3.7.1 Trustworthiness of Research Data

The difficulty in establishing neutrality and objectivity in qualitative studies has led to the reluctance of many critics in accepting the trustworthiness of qualitative research. However, Guba's (1981: 79-81) four criteria²⁹ for establishing the trustworthiness of a research has been used by many scholars (see Silverman, 2001; Pitts, 1994) to demonstrate how qualitative researchers can incorporate measures that deal with the issue of trustworthiness. This study adopts the naturalistic terms outlined by Guba (1981) to address the issue of trustworthiness in this study.

3.7.1.1 Credibility

In ensuring the credibility of any qualitative research, Shenton (2004: 64) argues that the research must adopt "research methods well established both in qualitative investigation in general and in information science in particular". Hence, the specific procedures employed (e.g. sampling, interviewing guide, data analysis, etc.) should be derived, where possible, from those

²⁹ Guba's four criteria included Truth Value; Applicability; Consistency and Neutrality. Its naturalistic terms are Credibility; Transferability; Dependability and Confirmability respectively.

that have been successfully utilized in previous comparable projects. In addition, Creswell (2013: 250-251) indicates that there should be a “prolonged engagement and persistent observation in the field including building trust with participants, learning the culture, and checking for misinformation that stems from distortions introduced by the researcher or informants”. This study satisfied these requirements as has already been outlined in the preceding pages on research design (i.e. sampling based on an institutional map and selection-criteria and the selection of a research site and cases well-known to the researcher). In addition to the above, this study engaged in triangulation, where different sources of data were used to augment and validate each other. Again, respondents were given the opportunity to decline to participate in the study, and those who did participate, did so voluntarily. The researcher also constantly debriefed the supervisor to ensure that the necessary guidance was provided and followed. Lastly, to ensure credibility, the biases of the researcher were outlined, and adequately catered for to ensure that the results obtained reflected the data collected from the respondents.

3.7.1.2 Transferability

The findings of this qualitative study are specific to the 1987 and 2007 education reforms in Ghana. It is therefore difficult to demonstrate that the findings and conclusions are applicable to other situations and populations due to different contextual variables (i.e. variations in historical, socio-cultural, economic, and political environments). However, to meet this transferability criterion, the researcher must, according to Creswell (2013: 252), undertake a “rich, thick description of the participants or setting under study”. This study has outlined clearly, the institutional map and the eligibility criteria employed for the sampling, the sample size used, the length and duration of the interviews and the entire field survey. This information provides enough contextual information about the study and fieldwork sites. It is up to the reader to determine transferability of this study.

3.7.1.3 Dependability

Lincoln and Guba (1985) stress the close ties between credibility and dependability. Hence, a demonstration of the credibility of a research, as discussed earlier, goes some distance in ensuring the dependability of the research. Dependability may be achieved with overlapping methods. One of the main sources for dependability is an audit trail. Detailed notes and journals

were written during the research process in order to review the activities of the researcher, which then supports meeting the credibility and transferability requirements. Triangulation was also used throughout the study.

3.7.1.4 Confirmability

The concept of confirmability according to Shenton (2004: 72) is “the qualitative investigator’s comparable concern to objectivity”. In line with this, the researcher took steps to ensure, as far as possible, that the findings of the study are the result of the experiences and ideas of the respondents, rather than the characteristics and preferences of the researcher. This was made possible with triangulation, which reduced the biases of the researcher.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

This research took several ethical considerations into account because humans were the subject matter during the interviewing stage. The University of Saskatchewan’s Behavioral Research Ethics Board (BREB) requires that a researcher obtains the necessary ethics clearance before proceeding to collect data on the field. This clearance is to protect the rights of both the researcher and the interviewees. In accordance to this, I successfully completed GSR³⁰ 960 and TCPS³¹ 2 Core. This was followed by an application to BREB for ethics approval which was given on 12 March 2018.

In the lead up to the scheduled dates for the interviews, I sent introductory letters and informed consent forms to the identified institutions and individuals through emails and in-person delivery where applicable. On the day of each interview, I gave a summary of the research and the purpose of the interview. In addition, I reminded the interviewees of their rights to withdraw as outlined in the consent form. Before interviews, I requested for the signed consent form before proceeding with the interview. I gave the option of oral consent should the respondent want so, but all respondents provided me with a signed consent. Each participant was asked to indicate if they wanted to be audio-taped and/or remain anonymous, before the commencement of the interview. I was consequently guided by the response from the

³⁰ GRS refers to Graduate Studies Requirement.

³¹ TCPS refers to Tri-Council Policy Statement.

interviewees. In addition to this, I kept the interview data safe and secured in a password-protected laptop and pen-drive to ensure it did not accidentally fall in the wrong hands.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the procedures adopted for data collection and analysis. As indicated earlier, the study examines the factors that informed the 1987 and 2007 education reforms in Ghana. The choice of the 1987 and 2007 education reform was for two reasons. First, both reforms introduced path departing changes to Ghana's educational system. Second, the two reforms occurred under different political systems that provide the opportunity for comparison. Thus, 1987 and 2007 education reforms occurred under military and democratic governments respectively. Subsequently, the study explores the key actors and the mechanisms they employed to influence the reform process. This is against the commonly held assumption that policy prescriptions are imposed on developing countries by TNAs (particularly IMF and WB). However, this assumption is challenged as the decision to embark on the 1987 and 2007 education reforms in Ghana was not due to aid conditionalities imposed by the IMF and WB. Instead, TNAs, in addition to financial support to developing countries, use other mechanisms to influence the reform process. There is therefore the need to further examine these mechanisms and how they impact the policy process in developing countries especially those with dual political systems.

To address the research questions, the study adopted the case study approach based on the qualitative methods of inquiry. The case study approach enabled the study to undertake an in-depth examination the 1987 and 2007 education reforms in Ghana. Consequently, the study used a semi-structured interview technique in a face-to-face interview to acquire information from participants. The flexibility of the face-to-face semi-structured interviews enabled the study to explore the views, experiences, beliefs and/or motivations of individuals on education reforms. Thus, the researcher was able to probe into the significant aspects of the roles of participants in the policy process. To minimize biases and ensure the credibility of the findings of this study, other data sources were used. These included reviews of past education reports; relevant government documents such as acts of parliament, white papers, legislative instruments, annual budget statements; annual country reports from WB and UNESCO; scholarly books and journal articles. Thematic analysis was then conducted on the transcribed interview data using the NVivo

(v12) qualitative software. I used the analytic coding scheme to develop themes by engaging in both pre-set and open coding process based on the objectives of the study. This enabled the study to interrogate the data to expose connections. In so doing, I was able to develop and link categories theoretically to the data as well as question the data about the new ideas emerging.

CHAPTER 4: OVERVIEW OF BASIC EDUCATION IN POST-INDEPENDENT GHANA

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the various attempts made by successive governments since independence to reform the educational system in the country. This discussion is preceded by a brief overview of the educational system in the Gold Coast prior to independence in 1957. As noted earlier, Ghana became independent on 6th March, 1957³². Prior to Ghana's independence, the country had been granted partial-internal self-governance in 1951 under the leadership of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. Though Ghana was declared independent in 1957, the British Queen continued to be the Head of State of the country. Continued political struggles, petitions and negotiations with the British monarchy resulted in the declaration of Ghana as a Republic on 1st July 1960. Kwame Nkrumah³³ became the first elected President of the Republic of Ghana. The newly acquired republican status meant that national sovereignty lay in the hands of the people through its government and not in the British crown. Consequently, Ghana was responsible for its internal and external affairs. Since the acquisition of a republican status in 1960, Ghana has witnessed four different republics due to intermittent coup d'états. To date, there have been 11 different administrations consisting of seven democratically elected and four military regimes. Each regime saw education as a tool for self-actualization and national development. Accordingly, most of the regimes introduced programmes, interventions and/or reforms to improve on the quality and the accessibility of the educational system they inherited. In this chapter, I will discuss some of the major programmes, interventions and reforms introduced by successive governments since independence and highlight the key actors that were involved in these activities. I will also examine the overall contributions and the challenges of these educational programmes, interventions and reforms.

To achieve the above objective, the study weaves together the findings from the research data and document review to develop a coherent argument in addressing the research questions. This is because no significant variations were observed between the two (primary and secondary

³² This was after the Convention Peoples Party (CPP) had won the general election of July 1956. Its leader was Dr. Kwame Nkrumah who was then the Prime Minister.

³³ Nkrumah (leader of the CPP) defeated J.B. Danquah (leader of the United Gold Coast Convention) in the July 1960 elections to become the first elected president of Ghana.

data). Thus, the research data re-enforced the initial findings from the document review. For example, the themes I developed during the document review informed the pre-set codes I generated for the Nvivo program. Subsequently, these codes were used to analyze the research data to draw the conclusions thereafter.

4.2 Overview of the Educational System in Pre-independent Ghana

There are no records of formal education in Ghana prior to the arrival of European imperialists in mid-15th century. Accordingly, the current formal, western-style educational system in Ghana is credited to attempts made by the Portuguese to institute formal education in 1529 to educate their “mulatto” children (Cogneau, & Moradi, 2014; Martin, 1976). Subsequently, Dutch³⁴, British³⁵ and Danish³⁶ trading companies also established schools in the Elmina, Cape Coast and Christiansburg Castles³⁷ respectively. These schools were ad hoc schools and had no proper administrative structures in place. The schools were not run in any hierarchical order where one pupil could move from one level to another. The pupils were grouped by age and height and given basic education (P. Osei-Mensah, personal communication, 2018).

In mid-1880s, the Basel³⁸ and Wesleyan³⁹ Missions arrived in the Gold Coast and began to sensitize the local people on the need for education if they were to take advantage of European civilization and advancement. However, the real motive behind their push for formal education was to enable them to spread their Christian religious beliefs, which they saw as superior to the existing internal religious beliefs (Aissat, & Djafri, 2011). Thus, during this period, the goals of education changed from creating functional administrators for the European merchant companies trading in the Gold Coast to grooming young interpreters for the purposes of spreading the gospel when missionary activities expanded in 1830s. The missions subsequently set up schools in different parts of the Gold Coast to increase accessibility (Wiltgen, 1956). Particularly, the Basel mission played a significant role in Ghana’s educational development by moving beyond

³⁴ The Dutch defeated and took over the Portuguese Fort (Elmina castle) in 1637. They established a school in 1644.

³⁵ The Stuart family and City of London merchants set up the Royal African Company in London in 1660 as a chartered trading company. They began trading in the Gold Coast in 1752.

³⁶ The Danes established the Danish West-India Company which operated in the Gold Coast from 1674 to 1755.

³⁷ Schools established in the castle during this period became known as the ‘castle schools’.

³⁸ One of the greatest achievements of the Basel Mission Society was the transcription of local languages (Twi, Ewe and Ga languages) to facilitate education and the spreading of the Gospel.

³⁹ The Wesleyan mission set up schools in the coastal part of present-day Ghana. By 1841, they had set up 9 mission schools. These included Mfantshipim School, Wesley Girls Secondary School and Adisadel College.

the coastal towns into the interior of present-day Ghana to establish schools⁴⁰ (Martin, 1976). These mission schools operated alongside the castle schools that had been set up during the mercantilist era by the European merchant companies.

When the British finally established hegemony in the Gold Coast through the signing of the Bond of 1844⁴¹, it signified the gradual emergence of a centralized colonial government which brought about unified control over domestic services such as education and health. The colonial government became very interested in education in their newly acquired colony for two main reasons. First, under the terms of the Bond of 1844, the colonial government was to collaborate with the chiefs to mold the customs of the colony to the general principles of British law (see Danquah, 1957). The colonial government realized that this could only be achieved through a comprehensive educational system. Secondly, the colonial administration realized the need to educate local indigenes to assist with the day-to-day administration of the Gold Coast colony in a system that came to be known as ‘indirect rule’. This was after the British crown had realized that it was expensive to send British staff to administer the colony in the Gold Coast. As Aissat and Djafri (2011: 5-6) aptly puts it:

The trouble was that the European staff, which both the administration and the trading firms was employing, was highly expensive. The cost of a European working in Africa was four times that of an African ... In fact, the importance of employing natives by the Government and the commercial companies as clerks, accountants and artisans lies not only in saving money, which was to be invested locally, but also in guaranteeing continuity that was often hampered by the European employees who were frequently on leave. These altogether made the

⁴⁰ The Basel (Presbyterian) mission set up most of its early schools in the Akuapem Ridge. It is generally believed that, the weather on the ridge suited the missionaries who were not acclimatized to the hot weather in the southern and coastal parts of present-day Ghana. Some of the earliest schools set up in the Akuapem Ridge include Aburi Girls Secondary School and Presbyterian Training College.

⁴¹ The Bond of 1844, signed on March 6, 1844, was a political and military agreement between the British and the coastal Fanti states (e.g. Denkyira, Anomabo, Cape Coast, Assin and Wassai). In the bond, Fanti states along the coast surrounded their judicial authority to the British in exchange for protection against the Asantes. This is widely believed to be the genesis of colonial rule in Africa.

Government realize that native education was by far the field which deserved the greatest interest and assistance.

Thus, the objective of education shifted to creating an elite group to run the colony. The colonial government introduced several reforms to achieve this objective. The most significant of these reforms was the introduction of the 1925 Education Ordinance which was largely influenced by Governor Guggisberg's sixteen principles of education. The principles were:

- i. Primary education must be thorough and be from bottom to the top.
- ii. The provision of secondary schools with an educational standard that will fit young men and women to enter a university.
- iii. The provision of a university.
- iv. Equal opportunities to those given to boys should be provided for the education of girls.
- v. Co-education is desirable during certain stages of education.
- vi. The staff of teachers must be of the highest possible quality.
- vii. Character training must take an important place in education.
- viii. Religious teaching should form part of school life.
- ix. Organized games should form part of school life.
- x. The course in every school should include special references to the health, welfare and industries of the locality.
- xi. A sufficient staff of efficient African Inspectors of schools must be trained and maintained.
- xii. Whilst an English education must be given, it must be based solidly on the vernacular
- xiii. Education cannot be compulsory and free.
- xiv. There should be cooperation between the Government and the missions: and the latter should be subsidized for educational purposes.
- xv. The Government must have the ultimate control of education throughout the Gold Coast.
- xvi. The provision of trade schools with a technical and literary education that will fit young men to become skilled craftsmen and useful citizens (Adu-Gyamfi, Donkoh, & Addo, 2016; Aissat, & Djafri, 2011; William, 1964).

These principles were significant in four different ways. First, there was the emphasis on girl-child education in the Gold Coast. Up until the development of these principles, education had been the preserve of boys, while girls were resented to domestic chores. The second was the emphasis placed on higher education. Accordingly, the Prince of Wales College⁴² was established in 1927 to provide secondary and post-secondary technical education for both boys and girls in the colony (Martin, 1976; Kimble, 1965; Williams, 1964). The third significant impact of these principles was the increased interest of the colonial administration in education. The colonial government took full responsibility for education in the colony. It set up local boards of education and appointed inspectors to oversee the educational sector. The administration also made significant attempts to expand educational infrastructure beyond the coastal towns to the inner land (present-day Asante region). The fourth significant impact was the emphasis on the use of the local language (vernacular) as the medium of instruction in the lower primary level while the upper levels of education used English as the medium of instruction⁴³ (Williams, 1964). This led to the development of teaching and learning materials in the native languages. The challenge over the years has been the inability of the Ghanaian state to have a domestic lingual-franca.

The next significant reform took place when the Gold Coast was granted partial internal self-government under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah in 1951. Nkrumah and his team saw education as a vehicle for both nation-building and economic emancipation. The Nkrumah-led government argued that the inherited educational system was inadequate to achieve his vision of an industrialized economy. The government therefore introduced a 10-year comprehensive educational reform in 1951 titled “Accelerated Development Plan for Education (ADPE) 1951” (Adu-Gyamfi, Donkoh, & Addo, 2016; Graham, 2013; Martin, 1976, McWilliam, 1959). The objectives of the ADPE were three-fold. First, the plan sought to expand access to and improve the quality of education in the Gold Coast. Secondly, the plan aimed at revising the existing curriculum to make it more relevant to the socio-cultural and economic needs of the emerging Gold Coast state. Lastly, the plan sought to eradicate the ‘pupil teacher’ syndrome by providing

⁴² This school is now known as Achimota College in present-day Ghana. It provides pre-tertiary education (i.e. kindergarten, primary, junior and senior high) for both boys and girls.

⁴³ This language debate is currently ongoing among the major actors within the educational sector. Since 2002, the medium of instruction for all levels of education in Ghana is the English language. However, there are 9 local languages (Akan, Dagaare, Nzema, Kasem, Gonja, Ga, Ewe, Dangbe and Dagbane) that are taught and examined during the Basic Education Certificate Examination.

enough trained teachers and ensuring they stayed in the classrooms to teach. The introduction of the ADPE in 1951 had three important outcomes for education in Ghana. First, the government reduced the role of the private sector in education in the country. Government assumed complete responsibility for providing a minimum level of education for its citizens (Morrison, 2000; Martin, 1976). This, to the government, was necessary for forging a sense of national identity and patriotism as well as building a strong foundation for developing the required work force for the government's transformational agenda. Second, the government overhauled the curricula of the different levels of pre-tertiary educations in the country to give it a greater African content (Adu-Gyamfi, Donkoh, & Addo, 2016). The inherited curricula in 1951 were seen to be overly 'Europeanized' with emphasis on grammar and the Christian religion. These curricula did not produce patriotic citizens and lay the strong foundation for the development of the work force needed for the socio-economic development of the country. Accordingly, subjects such as Ghanaian languages, History, Geography, Music, Art and Craft, Needlework and African Drumming and Dancing were introduced to Africanize the curricula and produce required products (Martin, 1976). The third outcome of the 1951 plan was the introduction of the 'shift' system to accommodate the increasing number of pupils in schools (Bervell, Sam, & Boadu, 2013). The abolition of private primary education meant government had to raise the needed funds to provide adequate educational infrastructure to accommodate the increasing enrolment figures in the country. However, the fall in world cocoa prices and other competing social demands on the government made this impossible. The government therefore introduced the 'shift system'. With this system, some of the pupils attended school in the morning, while others waited for their turn in the afternoon. This system affected the quality of education because the contact hours for the pupils were reduced significantly and supervision of teachers and the pupils⁴⁴ became difficult. The 10-year ADPE launched in 1951 guided the education initiatives of the CPP government until it elapsed in 1961.

4.3 Education Policy under Nkrumah and the Convention Peoples Party (CPP) (1960-1966)

President Nkrumah continued to pursue aggressive education policies aimed at improving quality and expanding access. As discussed earlier, Nkrumah introduced the 10-year ADPE upon

⁴⁴ For example, when you met a teacher or pupil in the morning and asked why he/she was not in school, the response was they were in the other shift.

assuming office in 1951. This plan remained in force and guided the government in its quest to improve the quality of education and expand access across the country until it elapsed in 1961. Upon elapsing in 1961, the government passed the 1961 Education Act (Act 87) to replace the Education Ordinance passed by Guggisberg in 1925. This was to reflect the vision of an independent Ghana by incorporating all the changes which had been introduced into the educational system since the introduction of the ADPE in 1951. In the 1961 Education Act, the government outlined a three-fold objective for Ghana's education. First, education was to be used as a tool for nation building (i.e. creating a Ghanaian identity that transcends the various ethnic identities); secondly, education was to be used as a tool for producing a population literate in science; and thirdly, education was to be used to produce knowledge to harness Ghana's economic potential (Antwi, 1992; McWilliam, & Kwamena-Poh, 1975; McWilliam, 1962). Again, Act 87 was to address the challenges which had been identified in the course of the implementation of the expired ADPE.

Significantly, Act 87 gave legal backing to what the CPP administration had begun since it assumed power in 1951. The Act firmly established a public pre-tertiary education system which was divided into two categories (primary and middle school education; and secondary education). The government was solely responsible for primary and middle school education⁴⁵ while it allowed private participation in the provision of secondary education, and later, pre-primary education. Two important provisions of Act 87 were the provisions of Section 2 and 6. Section 2 states:

- 1) Every child who has attained the school-going age as determined by the Minister shall attend a course of instruction as laid down by the Minister in a school recognized for the purpose by the Minister.
- 2) Any parent who fails to comply with the provisions of the preceding subsection commits an offence and shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding ten pounds

⁴⁵ Section 1 (2) states "It shall be the duty of the local education authority for every area as far as its functions extend to contribute towards the spiritual, moral, mental and physical development of the community by securing that efficient education throughout the primary and middle stages shall be available to meet the needs of the population of its area".

and in the case of a continuing offence to a fine not exceeding two pounds in respect of each and every day during which the offence continues⁴⁶.

This provision (i.e. Section 2) introduced compulsory education for the first time in Ghana. It also introduced punitive measures for parents and guardians who failed to enroll their school-going children in schools. To achieve compulsory primary and middle school education, the government, under section 21, abolished tuition fees at these levels⁴⁷. However, parents and guardians were responsible for providing essential books and materials required by their wards for use in practical subjects (Addae-Mensah et al, 1973). At the public secondary and training education levels, only prescribed fees were to be charged; and individuals who contravened this provision were liable on a summary conviction to a fine not exceeding £100 (Act 87, section 21; see also Addae-Mensah et al, 1973). Thus, the provisions of section 21 sought to reduce the financial barriers to education in the country.

The second important contribution of Act 87 to educational development in Ghana was the provisions of section 6. This section emphasized decentralization of education by constituting existing Local Authorities into Local Education Authorities (LEA) for the area or part of the area over which it exercised authority⁴⁸. Accordingly, the various LEAs were responsible for building, equipping and maintaining all public primary and middle schools in their respective areas. In addition to raising revenue domestically to achieve their mandate, the LEAs received funds annually from the central government to assist in discharging their mandates⁴⁹. In addition to the LEAs, Act 87 also established a Service Committee which advised the Education Minister on the remuneration and terms and conditions of service of both teaching and non-teaching staff employed in the service of public education⁵⁰.

Even though the objectives of Ghana's educational system in 1961 were similar to the objectives outlined in the 1951 ADPE, there were significant changes to the structure. First, the

⁴⁶ Ghana Government, The Education Act of 1961, GP/A752/4,396/11/61-62, Accra.

⁴⁷ The abolition of tuition fees was to also prevent parents and guardians from using the inability to pay fees as an excuse for not enrolling their children.

⁴⁸ Ghana Government, The Education Act of 1961, GP/A752/4,396/11/61-62, Accra.

⁴⁹ Section 26 states "A sum of money shall be provided annually by the Government and shall be administered by the Minister for the purposes of public education in accordance with the provisions of this Act and regulations made thereunder."

⁵⁰ Government of Ghana, The Education Act of 1961, GP/A752/4,396/11/61-62, Accra.

government introduced a 10-year basic education (6 years of primary school and 4 years of middle school) system⁵¹. Accordingly, formal public education began at the age of six⁵². Pupils did 6-years of primary education and proceeded to the middle school. At the middle school, 3rd year pupils were made to write the Common Entrance Examination (CEE). The successful candidates proceeded to a 5-year secondary school while those unsuccessful continued to the 4th year of the middle school to obtain the Middle School Leaving Certificate (Graham, 2013; McWilliam, 1962). Thus, the middle school became the first terminal point in Ghana's educational set up. Upon the completion of the 5 years secondary education, students sat for the Ordinary Level examination⁵³. This became the second terminal point in Ghana's educational system. Those who were successful and preferred a university education proceeded to a 2-year programme commonly referred to as the "Six Form."⁵⁴ Those who passed the "Six Form" exams then proceeded to the university (P. Osei-Mensah, personal communication, 2018). Cumulatively, the Education Act of 1961 introduced a 17-year pre-tertiary education (i.e. 6:4:5:2 system⁵⁵) as shown figure in 4.1 below.

⁵¹ Ghana Government, Report of the Education Review Committee, June 1966-July 1967.

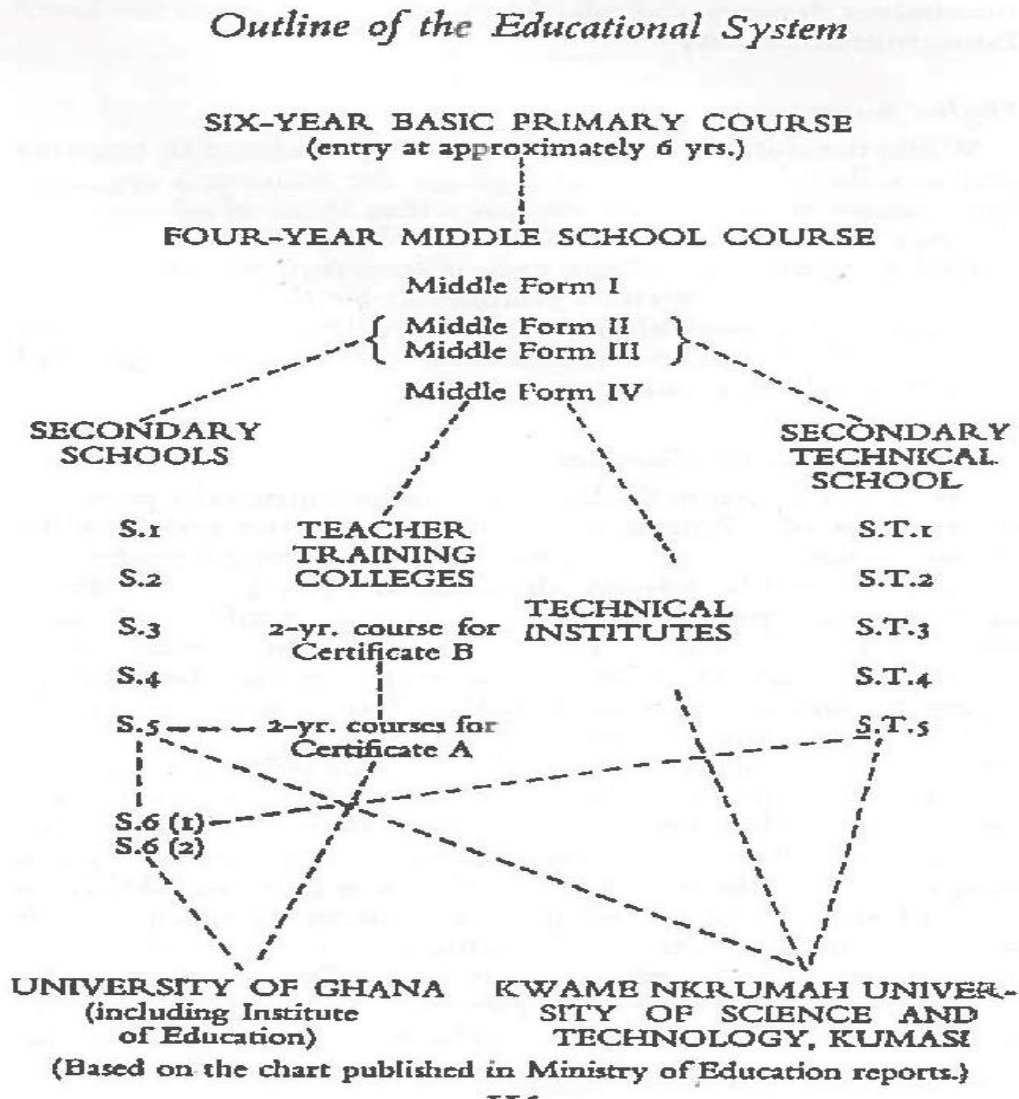
⁵² At the age of 6, a child entered Primary 1.

⁵³ This was commonly referred to as the 'O' Level certificate.

⁵⁴ This was commonly referred to as the 'A' Level certificate.

⁵⁵ 6 years of primary school, 4 years of middle school, 5 years of secondary education and 2 years of 'six Form' education.

Figure 4. 1: Education System in Ghana in 1961



Source: McWilliam (1962:115).

In 1962, the fall in world cocoa prices decreased government revenue. Accordingly, the government needed to cut-back on its social expenditure and education was affected. Realizing the huge amount of money spent on compulsory basic education, the government reviewed the 10-year basic education system to 8 years. Primary school was still 6-years while CEE was scheduled after 2 years of middle school (Braimah, Mbowura, & Seidu, 2014). Those who passed the entrance examination proceeded to the secondary school level. The government then

introduced “Continuation Schools”⁵⁶ for those who could not pass the entrance examinations (Adu-Gyamfi, Donkoh, & Addo, 2016). In attempt to reduce the number of years in the basic schools⁵⁷, the government in 1963 introduced experimental schools and revised the syllabi for English, Arithmetic and Physical Education⁵⁸. In these schools, pupils were taught by only trained teachers and sat for the CEE in Primary 6. Those who passed were not required to go through middle school but rather, proceeded to the secondary level.

Overall, the 1961 Education Act led to the restructuring and expansion of educational infrastructure in Ghana. New primary and middle schools were built to accommodate the increasing demand for education. For example, by 1966, there were 8,144 schools compared to the 3,514 primary schools in 1960. Enrollment increased from 441,117 pupils in 1960 to 1,137,494 in 1966 (Little, 2010; Antwi, 1992; McWilliam, & Kwamena-Poh, 1975). Teacher training was restructured to produce qualified teachers for the schools. Holders of Middle School Leaving Certificate were required to undertake 4-year training before qualifying as teachers. Those who had the ‘O’ Level certificate completed a 2-year training programme. The rapid expansion of primary and middle schools across the country necessitated the expansion of teacher training facilities in the country. Accordingly, the government built 35 new training centers across the country⁵⁹. By 1965, Ghana had over 80 teacher training schools (Bame, 1973; Williams, 1966). Similarly, the expansion of secondary education increased the demand for qualified graduate teachers. In addition to the increase intake by the University of Ghana (UG), the government established the University College of Education in Cape Coast to train more graduate teachers in 1962⁶⁰. The government also converted the then Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute at Winneba into an Advanced Teacher Training College⁶¹ in 1966 to offer specialized training courses for post-secondary Certificate ‘A’ teachers. The government also established a specialized teacher training center at Akuapem-Mampong for the blind and deaf in 1965 (Bame, 1973).

⁵⁶ Emphasis was placed on vocational and technical subjects to make these pupils, largely considered to be academically weak, useful to the society.

⁵⁷ The reduction in years of basic education was also a means to reduce government expenditure on education as pupils could move into secondary education at an early age.

⁵⁸ Ghana, MoE Report 1963-1967, GPC/A937/2,000/11/68-67.

⁵⁹ Ghana, MoE Report 1963-1967, GPC/A937/2,000/11/68-67.

⁶⁰ Ghana Government, Report of the Education Review Committee, June 1966-July 1967.

⁶¹ The Advanced Teacher Training College was in 1992 converted into a university, University of Education, Winneba (UEW).

Act 87 also impacted technical and vocational education in the country. Firstly, the Tarkwa Technical Institute established in 1952 was converted into the Tarkwa School of Mines in June 1961⁶². In 1963, the structure of technical education was reviewed. After the 8 years of basic education and 2 years of continuation school⁶³, those who opted for technical education proceeded to a 4-year programme at a technical institute (P. Osei-Mensah, personal communication, 2018). This was followed by a 2-year polytechnic education and a further 2 to 3-year diploma courses at University of Science and Technology⁶⁴. The demand for higher technical education led to the conversion of Accra, Kumasi, Takoradi and Tarkwa Technical Institutes to Post-secondary Technical Institutions in 1963 and re-designated as Polytechnics⁶⁵ (Adu-Gyamfi, Donkoh, & Addo, 2016).

One critical educational issue that emerged in the early 1963 was pre-primary education (Marfo et al, 2008). Government did not consider pre-primary education as part of its basic education structure. However, realizing the demand and its necessity,⁶⁶ the government granted permission for the private sector to provide pre-primary education in the country. Accordingly, a number of licensed private-owned day nurseries and kindergartens emerged⁶⁷. The activities of these schools were regulated, monitored and supervised by the MoE (Morrison, 2000). In subsequent years, the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare began operating day care centers to support government workers in the various government ministries, departments and agencies. Children between the ages of 3 and 5 were enrolled and upon the attainment of age 6, proceeded to a public primary school. By 1966, over 100 privately-owned nurseries had been licensed by the MoE while the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare operated 120 nurseries (Boakye et al., 2008).

⁶² Ghana, MoE Report 1960-1962, GP/A704/1,500/3/62-63. In 2004, Tarkwa School of Mines was converted into the University of Mines and Technology, Tarkwa.

⁶³ The 2-year continuation had a technical and vocational bias because pupils at this level were considered to be academically weak.

⁶⁴ This is now the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology.

⁶⁵ Each of the 10 regions in Ghana has 1 polytechnic. By the end of 2018, 8 of the polytechnics had been upgraded to the status of technical universities. The 2 remaining polytechnics are Wa and Bolgatanga Polytechnics.

⁶⁶ The demand for day cares centers emanated from working parents who wanted to have their children in schools while they undertook economic activities in the day.

⁶⁷ The growth in the privately-owned nurseries led to the creation of the Nursery School Unit under MoE in 1965 to supervise their activities.

The continuous successes of Nkrumah and the CPP administration in improving the quality of education and expanding access across the country depended heavily on the availability of funds. However, the cost of funding basic education, particularly, the free compulsory primary and middle school, and other educational projects kept increasing due to increasing enrolment. By the end of 1965, the government could not keep up with education spending due to revenue shortfalls as a result of the continuous decline in world cocoa prices. Government, therefore, cut its spending on education and other social services. This ultimately affected the quality of education as poor school infrastructure coupled with inadequate teaching and learning materials led to both teachers and pupils leaving the classroom (Pedley & Taylor, 2009; Addae-Mensah, Djangmah, & Agbenyega, 1973; Williams, 1966; Foster, 1963). More importantly, the government could not develop any appropriate means of ensuring compulsory education as was outlined in the 1961 Education Act (P. Osei-Mensah, personal communication, 2018). While Nkrumah and the CPP administration were grappling with the problems of the educational system, the government was overthrown in a coup d'état on 24th February 1966 (Apter, 1968; Austin, 1966).

4.4 Education Policy under the National Liberation Council (NLC⁶⁸) (1966-1969)

The National Liberation Council (NLC) adduced a number of reasons for the overthrow of Nkrumah-led CPP administration in February 1966. These included unbridled political interference in military affairs, corruption, economic mismanagement, and the general decline in the living standards of the citizenry⁶⁹ (Baynham, 1978; Austin, & Luckham, 1975; Austin, 1966). The immediate objective of the NLC administration therefore was to politically, socio-culturally and economically restore the country to an even keel through a stiff dose of financial austerity, political retrenchment and civic re-education (Lofchie, 1971:222). Consequently, Nkrumah's 7-

⁶⁸ The leaders of the NLC comprised 4 army officers (Lt. General J. A. Ankrah, Brigadier A. A. Afrifa, Maj. General A. K. Ocran and Lt. General E. K. Kotoka) and 4 police personnel (Mr. J. W. K. Harlley, Mr. B. A. Yakubu, Mr. A K Deku and Mr. J. E. O. Nunoo. The Chairman of the Council was Lt. General J. A. Ankrah until his resignation in April 1969.

⁶⁹ In a broadcast by Lt. General Emmanuel Kwashie Kotoka on February 24, he criticized Nkrumah for having ruled the country as if it were his own personal property and for his capricious handling of the country's economic affairs which had brought Ghana to the point of economic collapse.

year Development Plan⁷⁰ launched in 1963 was abandoned. Thus, most policies by Nkrumah and the CPP government were reformed including the educational system.

Like Nkrumah, the Council saw education as key to the socio-economic development of the country. Although Act 87 led to some improvement in the quality of education, the successes attained were to the leadership of the NLC, far from satisfactory in terms of the socio-economic needs of the country (Martin, 1976). They accused the Nkrumah-led administration of pursuing educational policies that were elitist in character and thus, failed to train the needed work force for Ghana through science and technology (Braimah, Mbowura, & Seidu, 2014). The NLC government therefore decided to restructure the educational system by emphasizing quality and the relevance of education to the country's economic growth (Gyedu, 2014). Accordingly, the Council set up a 32-member Education Review Committee⁷¹ chaired by Prof. A. A. Kwabong on 17th March 1966 to conduct a comprehensive review of the educational system in the country (Quist, & Apusigah, 2003). The committee was to examine the problems and make recommendations to address the identified problems in the educational system. The Committee began its work by soliciting for views and opinions in the form of memoranda from civil society organizations, non-governmental organizations, experts and the general public. It also reviewed previous education reports and drew upon the experience of other African countries and international experts recorded in the conclusions of conferences of African Ministers of Education from Addis Ababa Meeting in May 1961 to their last session at Abidjan in March 1964 (Education Review Committee, 1967). The Committee completed its work and submitted its report to the government on 3rd August 1967. The government issued a 'White Paper' in September 1968 accepting the recommendation of the Kwabong-led Education Review Committee with no major changes or variations. Among the recommendations⁷² were:

⁷⁰ For an overview of the 7-year Development Plan launched in 1963, see Aryeetey, E., & Fosu, A. (2002). Explaining African economic growth performance: The case of Ghana.

⁷¹ The Committee was chaired by Prof. A. A. Kwabong who was then the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ghana.

⁷² There was a total of 285 recommendation made by the Committee consisting of all the levels of education in Ghana. I choose to highlight the recommendations pertaining to pre-tertiary education which is the focus of this thesis.

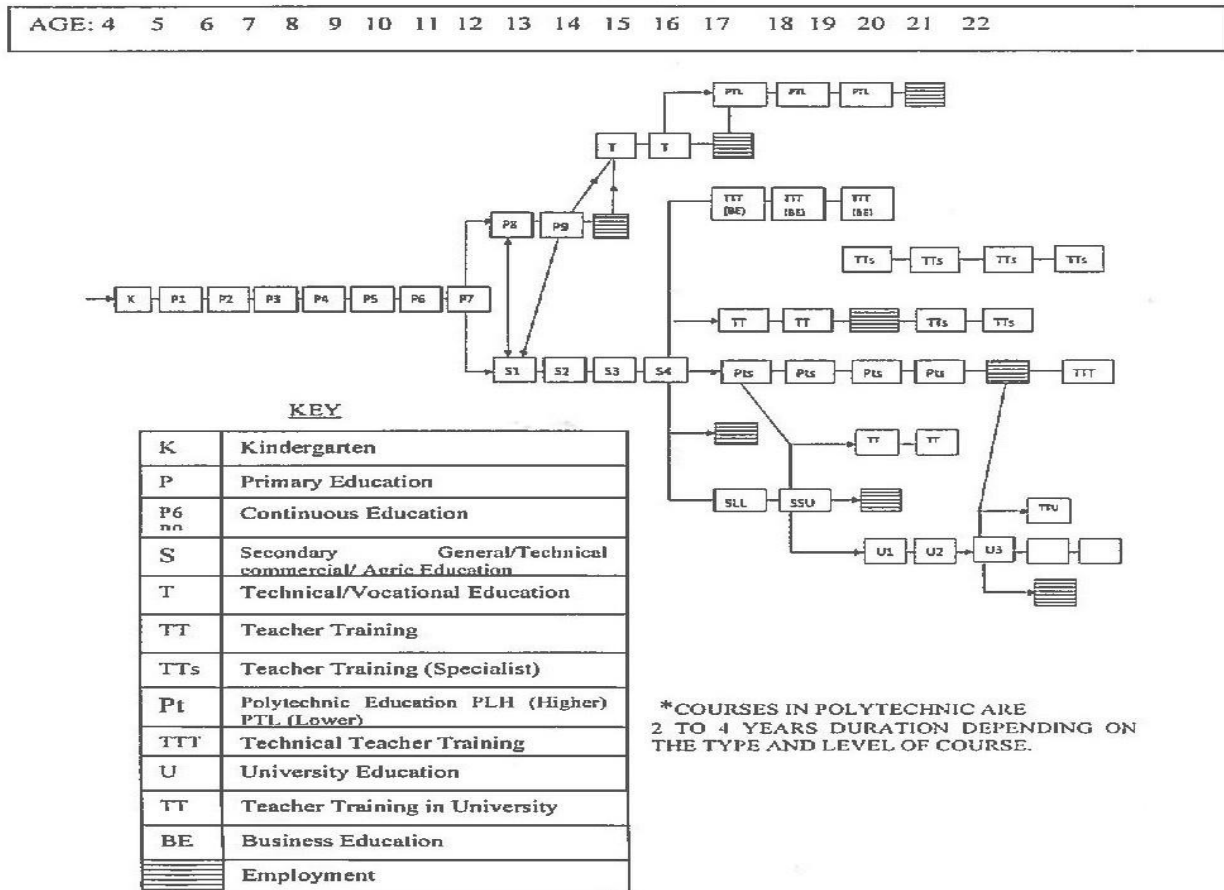
1. The establishment of National Councils for Pre-University and Higher Education respectively. Each council was to be responsible for determining policies as well as coordinating activities of its own level of education;
2. The improvement in the salaries and conditions of service of teachers to make the education service at all levels attractive as other services;
3. The continuous review of the school curricular (both elementary and secondary) to reflect the changing scientific, technological and cultural needs of the Ghanaian society. Accordingly, the subjects taught in the elementary school included Ghanaian languages, English, Mathematics, Science, Civics, Housecraft, Religious Instruction⁷³, History, Geography, Physical Education and Music, Arts and Crafts;⁷⁴
4. At the secondary level, general education covering the sciences and humanities were to be given. Students had to study, for some part in their secondary education, subjects including social studies, cultural studies, languages and literature, religious knowledge and crafts. On the other hand, English, Science and mathematics were core subjects each student had to study;
5. The continuous role of the Educational Units of the churches and missionary bodies designed to assist the nation in its educational obligations. The institutions managed by them was to be under their effective immediate control, with as little outside interference as possible;
6. The greatest attention to educational research leading to the establishment of the Curriculum Research and Development Unit within MoE; and
7. An elementary education of 10-years with a break at the end of the 8th year for selecting those suitable for secondary education. Those who could not make the selection were to complete their elementary education by attending for 2 years, continuation classes with a pre-vocational bias. The school-going age was 6-years. Secondary education duration was 5 years, followed by a 2-year Sixth Form and a 1st degree course at the university

⁷³ The government did not agree with the Committee's recommendation of making religious education a compulsory examination subject.

⁷⁴ While the government accepted that a Ghanaian language should be taught as a subject at the primary level, it rejected the recommendation that the medium of instruction for the first 3-years of primary education was to be a Ghanaian language. Government proposed the use of a Ghanaian language in the 1st year and a gradual introduction of the English language as the medium of instruction in the 2nd year.

was 3-years except in cases of specialized courses which could be 4 or more years⁷⁵. This structure is illustrated in figure 4.2.

Figure 4. 2: Education Structure in Ghana (1968)



Source: Republic of Ghana (1967).

It is important to note that the recommendations of the Education Review Committee in 1967⁷⁶ and the subsequent White Paper issued by the NLC government in 1968 did not deviate very much from the educational system instituted by Nkrumah and his administration under the 1961 Education Act (Act 87). The NLC government continued with the decentralization process started by Nkrumah. However, due to financial constraints, the NLC government opted to

⁷⁵ However, the Committee proposed for the future, the elimination of the 4-year middle school system and a reduction in secondary education to 4 years so that pupils moved from 6-year primary education to a 4-year secondary education. This was an attempt to redefine basic or elementary education to mean pre-university education.

⁷⁶ For details of the recommendations by the Kwapong-led committee, see MoE (1967), *Report of the Education Review Committee*.

rehabilitate existing basic schools instead of building new schools to expand access across the country (Gyedu, 2014).

The most significant contribution of the NLC government was the decision to give back to the churches and other missionary bodies, the control over the management of their basic schools⁷⁷ (Ampadu, & Mohammed, 2004; Martin, 1976). This was done to reduce government expenditure on basic education as the government, per the provisions of Act 87, was solely responsible for education spending at the basic level. It appears the government did not have a choice as any attempt to introduce fees at the basic level would have been politically suicidal in view of the harsh economic conditions prevailing at the time. Again, the NLC government was sympathetic to the private sector unlike Kwame Nkrumah (Hutchful, 1987). The government therefore saw the provision of education and other social services as a shared responsibility between the state and the private sector. This position contrasted with the socialist inclinations of Nkrumah's regime.

The re-involvement of the private sector (missions and private individuals) in the provision of basic education had unintended consequences on the educational system in the country. Since the government could not provide the necessary teaching and learning materials in the public schools, standards kept deteriorating in the public schools. Many teachers in the public schools resigned to take up employment in private schools and other lucrative public services. This affected the quality of education provided in public schools. Consequently, wealthy Ghanaians opted for the private schools where teaching and learning were relatively better. Due to the profit motives of private businesses, most of the private schools operated in the urban centers where majority of wealthy Ghanaians lived. Thus, in the rural areas, basic education was mainly provided by the state. Accordingly, the rural communities were deprived of quality education. By 1969, quality basic education had gradually taken on the features of a 'private good' as against 'public good'⁷⁸. The wealthy in the society paid for quality education provided by private institutions for their children while the poor in society settled for sub-standard basic

⁷⁷ Nkrumah under the 1961 Act had made basic education the preserve of the state.

⁷⁸ For a discussion on private and public goods, see Samuelson, P. A. (1954). The pure theory of public expenditure. *The review of economics and statistics*, 387-389; Champney, L. (1988). Public goods and policy types. *Public Administration Review*, 988-994; Speir, J. P. (1995). The implications of different liability rules for the provision of a risky public good. *Public Finance Quarterly*, 23(3), 399-416.

education provided by the state. Amid these challenges, the NLC government organized elections in 1969 and handed power to the Progress Party (PP).

4.5 Education Policy under the Progress Party (PP) (1969-1972)

The leadership of the NLC had always argued that its intervention in Ghanaian politics was not to remain in power, but rather to end Nkrumah's dictatorship and ensure a smooth transition to democratic rule (Al-Hassan, 2004; Austin, & Luckham, 1975; Pinkney, 1972). However, after 2 years in power, Ghanaians began to sense the unwillingness of the NLC to relinquish power as promised. Domestic and international pressure was brought to bear on the NLC administration. Consequently, the processes to return to multi-party democracy was initiated with the formation of a Constitutional Commission headed by Justice Akuffo Addo and an Independent Electoral Commissions chaired by V. R. A. C. Crabbe in 1968 (Al-Hassan, 2004). On 29th August 1969, parliamentary elections⁷⁹ were organized, and the Progress Party led by Dr. K. A. Busia emerged victorious⁸⁰. He became the Prime Minister of the 2nd Republic of Ghana until his overthrow on 13th January 1972. Because of Prime Minister Busia's association with the NLC administration, he continued the education policies outlined in the Kwapong-led Education Review Committee of 1967 and the subsequent White Paper issued by the NLC government in 1968. Accordingly, Busia's administration re-echoed and emphasized the consolidation of the existing facilities through renovations and improvements (Gyedu, 2014; McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, 1975; Quist & Apusigah, 2003). In addition to this, Busia set up an education review committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Allotei Konuah⁸¹ in 1970 to review and proffer solutions to problems they identify with the existing system. The Committee submitted its report in 1971 and recommended the reduction in the years of pre-tertiary education. They recommended for the replacement of the "O" and "A" levels inherited from the British with the Junior and Senior Secondary Schools (JSS/SSS) concept. Thus, the 4-year middle school was to be replaced by a 3-year JSS. However, Busia could not implement the recommendations in the Committee's report because after just

⁷⁹ There were a total of 140 seats at the national Assembly. 5 political parties contested the 1969 parliamentary elections. The Progress Party won 105 seats, National Alliance of Liberals won 29, United Nationalist Party won 2, People's Action Party won 2, All People's Republican Party won 1, and 1 independent candidate.

⁸⁰ The victory of the Progress party was not news to many Ghanaians as Busia and the Progress Party were seen to be off-shoot of the NLC. For example, Busia was appointed the Chairman of the National Advisory Committee of the NLC in 1967, and Chairman of the Centre for Civic Education in 1968.

⁸¹ Mr. Allotei Konuah was a former headmaster of Accra Academy.

twenty-seven months in office, Busia's administration was overthrown in a coup d'état by the National Redemption Council (NRC).

4.6 Education Policy under the National Redemption Council (NRC) (1972-1979)

The Progress Party was overthrown in a military coup d'état on 13th January 1972. The coup makers established the National Redemption Council⁸² (NRC) which was chaired by Col. Ignatius Kutu Acheampong⁸³ (Bennett, 1973). In October 1975, the NRC was transformed into the Supreme Military Council (SMC) (Hettne, 1980; Baynham, 1975). Among the reasons for the 1972 coup were mismanagement of the economy, corruption, general hardships in the country and disrespect for the military and other security agencies (Hettne, 1980; Baynham, 1975). During the period, there was a general discontent with the educational system in the country. For example, the 17-year duration of pre-tertiary education was considered too long and expensive for both government and parents (Mankoe, 2004). The content of the education provided was once again seen to be skewed towards grammar courses without recourse to the skills and labor force needs of the country (Gyedu, 2014; Mankoe, 2004). Accordingly, in March 1972, MoE submitted proposals on a new structure and content of education for public discussion. After receiving comments and suggestion from the general public⁸⁴, the Ministry convened a public meeting to discuss these comments and suggestions (Republic of Ghana, 1974).

Out of this public meeting, an Educational Review Committee, under the chairmanship of Rev. Dr. N. K. Dzobo⁸⁵ was established to consider the Ministry's proposals and the views expressed by the general public. The Dzobo Committee completed and submitted its report to the Ministry in June 1973. The government accepted the recommendations of the committee with minimal variations. To ensure smooth implementation of the recommendations of the committee,

⁸² On 9th October 1975, NRC was restructured and renamed Supreme Military Council (SMC). Acheampong continued to be the Chairman until he was overthrown in what many describe as 'Palace Coup' on 5th July 1978. The Supreme Military Council remained but under a new Chairman, Lt. General Fred W. K. Akuffo.

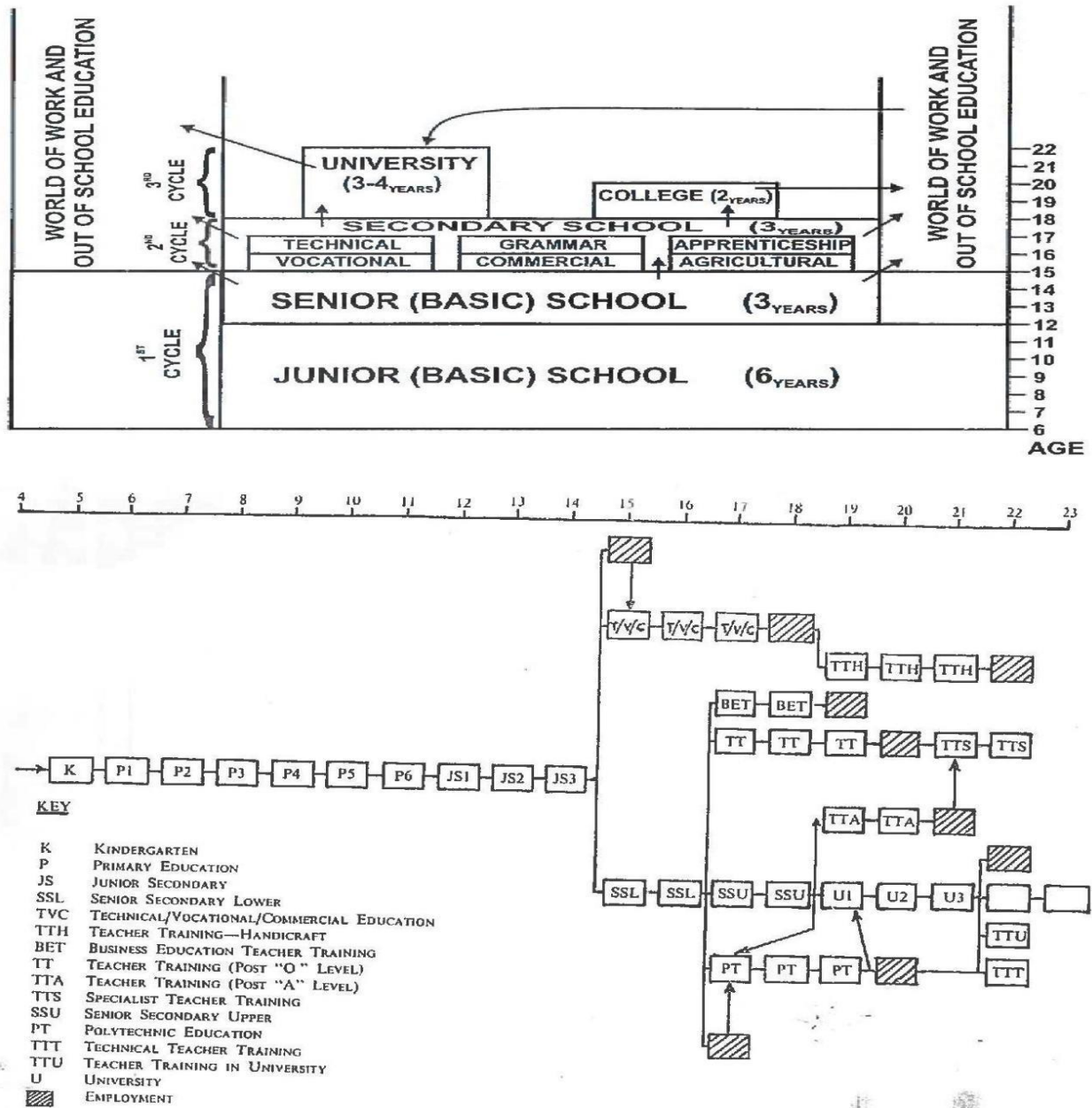
⁸³ Other members of the Council were Maj. General N. Y. A. Ashley-Larsen, Col. Emmanuel A. Erskine, Commodore P. F. Quaye, Air Commodore Charles Beausoliel, Inspector-General of Police J. H. Cobbina, Majors Kwame Agbo, R. M. Baah, C. D. Benni and Anthony H. Selormey.

⁸⁴ The general public included civil society organizations, non-governmental organizations, experts and individuals within the Ghanaian society.

⁸⁵ Rev. Dr. N. K. Dzobo was a Professor at the University of Cape Coast at the time of his appointment as the Chair of the Education Committee in 1972. He was also the Moderator of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church between 1983 and 1991.

the government established the GES in 1974. The establishment of the GES brought together teachers, administrators and other education personnel into a unified service under MoE (Little, 2010). Since its establishment in 1974, the GES has been responsible for the implementation of pre-tertiary educational policies of the Government to ensure that all Ghanaian children of school-going age irrespective of tribe, gender, disability, religious and political affiliations are provided with good quality formal education. Once GES was firmly in place in 1974, the government began pilot implementation of the 1974 reform. The major objective of the reform was to provide an educational system which served the needs of the individual, the society in which he/she lived and the country. It focused on instilling in the individual an appreciation of the need for change directed towards the development of the human and material resources of the country using the power derived from science and technology (Republic of Ghana, 1974). Significantly, the reform maintained many of the existing provisions of the 1961 Education Act. For example, compulsory and free basic education and the beginning of formal education at the age of 6 years were maintained. However, the reform introduced a new structure for education in the country. Pre-tertiary education was drastically reduced from seventeen years to thirteen years as shown in figure 4.3 below.

Figure 4. 3: Education Structure in 1974



Source: Republic of Ghana (1974).

As shown in figure 4.3 above, the educational system in Ghana was divided into three different cycles. The first cycle consisted of a 9-year basic education. It comprised 6 years of junior basic school (primary school) and 3 years of senior basic school (junior secondary school). The next cycle was a 4-year secondary education. The secondary education was divided into 2-

year Senior Secondary Lower (“O” Level) and 2-year Senior Secondary Upper (“A” Level). There were three streams (vocational/technical stream, grammar/commercial stream and apprenticeship) that students could choose from. The final cycle was tertiary education. Students could opt for either a 3 or 4-year university education or a 2-year college education. However, upon the completion of any of the three cycles of education, one could enter the world of work.

The new structure of education introduced in 1974 was significant for three reasons. First, there was the formalization of kindergarten education. Before beginning formal education, every child was required to undertake between 18-24 months of preparation and predisposition. However, this level of education was largely provided by the private sector. Second, the new structure introduced a 3-year Junior Secondary School (J. S. S.) system to replace the 4-year Middle school system in existence. This reduced basic education from ten years to nine years. Third, the 5-year secondary education was reduced to 4 years and the Sixth Form system was abolished. This change significantly reduced the number of pre-tertiary education from seventeen years (6:4:5:2 system) under the previous structure to thirteen years (6:3:4) (Brammah, Mbowura, & Seidu, 2014; Mankoe, 2004; Republic of Ghana, 1974).

With regards to the content of education, emphasis was laid on the study of Languages, Mathematics, Science, Agriculture and Practical and Vocational subjects⁸⁶ at the Primary and J. S. S. levels. Additionally, emphasis was placed on pupils participating fully in cultural activities, youth programmes, sports and games (Adu-Gyamfi, Donkoh, & Addo, 2016; Republic of Ghana, 1974). This was to equip pupils with practical skills so that they became useful citizens should they decide to terminate their education and enter the world of work after completing their basic education.

The NRC government, unlike previous administrations, opted to implement the 1974 reform on pilot basis in some selected urban centers in the country due to financial constraints. Accordingly, the government provided each of the ten regions of the country with one Junior Secondary School (JSS) in 1976. Subsequently, the SMC⁸⁷ government provided “one JSS for each district and a demonstration school for the three-year post-secondary teacher training

⁸⁶ Some of the practical and vocational subjects included dressmaking, woodwork, masonry, technical drawing, marine science (fishing), crafts, tailoring, pottery and metal work.

⁸⁷ The NRC was restructured in 1975 into the Supreme Military Council (SMC).

college” (Gyedu, 2014:173). The intention of the government was to successfully pilot the reform and use it as a means to mobilize resources both internally and externally. Once funds had been secured, the government planned to expand educational infrastructure across the country and train the required teachers before embarking on a nation-wide roll-out. While the piloting of the 1974 reform was on-going, the SMC administration was overthrown through a coup d’état on 4th June 1979.

4.7 Education Policy under the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) (June 1979-September 1979)

The Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), under the chairmanship of Ft. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings ousted the SMC administration in a bloody coup d’état on 4th June 1979. This was after a similar attempt had been foiled by the SMC administration on 15th May 1979 (Owusu Gyening, 2008; Hansen, & Collins, 1980). The AFRC accused the SMC administration of economic mismanagement, bribery and corruption leading to untold hardships on the people of Ghana. Their main occupation was to conduct what they termed as ‘house cleaning’ and return the country to civilian rule (Brenya et al, 2015; Asamoah, 2014). They set up special courts to prosecute the leaders of the NLC, NRC and SMC who were perceived to be corrupt. Three of the leaders (Lt. General Afrifa of NLC, General Acheampong of NRC and SMC and General Akuffo of SMC) together with 5 other senior officers of the military were found guilty of corruption and were executed accordingly.

The AFRC lasted for only 3-months. They therefore did not undertake any review of the existing educational structure. On 18th June 1979, the AFRC organized general elections to return the country to multi-party democracy. Six political parties and 4 independent candidates contested the elections. The People’s National Party (PNP) under the leadership of Dr. Hilla Limann emerged victorious after a round-off election on 9th July 1979⁸⁸ (Ninsin, 1993; Jeffries, 1980).

⁸⁸ The PNP received 62% of the votes in the run-off while the Popular Front Party (PFP) obtained 38%.

4.8 Education Policy under the People's National Party (PNP) (1979-1981)

The AFRC handed over the administration of the country to the President-elect, Dr. Hilla Limann on 24th September 1979⁸⁹. Upon assuming office, Limann's pre-occupation was reviving the economy and restoring public confidence in the newly elected political leaders of the country (Dartey-Baah, 2015; Amamoo, 2007). Limann inherited an escalating and overvalued inflation and exchange rates respectively from the SMC and AFRC administrations in 1979. This resulted in cocoa farmers diverting their production to Côte d'Ivoire (see Herbst, 1993; Chazan, 1983), thereby, reducing government expected revenues. Accordingly, all efforts of the administration were geared towards improving the macro and micro economic indicators necessary for economic growth and poverty alleviation.

With these difficulties, the PNP administration did not make significant changes to the existing educational structure. Thus, Limann and his administration continued with the educational system put in place by the NRC regime in 1974. However, to reduce the cost of secondary education to both government and parents, Limann pushed for the de-boardinization of the secondary school system. Accordingly, new community day secondary schools were built to serve a cluster of communities in a catchment area (Antwi, 1992). In addition to this programme, the government initiated the Curriculum Enrichment Programme (CEP) to emphasize the teaching of cultural and environmental studies in schools (Fobi, Koomson, & Godwyll, 1995; Antwi, 1992).

These initiatives by the government increased community involvement in the provision of secondary education as local communities provided resource persons and cultural sites for these cultural and environmental studies. Unfortunately for Limann, the economic policies implemented did not yield the desired results. For example, the per capita income of C640 in 1971, declined to C460 by the end of 1981 (Herbst, 1993). The general socio-economic hardships in the country led to the mass exodus of about 2 million Ghanaians to neighboring Nigeria (Abbey, 1990). In the words of Herbst (1993:27) "Ghana had completed the transition from a prospering middle-income developing country with great hopes at independence to a nation suffering from Fourth World poverty" in 1981. As has been the experience with Ghana in

⁸⁹ This was 3 months after the 1979 general election. The suspicion was that, the AFRC were not willing to relinquish power after the elections.

1966 and 1972, Limann and his administration were overthrown in a coup d'état on 31st December 1981 on the premises of corruption, poor economic management and over-reliance on IMF and WB.

4.9 Education Policy under the People's National Defence Council (PNDC) (1981-1993)

The overthrow of Limann's administration in 1981 was led by a group of military officers who established the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC)⁹⁰ chaired by Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings. They accused the Limann administration of ineffective political leadership, the collapse of the national economy and deterioration of vital state services (Agyeman-Duah, 1987). The PNDC administration's major concern was therefore halting the economic decline of the country and stimulating economic growth. The government introduced short term measures to address the economic challenges. However, the economic situation worsened when, in 1983, over half a million Ghanaians were deported from Nigeria. In addition to this unexpected arrival of Ghanaians, there were severe drought and devastating bushfires across the country, which resulted in a grim famine (Gyimah-Boadi, 1993; Shillington, 1992). These events increased the sufferings of Ghanaians who begun to vent their frustrations and anger on the ruling government. After failing to secure assistance from the Soviet Union⁹¹ for its economic recovery programme, the PNDC administration turned to the IMF for assistance. The Fund reached an agreement with the PNDC administration in February 1983 and approved a loan facility worth about \$377 million under the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), which emphasized liberal economic reforms (Agyeman-Duah, 1987; Haynes, Parfitt, & Riley, 1987). The agreement reached between the IMF and the PNDC administration included reforming the educational system in the country⁹² to make education more relevant to the socio-economic development of the country.

More importantly, the reform was aimed at ensuring cost-effectiveness and sustenance of education in the country (Brammah, Mbowura, & Seidu, 2014; Antwi, 1992). Consequently, the PNDC government set up a 20-member Education Commission in 1984. This Commission,

⁹⁰ Other members of the PNDC included Brigadier Nunoo-Mensah, Vincent Kwabena Damuah, Warrant Officer Joseph Adjei Buadi, Sergeant Daniel Akata Pore, Joachim Amartey Quaye and Chris Buklari Atim.

⁹¹ The Soviet Union was equally facing internal economic difficulties at the time.

⁹² The restructuring of the educational system was to reduce government's expenditure on education. As part of the SAP, the PNDC government was required to drastically reduce its social spending.

chaired by Dr. E. Evans-Anfom⁹³, was tasked to review previous educational policies particularly the 1974 Dzobo Report and make appropriate recommendations for the formulation of a national policy on education which would enable the realization of the objectives of the revolutionary transformation of the society, and enhance the availability of educational facilities across the country (Owusu, Opare, & Larbie, 2016; Antwi, 1992; Abosi, & Brookman-Amissah, 1992). The Commission completed its work in 2 years and presented its report titled ‘New Educational Reform Programme’ (NERP⁹⁴) to the PNDC government in 1986 (Kadingdi, 2006). The government accepted the report in 1987 and begun a nation-wide implementation of the reform unlike the pilot implementation approach adopted by the SMC government in 1974.

The report did not significantly alter the existing system. However, two important changes were made. First, the existing 4-year secondary education was reduced to 3 years. This reduced the existing thirteen-year pre-tertiary education to twelve years. The second significant change was the introduction of decentralization, which introduced a new structure for the administration and management of Ghana’s educational system. The recommendations of 1987 Evans-Anfom Education Report guided the PNDC administration until Ghana returned to democracy on 7th January 1993. The 1987 Evans-Anfom Report is discussed in detail in the next chapter.

4.10 Education Policy under the Fourth Republic (1993-present)

Upon incessant domestic protests⁹⁵ and mounting international pressure, the processes to return the country to democratic rule was intensified by the PNDC administration in 1990. The National Commission for Democracy (NCD)⁹⁶, established in 1982, organized regional seminars and issued its report on 25th March 1991 calling for a multi-party democratic system for the country (Republic of Ghana, 1991; see also Ayee, 1996; Gyimah-Boadi, 1991). Based on the recommendations of the report, a Committee of Experts, chaired by Dr. S. K. B. Asante, was set up to work on proposals for a draft constitution. A Consultative Assembly was then established in July 1991 to draft a constitution for the return to democracy. A referendum was organized by

⁹³ Dr. Emmanuel Evans-Anfom was then a Senior Lecturer at the University of Education, Winneba (UEW).

⁹⁴ This report is commonly referred to as the 1987 Evans-Anfom Report.

⁹⁵ One of the leading groups that championed the return to democratic rule was the Movement for Freedom and Justice (MFJ) inaugurated in August 1990.

⁹⁶ The Commission was chaired by Justice D. F. Anang.

the Interim National Electoral Commission (INEC)⁹⁷ on the draft constitution in April 1992 and the majority of Ghanaians voted ‘YES’ (Ayee, 1996; Gyimah-Boadi, 1991). Accordingly, the ban on political party activities was lifted on 18th May 1992.

A number of political parties emerged to contest the 1992 presidential and parliamentary elections slated for 3 November and 8 December 1992 respectively (Oquaye, 1995; Jeffries, & Thomas, 1993). The members of the PNDC formed the NDC with Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings as its presidential candidate. The largest opposition movement that emerged was NPP whose candidate was Prof. Albert Adu Boahen. The NDC won the presidential elections obtaining 58.3% of the valid votes cast while the NPP obtained 30.4% (Ayee, 1996; Boahen, 1995; Jeffries, & Thomas, 1993). President-elect Jerry John Rawlings⁹⁸ assumed office as the President of the Republic of Ghana on 7 January 1993. President Rawlings continued with most of the socio-economic policies initiated under the PNDC regime under the guidance and support of the IMF and WB. Accordingly, the NDC government continued with the implementation of the NERP. In addition to this programme, the 1992 constitution made specific provisions on education that guided the NDC and subsequent governments under the fourth republic. Article 38 of the 1992 constitutions states:

- 1) The State shall provide educational facilities at all levels and in all the Regions of Ghana, and shall, to the greatest extent feasible, make those facilities available to all citizens.
- 2) The Government shall, within two years after Parliament first meets after the coming into force of this Constitution, draw up a programme for implementation within the following ten years, for the provision of free, compulsory and universal basic education.
- 3) The State shall, subject to the availability of resources provide –
 - a) Equal and balanced access to secondary and other appropriate pre-university education, equal access to university or equivalent education, with emphasis on science and technology;
 - b) A free adult literacy programme, and a free vocational training, rehabilitation and resettlement of disabled persons; and
 - c) Life-long education (Republic of Ghana, 1992).

⁹⁷ This Commission was set up in November 1991 and was chaired by Justice Josiah Ofori Boateng.

⁹⁸ He virtually handed over power to himself since he was then the Head of State of the country.

These provisions did not ostensibly change the educational system that had been put in place by the PNDC administration under the NERP. However, section 38 subsection (2) emphasized the obligation of the state to provide free and compulsory basic education for all Ghanaians within 10 years. This was in view of the global classification of basic education as a ‘basic right issue’ that required government attention (Little, 2010; Lake, & Pendlebury, 2009; Quashiga, 2001). This provision was not met until 1995⁹⁹ when the government introduced FCUBE. The government’s objective under FCUBE policy was to make schooling from Primary 1 to JSS 3 free and compulsory for all school-age children in the country by the year 2005 (Kadingdi, 2006). The government also championed both technical and vocational education at the basic level. Per the 1987 education reform, each JSS was to have a well-equipped practical workshop to encourage technical and vocational training. The FCUBE policy led to increase in basic schools and enrollment figures across the country initially. For example, basic schools increased from approximately 13,000 in the 1980s to over 18,000 in 2000 when the NDC was leaving office after its electoral defeat (Akyeampong, 2010; White, 2004).

In spite of these constitutional provisions and efforts of the NDC governments, the continuous decline of the economy and the subsequent failure of development partners to coordinate their funding support had dire consequences on the FCUBE policy (World Bank, 2004). For example, the government could not match the financial needs of basic schools as enrollment increased. This led to inadequate school buildings, inadequate teaching and learning materials¹⁰⁰ and shortage of qualified teachers (Kadingdi, 2006; World Bank, 2004). The outcome of this was the re-introduction of the ‘shift system’, which was first introduced in 1951. Again, the government was unable to build the practical workshops required for technical and vocational education at the basic level¹⁰¹. The interest in technical and vocational education generated within Ghanaians waned as emphasis once again shifted to grammar/general type of education (P. Osei-Mensah, personal communication, 2018).

⁹⁹ Per the provisions of the 1992 constitutions, this should have been done by 1994.

¹⁰⁰ The few school buildings, learning and teaching materials in existence quickly deteriorated without replacement due to the increased enrolment.

¹⁰¹ Those that were built did not have the tools required for practical work. In effect, they became empty workshops. In some schools, the workshops were converted into either classroom for normal academic work or teachers’ common room.

The inability of the government to provide the needed resources affected the quality of education (White, 2004; Donge et al., 2003; Cobbe 1991). To address this problem, some schools begun charging unapproved levies usually in the form of either Parent-Teacher Association (PTA) dues or Development levies (GNECC, 2005; Oduro, 2000; Chao & Alper, 1998). Thus, while FCUBE sought to remove the financial barrier to basic education, the government's inability to provide the needed resources under the policy and the subsequent introduction of unapproved fees by the schools re-introduced this financial barrier. The government knew of the charging of unapproved levies by the basic schools but could not stop it for two reasons. First, the government did not have the financial means to provide the needs of the schools. Secondly, government used this to test the appetite of Ghanaians for cost-sharing at the basic level of education. Accordingly, the government lost the political and moral right to enforce the compulsory aspect of FCUBE. This begun to affect enrollment figures especially in the rural areas as poor parents could not afford these unapproved levies (GNECC, 2005; Oduro, 2000; Chao and Alper, 1998). In addition to these challenges, the existing system of pre-tertiary education (i.e. 6-year primary school, 3-year JSS and 3-year SSS) excluded pre-school education.

The difficulties outlined above made the provision of pre-tertiary education a political issue during the 2000 general elections. NPP promised to review the educational system in place and address the challenges identified if elected. The NPP won the 2000 presidential elections and the president-elect, John Agyekum Kuffour assumed office on 7th January 2001. As promised during the campaign period, the president established a 30-member education committee on 17th January 2002 to review the educational system in Ghana with a view to making it responsive to current challenges. This committee was chaired by Prof. Jophus Anamuah-Mensah¹⁰². The committee presented its report¹⁰³ to the president on 13th December 2002¹⁰⁴. In the report, the philosophy proposed to guide Ghana's educational system was the creation of well-balanced (intellectually, spiritually, emotionally, and physically) individuals with the requisite knowledge, skills, values and aptitudes for self-actualization and for the socio-economic and political

¹⁰² Anamuah-Mensah was then the Vice-Chancellor of University of Education, Winneba (UEW).

¹⁰³ This report is one of the two case studies of this thesis. It is therefore discussed extensively in Chapter 7 of this study.

¹⁰⁴ The committee was initially given 4 months to submit its report. But they requested for extension to complete their work due to the volume of work involved.

transformation of the nation (Anamuah-Mensah, Effah, & Sarkodie, 2002). The recommendations of the committee were not ostensibly different from the recommendations in the 1987 Evans-Anfom report. The report maintained the existing structure of basic education but included a 2-year pre-school. At the secondary level, the government varied the recommended 3-year secondary education to 4 years. These two changes increased pre-tertiary education from twelve years to fifteen years. Even though the government accepted the recommendations of the report, its implementations begun in 2007,¹⁰⁵ 5 years after the report had been submitted. Prior to the implementation of the 2007 reform, the NPP administration introduced two programmes to address some of the challenges identified with the implementation of the FCUBE policy introduced in 1995. These programmes were also commitments by the NPP administration to achieve the United Nations MDG 2 of universal primary education by 2015.

First, the government introduced the ‘capitation grant’ in 2004. This was to remove financial barriers to basic education. Accordingly, the capitation grant abolished the extra cost and levies (such as examination, facilities management, security charges, games and sports) that parents usually paid as “school fees” in public schools. However, a number of studies have shown that this programme did not improve the quality of education and the enrolment figures significantly (see Osei-Fosu, 2011; Osei et al, 2009). This is because many public schools continued to charge levies (mostly in the form of PTA dues) as means of raising funds for school projects¹⁰⁶ and extra classes.

The second programme the government implemented was the Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP) in 2005. This policy was envisaged within the framework of the Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP) Pillar III¹⁰⁷, and in response to the first and second MDGs on eradicating extreme poverty and hunger and achieving universal primary education. Accordingly, the programme aimed at delivering a well-organized, decentralized intervention providing disadvantaged school children with nutritionally adequate,

¹⁰⁵ This is the reason why the report is commonly referred to as the 2007 Anamuah-Mensah Report.

¹⁰⁶ These included the building of classroom blocks, teacher bungalows, and the purchase of teaching and learning materials.

¹⁰⁷ CAADP Pillar III is an initiative under the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) which focuses on the chronically food-insecure, and on populations who are vulnerable to and affected by various crises and emergencies.

domestically produced food thereby reducing poverty through improved household incomes and effective internal economic development (Republic of Ghana, 2015). Thus, pupils in selected schools were served with one hot nutritious meal prepared from home-grown food crops. Initially piloted in 10 basic schools,¹⁰⁸ the GSFP was expanded to cover 200 schools in 138 districts across the country in 2006 due to its success (Yendaw, & Dayour, 2015). The implementation of the GSFP significantly increased the enrolment figures in the basic schools across the country (Osei-Fosu, 2011). For example, enrollment figures in the Nyoglo Basic School in the Savelugu-Nanton Municipal Assembly increased from 35.8% of school-going children in 2004 to over 64% after the introduction of the feeding programme (Yendaw, & Dayour, 2015). Due to the positive impact of the programme on enrolment, the programme has progressively grown to serve over 1.6 million children in 4,000 public schools across all districts in Ghana (Republic of Ghana, 2015). The two programmes discussed above primarily focused on eliminating financial barriers to basic education. The structure and content of the pre-tertiary educational system were only reformed with the implementation of the 2007 Anamuah-Mensah report.

In the course of implementing the 2007 reform, the NPP lost the 2008 presidential and parliamentary elections to the NDC. The NDC candidate, Prof. John Evans Atta-Mills was sworn into office on 7 January 2009. He continued with the policies initiated by the NPP administration. However, the Atta-Mills-led administration revised the 4-year secondary education introduced in 2007 to 3 years in 2010¹⁰⁹. In addition, Atta-Mills introduced the 'Free School Uniform' (FSU) project in 2010. Like the initiatives by President Kuffour in 2004 and 2005, the FSU sought to reduce the cost of education on parents, increase enrolment in schools, and boost the domestic manufacturing industry. By the end of 2012, over 1 million uniforms had been distributed across the country. Unfortunately, President Mills died while in office on 24th July 2012 and the Vice-President, John Dramani Mahama was sworn in as the president in accordance with Article 66 of the 1992 Constitution. He subsequently contested and won the December 2012 general elections. Mahama did not introduce any policy change to the existing educational system. However, to continue with successive efforts to eliminate financial barriers

¹⁰⁸ One basic school was selected in each of the 10 regions in Ghana.

¹⁰⁹ This change was a campaign promise by the NDC during the 2008 general elections.

to basic education, Mahama launched the ‘Free School Sandals’¹¹⁰ programme in July 2015. This project died naturally with the defeat of the NDC in the December 2016 presidential elections. The NPP’s presidential candidate, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo was declared winner of the 2016 presidential election. He was subsequently sworn in as the president on 7th January 2017. Since assumption of office in 2017, the Akufo-Addo-led administration has continued with the initiatives started under Presidents Kuffour and Atta-Mills. However, the ‘Free School Sandals’ project has been abandoned by the administration. In addition to the existing programmes, the government in September 2017 launched the ‘Free SHS’ programme¹¹¹.

4.11 Conclusion

From the above discussions, it is clear successive governments since independence (both civilian and military) have introduced policies and programmes aimed at improving the quality of education being provided and the expansion of educational infrastructure across the country. These efforts began with the launching of the ADPE in 1951. The most significant provision of this plan was the elimination of private participation in the provision of basic education in the country. This made basic education the sole responsibility of the state. This was followed by the introduction of universal tuition-free basic education under the 1961 Act. Since the overthrow of the CPP administration in 1966, successive governments have built on the educational system instituted by President Nkrumah. While there have been some changes in the educational system, some aspects of the system have remained same to date.

One of the notable changes to Ghana’s educational system is the re-involvement of the private sector in the provision of basic education in the country. While, Nkrumah made the provision of basic education the preserve of government, successive governments since Nkrumah’s overthrow have allowed private participation in basic education. This is largely due to the inability of government to expand access to basic education across the country due to financial constraints. However, the participation of the private sector is subject to regulations

¹¹⁰ This project was largely seen as a political project designed to win votes in the upcoming 2016 general election.

¹¹¹ The Free SHS programme aims at fulfilling the provisions of Article 25 subsection (1b) of the 1992 Constitution which states that “Secondary education in its different forms including technical and vocational education, shall be made generally available and accessible to all by every appropriate means, and in particular, by the progressive introduction of free education”. In subsequent years, the government hopes to redefine basic education to include secondary education, abolish BECE and institute a natural progression from the JHS to the SHS as it happens between the Primary and JHS.

developed by the state through the GES which was established in 1974. Regardless of private participation and the economic difficulties of the country, successive governments have maintained the free and compulsory basic education in all public schools since its introduction in 1961. This is because all governments since independence have seen education as vital tool for both personal and national development.

While successive government have implemented specific programmes to eliminate all forms of financial barrier to education (e.g. capitation grant, school feeding and free uniforms programmes), none of the governments have been able to develop a programme to achieve or enforce compulsory basic education. For example, even though the 1992 constitution makes basic education free and compulsory, it is common to see children of school-going age hawking on the streets of most urban centers during regular school hours. Consequently, basic education may be free but not compulsory in the country. Interestingly, while successive governments since the overthrow of Nkrumah in 1966 actively engaged the private sector in the making of basic education policies, these governments continuously marginalized the traditional institution. This contrasted with the acknowledgement of the political duality of the Ghanaian state as established under the 1969, 1979 and 1992 constitutions.

Again, successive governments have made attempts to review the contents of the education being provided to Ghanaians. For example, all the education review committees established by successive governments since independence have recommended for an educational content that places emphasis on practical, vocational and technical education. All the committees have accordingly decried the skewness of the educational system towards grammar and commercial education. For example, the recommendations of Dzobo Committee in 1974, the 1987 Evans-Anfom Report and the Anamuah-Mensah Report of 2007 all called for diversification of both basic and secondary educations to emphasize technical and vocational education. Accordingly, the 1987 Evans-Anfom Report introduced subjects such as pre-technical and pre-vocational at the basic level of education. Regardless of these calls, the pre-tertiary educational system in Ghana is predominantly grammar-type and commercial. This is because successive governments have been unable to adequately resource basic and secondary schools to make teaching and learning of these subjects attractive to both teachers and students. Technical and vocational workshops built in basic schools have been turned into either staff common

rooms or canteens in most basic schools. More worryingly, technical and vocational tertiary institutions (polytechnics) are offering more grammar-type and commercial courses compared to technical and vocational courses.

Finally, it can be inferred from the on-going discussions that, the success of any reform depended on a stable political environment and the availability of funds. However, until the birth of the fourth republic in 1993, Ghana was used to frequent military interventions resulting in the suspension of the constitution and the dissolution of parliament. For example, the PP and the PNP governments ruled for twenty-seven months each before being overthrown through coup d'états in 1972 and 1981 respectively. This political instability did not afford ruling governments enough time to implement any meaningful reform of the educational system. Again, successive governments have been unable to mobilize enough internal resources to finance their reform agenda. Accordingly, all governments since independence have relied on external support to finance their educational policies. For example, the WB approved an amount of \$46.9 million to support primary education in 1993 through the Primary School Development Project (PSDP). In 1996, the Bank also launched the Basic Education Sector Improvement Project (BESIP) with an amount of \$34.7 million to support the FCUBE policy launched by the NDC government in 1995 (World Bank, 2004). Again, the School Feeding Programme launched by the NPP in 2005 receives substantial funding support from both the World Food Organization (WFO) and the Royal Netherlands Government. The unavailability of funds from the central government and the over reliance on external sources of funds for implementing educational reforms since independence has led to unsatisfactory outcomes. In most instances, the objectives of proposed reforms are not achieved.

CHAPTER 5: 1987 EDUCATION REFORM IN GHANA

5.1 Introduction

This research seeks to explore the major factors that have informed the two major educational reforms (i.e. 1987 and 2007) in Ghana since independence. In the process, the research examines the key actors that shaped the policy process, explores which policy actors are most influential and why these actors are able to exert more direct influence on the policy process. In addition, the study also examines the ideational mechanisms (i.e. bricolage and translation) employed by these actors to shape the reform process. In the process, the study explores the type of ideas used by these actors to inform the reform process. Furthermore, the study examines whether the two reforms resulted in major or incremental changes in the educational system. This is done by specifying the dimensions of these reforms. In order to address the above questions, both primary and secondary sources of data were collected and analyzed as discussed earlier. Primarily, interviews were conducted over the course of five months in Ghana. In addition, official documents, newspaper articles and research publications were reviewed. The study observed no significant variations in the research data and document review. Accordingly, the study weaves together the findings from both data sources to develop a coherent argument in addressing the research questions.

This chapter begins by discussing briefly the provisions of the 1987 education reform. The chapter then proceeds to explore the reasons why Ghana initiated the 1987 educational reform from the perspective of policymakers (interviewees), and official documents (1987 education report and government's white paper). This is supplemented with academic research articles and books. In addition, the chapter examines the key actors involved in the reform process and the mechanisms these actors employed. It is significant to note that the 1987 education reform was carried out by a military regime, the PNDC, which embraced a neo-Marxist brand of socialism by portraying itself as a leftist and populist government (Hutchful, 2002). Consequently, the policy space was not open to other non-state actors, especially domestic ones. However, the worsening economic situation of the country forced the PNDC administration to seek for support from the IMF. The support provided by the IMF came with certain conditionalities including reduction in social spending. Consequently, existing studies

mostly point to the imposition of policies (structural explanation) as the main mechanism through which IMF and other trans-national actors influence policy in developing countries. However, as this chapter will show, the 1987 reform was not as a result of ‘policy imposition’ by IMF and WB.

As the discussions would show, ‘conditionalities’ could not force or persuade a military regime, which ordinarily did not require electoral legitimacy from the people, to undertake a reform. Again, the IMF and WB knew that military regimes in general create authoritarian political environments which do not only block access to state policymaking apparatus, but also suppress open dissent and public involvement in governance (Kpessa, 2011). However, the IMF took advantage of the ERP agreement signed with the PNDC government in 1983 to use ideational mechanisms to shape Ghana’s 1987 educational reform. Using the institutional and ideational framework adopted for this study, the data obtained from the field interviews and other secondary sources are analyzed. Thus, the framework enables the study to address the research questions on determining the factors responsible for the 1987 education reform, the key actors involved, the mechanisms they employed (bricolage or translation) and whether incremental or rapid changes occurred. Subsequently, the analysis informs the discussion on how various factors inform education reform in Ghana in the conclusion of the chapter.

5.2 The making of the 1987 Education Reform

Upon assuming office, the PNDC sought to rely on socialist countries such as Cuba and the Soviet Union for financial assistance to solve the economic challenges they inherited from the PNP administration. Unfortunately, due to internal economic challenges of these socialist countries, they could not support the PNDC administration. The government therefore turned to IMF and WB for financial assistance. The IMF and WB agreed to support the government and launched the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) in 1983. The ERP aimed at reducing Ghana's debts and improving Ghana’s trading position in the global economy.

Specifically, the program focused on restoring economic productivity at minimum cost to the government. Accordingly, a number of policies were undertaken by the PNDC government. This included lowering inflation through stringent fiscal, monetary, and trade policies; increasing the flow of foreign exchange into Ghana and directing it to priority sectors; restructuring the

country's economic institutions; restoring production incentives; rehabilitating infrastructure to enhance conditions for the production and export of goods; and, finally, increasing the availability of essential consumer goods (La Verle, 1994). Significantly, under the program, the government was required to reduce its recurring and social expenditures (Little, 2010; World Bank, 1989). To reduce its recurring expenditure, the government embarked on retrenchment of public sector employment. It is estimated that the government retrenched about 46,000 public sector employees between 1987 and 1990 (Jeffries, 1992).

In addition to reducing its social spending, PNDC government also realized that “if the ERP was to succeed, the skills and attitudes of Ghanaian youth would have to be changed so that they would be prepared to become productive farmers or skilled artisans and craftsmen ready to work for their own, their community’s and their country’s development” (World Bank, 1989:2). The government therefore embarked on radical educational reform in 1987 as it saw education as the means to achieving the regime’s agenda of promoting social and economic transformation in the country (Fobi et al., 1995).

5.3 Why the 1987 Education Reform?

Many scholars (e.g. Nudzor, 2017; Braimah, Mbowura & Seidu, 2014; Akyeampong, 2009) have attributed the 1987 reform in Ghana to the numerous conditionalities imposed by the IMF and the WB in the 1983 ERP agreement. For example, Braimah, Mbowura and Seidu (2014:147-148) opine that:

The 1987 education reform was a political as well as an economic imposition by the IMF/WB in an attempt to salvage the economic downturn of the Ghanaian economy. This external imposition to reform the school system was presented superficially, as a home-grown educational policy by the military government - the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) headed by Jerry John Rawlings.

However, there is enough evidence to suggest that the quest for educational reforms in Ghana since independence in 1957 is due to the desire of successive governments to align Ghana’s

educational system with the internal and global changing socio-economic dynamics. In an interview with Mr. Anarfi of the Non-Formal Education Division (NFED) of MoE, he noted that:

Every substantive government from Nkrumah's time up to date wants to change the style of education to suit the modern condition or the present-day conditions.

Correspondingly, Mr. Acquaye, a consultant to the GES also noted that:

Society is dynamic, and the technology is advancing and if you want to remain in the global economy, you need to change your curriculum and change your educational system.

In view of this, the PNDC government established an Education Commission chaired by Dr. Emmanuel Evans-Anfom in 1984 to review and report on basic, teacher, technical/vocational, and agricultural education in Ghana in line with PNDC's anti-elitist, pro-poor, pro-rural social policies (EC, 1986).

Justifying the need for the reform, Flt. Lt. Rawlings described the existing educational system as one that was oppressive and stultified the Ghanaian child (Fobi et al, 1995). Rawlings identified three major aspects of educational oppression characteristic of the existing educational system. The first identified oppression was the denial of equal opportunity. The second was oppression that occurred as conformity was valued before creativity. The third was the oppression that stemmed from the system's encouragement of self-interest. Thus, Rawlings envisaged an "educational system which was non-oppressive but transformative and values creativity as well as promotes social justice" (Fobi et al., 1995: 66). Many Ghanaians and scholars also decried the poor and solitary nature of Ghana's educational system in the early 1980s when the PNDC took over power. These views were summed up in the National Education Forum (NEF) report in 1999 as follows:

By 1983, Ghana's educational system, which until the mid-1970s was known to be one of the most highly developed and effective in West Africa, had deteriorated in quality. Enrolment rates, once among the highest in the sub-Saharan region, stagnated and fell.

The percentage of GDP allocated to education dropped from 6.4 percent in 1976 to 1.7 percent. The real levels of financing fell by about two-thirds. Government resources were no longer available to construct, complete or maintain educational facilities. Scarcity of foreign exchange affected the country's ability to purchase textbooks and other teaching and learning materials. The economic downturn also resulted in the mass exodus of qualified teachers. At the basic education level, the ratio of trained to untrained teachers fell significantly. Low motivation and morale led to ineffective supervision. Finally, the lack of data and statistics needed for vital planning led to decisions being taken on an *ad hoc* basis (NEF, 1999:9).

Thus, the 1987 reform could not be attributed to an imposition from IMF and WB as suggested by some scholars. In an interview with Mrs. Gifty Apanbil of the Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT), she indicated that:

Our [Ghana's] basic education system before Rawlings took over had virtually collapsed...it was not functioning properly. You see ... academic standards, support for teachers, learning and teaching materials such as school buildings, classrooms, and equipment had declined because there was no money. We therefore had to reform the [educational] system to make it relevant to our environment. The IMF can't tell us what to do.

Similarly, Professor Anamuah-Mensah, Chairman of the 2007 Education Commission, in an interview indicated that the various reforms came about due to the:

General recognition by large majority of the population that education system requires a face lift you know ... people during the period were complaining about their kids completing school and not doing anything.

Again, Mr. Dadzie, the General Secretary of the National Association of Graduate Teachers (NAGRAT) noted:

... It [the 1987 reform] was made by the society [people] itself. A lot of complains about the need to change the [existing] system, the need to produce the skills we need as a country.

It is therefore obvious that the introduction of the 1987 education reform, and other reforms since independence in Ghana has not depended on the availability of funds either internally or externally nor the imposition from the Bretton Woods Institutions, but rather the need to make education relevant to the socio-economic needs of the country.

5.4 Key actors involved in the 1987 Reform and the mechanism they employed to influence the process

From the above discussions, it is clear that the decision to embark on the 1987 educational reform stemmed from two main reasons. First, there was public outcry about the quality of the existing educational system because the policy recommendations under the 1974 education reform had not been fully implemented. There were visible inequalities in the provision of education between the rural areas and the urban centers. Accordingly, the general public saw the need for an educational reform as a national emergency (Fobi et al, 1995). Secondly, the PNDC government saw the inherited educational system as inadequate for its transformative developmental agenda (D. Konadu, personal communication, 2018; Fobi et al, 1995). These two reasons were then augmented by the demands from the IMF and WB for the government to cut down on its social expenditure under the ERP agreement in 1983.

Due to the above reasons, the PNDC government set up an Education Commission under the chairmanship of Dr. Emmanuel Evans-Anfom in 1984. The Commission was to review and make appropriate recommendations for the reforms of the existing educational system. The commission was made up of fourteen local members, 2 African authors and 4 international consultants. However, the 2 African authors (i.e. Ngugi wa Thiong'o from Kenya and Chinua Achebe from Nigeria) failed to participate in the proceedings of the Commission. In addition, the 4 international consultants, including Paulo Freire, a Brazilian educationist, did not participate in

the work of the Commission (EC, 1986). Thus, only the fourteen local members served on the Commission.

The Commission used several means available to them to acquire the needed data for their report. They reviewed past reforms particularly the 1974 reform and educational literature in general. They also requested for the submission of memoranda from the public. Unfortunately, not many memoranda were submitted due to the political atmosphere at the time. The activities of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDRs) established in 1984 created a political atmosphere of fear, panic and general mistrust (Hutchful, 1997; Chazan, 1988; Agyeman-Duah, 1987). The outcome was a 'culture of silence' with a non-existent civil society (Ankomah, 1987). To avert this challenge, the Commission visited a number of basic and senior secondary schools; vocational and technical institutes and tertiary level institutions to interact with students, teachers and administrators. Due to inadequate financial support, these visits were limited to the Accra-Tema metropolis. Thus, the views of those in the rural areas were not captured by the Commission. The Commission also interviewed some selected institutions which were seen to be stakeholders. These included government agencies that were education-related such as GES and the Examination Council; Trade and Teacher Unions; National Union of Ghanaian Students (NUGS) and the Education Units of the various missions in Ghana (EC, 1986).

In addition to the above, the work of the EC was also informed by global developments in education (C. Aheto-Tsegah, personal communication, 2018; A. Haffer, personal communication, 2018). Ghana is a signatory to several international declarations and conventions on education. These include the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the 1959 Declaration of the Rights of the Child and the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and cultural Rights. These conventions affirmed the right of individuals to an educational system that respects their personality, talents, abilities and cultural heritage. In particular, the global push for EKE by the WB and IMF impacted greatly on educational reforms in SSA countries who undertook structural adjustment programs funded by these two institutions.

Although, the IMF and WB did not directly call for education reform, it demanded reduction in public education spending as part of the ERP agreement signed in 1983 with the

PNDC government. This demand was aided by public outcry over the poor state of the existing educational system. In addition, the PNDC administration itself held the view that the existing educational system was not good enough for its transformational agenda, hence, the need for a reform. The IMF and the WB only demanded that the reform led to a reduction in government's spending on education. In an interview with Mrs. Ackwerh of WB, Ghana, she said:

...there was no hand in it... And actually, what the bank [WB] does is actually funding their strategy... So, it's they [government] who decide what they want to do. They can come to the bank... we don't force them to do anything... They decide that we want to do this.

However, during the period of ERPs in SSA, the WB and IMF began a global push for a modernist education policy discourse of EKE (Nudzor, 2017; Kuyini, 2013; Adie, 2008; Tomasevski, 2006; Kadingdi, 2004; Bray, 1987). This was in line with the neo-liberal, modernist and market-driven policy orientation of the WB and IMF. Consequently, the WB and IMF pushed for educational systems that embraced privatization, cost recovery and the rhetoric of EKE in Ghana during the implementation of the ERP.

The global push for EKE by the WB and IMF impacted the work of the EC in 1984. Consequently, the reform of 1987 reflected this market-oriented thinking pushed by the WB and IMF. First, the objective of Ghana's education shifted from the ideals of national integration, nation-building and disabusing the minds of citizens of colonial history, experiences and vestiges in 1957 to emphasis on the creation of a highly skilled, flexible human capital needed to compete in a global market. Thus, the 1987 reform aimed at creating an individual who was enterprising and a competitive entrepreneur who possessed transferable core skills to become good, compliant and ideologically indoctrinated pro-capitalist worker (Nudzor, 2017; King, 2004; Trowler, 1998; Dale, 1986). Second, as noted already, the IMF and WB pushed for cuts in public education spending as part of the conditions under the ERP agreement. In addition, they called for individuals to self-finance their education in the country.

The 1987 reform, therefore, introduced cost-recovery measures in what became known as the 'cost-sharing' conundrum. However, for fear of political backlash from Ghanaians due to its

populist and pro-poor stands, the PNDC government could not introduce cost sharing at the basic level. Thus, cost-sharing was limited to secondary and tertiary levels of education under the 1987 reform. This was based on a mistaken assumption that students who attended higher education were commonly from relatively prosperous families and could therefore afford cost-sharing. Accordingly, the IMF and WB argued that differentiated costs and high subsidies were instruments for promoting inequity (Nudzor, 2017; Bray, 1987). The outcome was the reduction in secondary education from 4 years to 3 years, the introduction of school-fees, academic facility user fees (AFUF), and increased privatization of education services. This thus began the alignment of Ghana’s educational policies towards the demands and trends of international and pro-capitalist institutions (Nudzor, 2017; Kuyini, 2013).

The table below summarizes the actors who were involved in the 1987 reform process. Due to the military government in place at the time, the policy space was not opened to many participants particularly the civil society. As a result, the EC could only identify and interact with few institutions as shown in Table 5.1 as key stakeholders for the 1987 reform.

Table 5. 1: Summary of Actors and Mechanism of Influence

	Actor	Mechanism of Influence	Means of Influence
State Actors	Ministry of Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ideas (Programs, Paradigms, Framing, Public Sentiment) Institutional 	Participate in Conferences, Research presentations, Seminars, Workshops, Stakeholder Meetings
	Education Commission	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ideas (Programs, Paradigms, Framing, Public Sentiment) Institutional 	Participate Research presentations, Seminars, Workshops, Stakeholder Meetings
	Ghana Education Service	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ideas (Programs, Paradigms, Framing, Public Sentiment) Institutional 	Research presentations, Participate in Seminars, Workshops, Stakeholder Meetings
	West Africa Examination Council	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ideas (Paradigm, Public Sentiment) Institutional 	Research presentation, Participate in Seminars, Workshops, Stakeholder Meetings
Non-State Actors	National Union of Ghana	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ideas (Framing and Public Sentiment) 	Research presentation, Participate in Seminars, Workshops,

Actor	Mechanism of Influence	Means of Influence
Students	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institutional 	Stakeholder Meetings
Trade Union Congress	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ideas (Framing and Public Sentiment) • Institutional 	Research presentation, Participate in Seminars, Workshops, Stakeholder Meetings
Education Unit of Missions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ideas (Programs, Framing, Public Sentiment) • Institutional 	Research presentation, Seminars, Workshops, Stakeholder Meetings
Ghana National Association of Teachers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ideas (Public Sentiment) • Institutional 	Research presentation, Seminars, Workshops, Stakeholder Meetings, Threats of Strike
International Monetary Fund	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ideas (Paradigm and Projects) • Institutional • Structural 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participate in Conferences, Research presentations, Seminars, Workshops, • Provide Scholarships • Conditionality
World Bank	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ideas (Paradigm and Projects) • Institutional • Structural 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participate in Conferences, Research presentations, Seminars, Workshops • Provide Scholarships • Conditionality

Source: Field Data.

Conspicuously missing from the above actors were the traditional institutions. Even though Ghana operates a dual political system, the traditional institutions were not considered as key stakeholders during the 1987 reform by the EC and the PNDC administration. Like Nkrumah's CPP regime in the 1950s, Rawlings and the PNDC administration were skeptical about the chieftaincy institution. They initially perceived chiefs as elites who should not be allowed to play any significant role in the 31st December 1981 revolution. The hostility towards the chieftaincy institution was, in part, a regionalist strategy against the powerful traditional institutions in the Ashanti region. This was because Rawlings and the PNDC administration's support-base were mostly from the Volta Region where chieftaincy had a very low status (Knierzinger, 2011). Accordingly, the military regime created a new system of local governance with the Committee for the Defense of the Revolution (CDRs) and the People's Defense Councils (PDCs) as the core institutions. These grass root institutions were instituted to replace both the chieftaincy institutions and the Town and Village Development Committees (T/VDC)

instituted by Nkrumah in the 1960s. The class connotation of the revolutionary principles where traditional rulers were perceived to be elitist led to the nurturing of conflictual relations between chiefs and the revolutionaries, especially the CDRs and PDCs. As Boafo-Arthur (2003:127) notes, “there were several clashes between chiefs and the revolutionaries across the country and whereas the chiefs regarded the revolutionaries as mere upstarts, the revolutionaries perceived the chiefs as the embodiment of the arrogance associated with traditional power”. In view of this perception, the PNDC administration subjugated and suppressed the chieftaincy institutions through various constitutional enactments. One of such enactments was the PNDC Law 107, Chieftaincy (Amendment) Law, 1985. Section 48 (2) of this law stated that: “no person shall be deemed to be a chief ... under this Act or any other enactment unless he has been recognized as such for the exercise of that function by the Secretary responsible for Chieftaincy matters by notice published in the local government Bulletin”. By this provision, the PNDC allocated to itself the power to determine who became a chief as the CPP government did through the Chieftaincy Act, 1961 (Act 81). In view of this, the EC did not seek their views and the traditional institutions also failed to submit memoranda as advertised by the EC due to the culture of silence that had permeated the Ghanaian society at the time. In an interview with Mr. Anarfi of NFED, he noted:

Traditional Councils [TCs] are not consulted [during education reforms] but look at the number of TCs in the country. Some of our colleagues [Chiefs] are professors, some are lecturers, some are teachers. These Traditional Council members should have been part of the program [reform] ...I think it could have been better than to use the technocrats in a political party, a particular political party. I think if such things are done, policies [reform] of this nature will succeed and benefit the whole society.

However, the traditional (chieftaincy) institutions have survived and endured the exploitative British imperialism during the colonial era, and subsequently under both civilian and military administrations in Ghana. The institution has always trimmed its sails to different political winds without either capitulating to higher authorities or trying to meet them head-on. The institution is thus highly revered by Ghanaians; not only because of its traditional role of maintaining the

culture and traditions of the people, but rather the acceptance of its new challenge as ‘agents of development’ in the modern politics of Ghana (see Arhin and Pavanello, 2006; Ray and Eizlini, 2011:35-60). The Constitutional Committee in 1978 noted:

In spite of certain features which have often given cause for serious concern and the not altogether satisfactory record of some chiefs in national life, we remain convinced that the institution of chieftaincy has an important and indispensable role in the life and government of Ghana, both for the present and for the foreseeable future. We, therefore, consider it right and necessary that the institution should be protected and preserved by appropriate Constitutional guarantees (Republic of Ghana, 1978: 96).

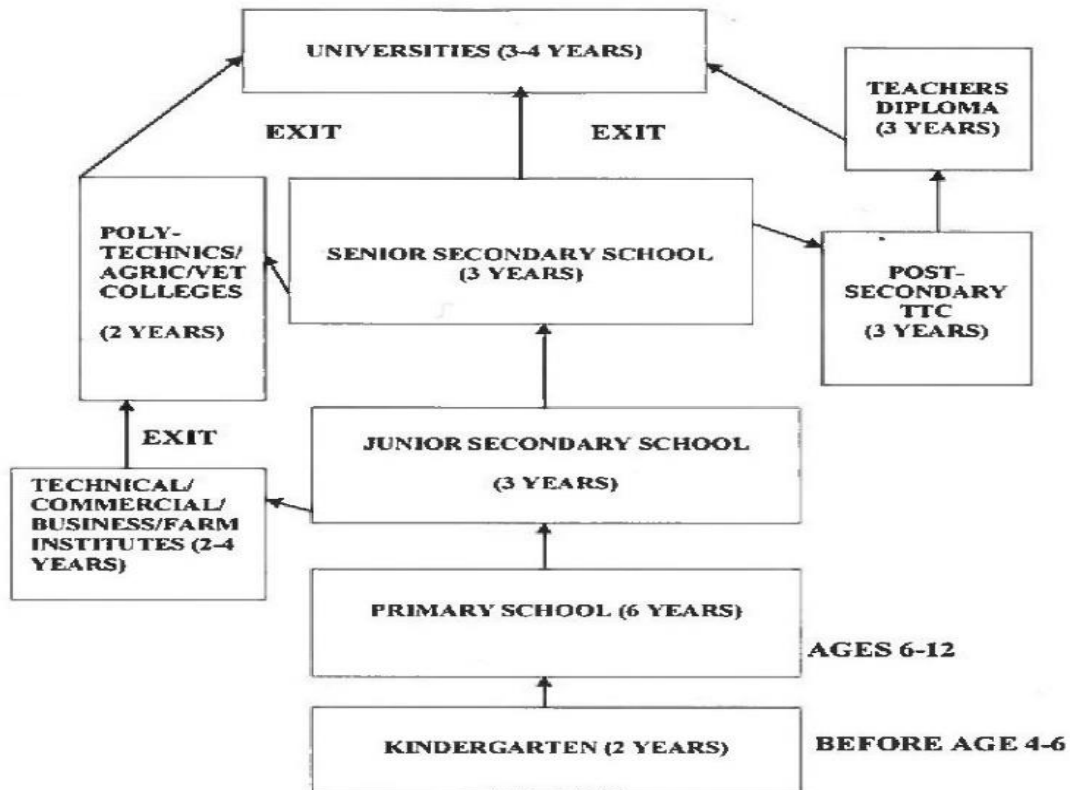
This has resulted in what Ray (1996) termed as ‘divided sovereignty’. Thus chieftaincy, in contemporary times, has come to serve two major functions: statutory (settlement of chieftaincy disputes and the codification of customary laws) and non-statutory (socio-economic development) (Bob-Milliar, 2009). However, the post-independent Ghanaian state has merely paid lip service to the chieftaincy institution as exemplified by the actors involved in the 1987 education reform. The state has not been audacious in translating its adoration of the institution into an enduring solution to the structural problem that confronts the institution. The 1969, 1979 and 1992 Constitutions of Ghana systematically kept the institution outside the pale of those formal structures of power and governance. Thus, the omission of the traditional institutions reinforces the view that public policy making in Ghana has not considered the duality of the Ghanaian society.

5.5 Summary of the Recommendation of the Evans-Anfom 1987 Education Commission

The Evans-Anfom chaired Education Commission completed its work and submitted its report to the government in 1986. The report has four major dimensions namely the structure and expected destinations of graduates from basic school; duration; curriculum and financing of education. Over all, the 1987 reform did not differ much from the 1974 reform initiated by the NLC/SMC administration. As Little (2010:14) notes, “the 1987 reform was an attempt to put into practice the recommendations of the 1974 proposals”. In terms of the structure and duration of

education, the three cycles introduced under the 1974 reform were maintained as shown in figure 5.1 below.

Figure 5. 1: Education Structure in 1987



Source: Field Data.

The only change was the reduction in senior secondary education from 4 years to 3 years. This reduced pre-tertiary education from 13 years to 12 years. There were no significant changes to the existing curriculum. However, there was emphasis on literacy skills in the mother tongue of a child, a second Ghanaian language and English, modern farming skills, familiarity in using tools, manual dexterity and practical mathematics. The objective was to create positive attitudes to hard work and national development (Little, 2010; EC, 1986). As Little (2010:14) opines:

The majority of graduates from basic education were expected to become productive modern farmers (with support from agricultural extension services); a substantial number to become productive

skilled workers (with short term training or informal apprenticeships); 30% to proceed to secondary education.

The call for diversification of education required the restructuring of teacher training to emphasis a more individualized approach to teaching, which called for more work with pupils than work on or for them. Thus, the teaching-learning encounter was to be characterized by emphasis on meaning and understanding, problem solving, and pupil activity, rather than memorizing and recall (EC, 1986). The Committee also maintained the free basic education instituted in 1961. The committee had observed during their deliberations that:

Some sections of the Ghanaian population lacked educational opportunities while a limited few had the best Ghanaian education at the expense of the vast majority. This was grave social injustice which needed to be urgently remedied by the provision, at all cost, of educational opportunities at the Basic Education level for all Ghanaian children, irrespective of social or economic status (EC, 1986: 1).

In view of the above, and in line with the populist agenda of the PNDC government, the Committee recommended that the State provides:

Universal, free and ultimately compulsory education for all Ghanaian children who attain the age of 6 years for a stated number of years after which depending on their abilities and capabilities, they may go on to further formal schooling, or into the world of work suitably prepared (EC, 1986: i-ii).

While the Commission maintained the free compulsory basic education introduced earlier in 1961, it went further to add 'universal' to it. The addition of 'universal' was to ensure that basic education was equally provided to all Ghanaian children regardless of their geographical location in the country. To mitigate against the financial impact of such decision on the economic health of the country, the government undertook a number of steps. These included reducing the length of pre-university course from 17 to 12 years; redeployment of non-teaching and unqualified

teaching staff; charging of book user fees from Primary 3; the removal of boarding and feeding subsidies for secondary and tertiary institutions and removal of student subsidies in tertiary education. (Little, 2010; World Bank, 1989).

5.6 The 1987 Education Reform: Stability or Change

The question of policy stability and change is contentious within policy studies. Most new institutionalist scholars tend to see change as following an evolutionary path resulting in incrementalism; which is characterized by the making of successive marginal changes to existing policy (Lindblom, 1959) and path dependency where existing policies that take a particular course induce further movements along the same pattern (Pierson, 2000; North, 1990). Thus, policies develop gridlocks, in the form of constituents, which hardly make policy change possible. In view of this, many scholars (e.g. Adu-Gyamfi, Donkoh, & Addo, 2016; Braimah, Mbowura, & Seidu, 2014; Graham, 2013; Little, 2010; Mankoe, 2004) argue that the 1987 education reform in Ghana was a continuity of the 1974 reform, with incremental changes. However, ideational scholars such as Jones and Baumgartner (2005) and Hall (1993) argue that, path departing changes can occur especially during crisis period. As discussed earlier, the 1987 education reform was undertaken at a time when Ghana was in economic crisis, which had forced the PNDC government to enter into an ERP with the IMF and WB in 1983. This had profound consequences on the 1987 reform. Again, Campbell (2004) argues that when the different dimensions of a policy are analyzed, we may ascertain the direction of change of the different dimensions. Analyzing the 1987 reform within this framework reveals interesting findings. The 1987 education reform had four different dimensions.

The first dimension of the reform dealt with the objective of education. As discussed earlier, the global push for EKE by the IMF and WB led to a shift from the identity-creating educational system established in 1957 to an economic-value focused educational system. Consequently, education was to make Ghanaians competitive in the global market. Thus, the objective of the 1987 education reform was path departing and not path dependent. This path departing change was due to two reasons. First was the economic crisis Ghana experienced in the wake of global oil hikes, drop in world cocoa prices and the deportation of several thousands of Ghanaians from neighboring Nigeria. This forced the PNDC government to turn to the Bretton

Woods Institutions for financial bail-out. The bail-out did come, but with some conditionalities which included the reduction in public education spending. The IMF/WB conditionalities came to re-enforce the domestic factors that brought about the 1987 education reform. In addition to these conditionalities, IMF and WB began a global push for neo-liberal educational systems that sort to dislodge the post-independence nationalist and socialist educational systems put in place by nationalist leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania (Nudzor, 2017; King, 2004; Trowler, 1998; Dale, 1986). The push for a global paradigm shift in education and the financial resources of IMF and WB enabled it to influence educational systems across Sub-Saharan Africa.

The second dimension of the 1987 reform was the structure of the educational system and the duration of pre-tertiary education. Again, as noted already, government was required to reduce public spending in education under the ERP agreement. As such, pre-tertiary education had to be restructured by the 1987 reform. The middle school and Sixth Form systems were abolished. A 3-year Junior Secondary education was introduced to replace the abolished middle school. Secondary education was also reduced from 5 years to 3 years. This considerably reduced pre-tertiary education by 5 years (i.e. from 17 years to 12 years). Even though this reduction had begun under the 1974 reform (i.e. from 17 years to 13 years), it was never fully implemented. The 1987 reform embarked upon a nation-wide restructuring and reduction in the number of years as opposed to the pilot implementation under the 1974 reform.

The third dimension was the financing of basic education. Even though the IMF and WB required the PNDC government to reduce public spending on education, it was politically suicidal for the PNDC to introduce any form of cost-sharing or fees at the basic level due to its populist and pro-poor stands. In an interview with Mr. Osei-Mensah he said:

.... Quantum [education spending] may be dropping in terms of percentage of it to our budget in financing, but then clearly you can see that every government puts in a lot of money to basic, so there's kind of consistency when it comes to financing basic education ... I have already said that education is political demand.

Accordingly, the government continued with the free universal basic education, but introduced cost-sharing measures at the secondary and tertiary levels of education. The government however reduced the duration of basic education from 10 years to 9 years (i.e. 6 years primary education and 3 years JSS).

The last dimension of the 1987 reform dealt with the content of the educational system. While the subjects for primary education under the 1974 were maintained, there were minor changes in the JSS curriculum to emphasize pre-vocational education. This was to enable students develop not only their cognitive skills, but also their manual skills. In all, students were required to take 13 subjects comprising 12 core subjects and 1 non-vocational elective in the JSS as shown in Table 5.2 below:

Table 5. 2: List of Subject in the JSS Curriculum

<i>Core subjects</i>		<i>Pre-vocational subjects</i>
Mathematics		Metalwork
Ghanaian language		Technical Drawing
Social Studies		Mechanics
Cultural Subjects		Local Crafts
Practical Agriculture		Home Economics
Science		Business Studies
<i>Pre-vocational</i>	<i>Subjects</i>	<i>Non-vocational Elective</i>
<i>Examined only internally</i>		
Arts and Music		French
Life Skills		
Physical Education		

Source: Education Commission (1986).

Under the 1974 reform, students were required to do 12 core subjects. In addition, they were required to self-select 2 pre-vocational and technical subjects from a list of 13 subjects. This made subjects learned at the JSS level 14. However, the 1987 reduced this number to 13 and specified the pre-vocational subjects' students were required to take.

From the above discussions, it is clear that both path departing and path dependent changes occurred when the dimensions of the 1987 reform are specified as I have done above. The objective and the structure and duration of Ghana's educational system under the 1987

reform witnessed path departing changes as discussed earlier. These changes were partly due to the economic crisis that necessitated the ERP agreement in 1983 and the push for a global paradigm shift by the IMF and WB. Again, the change was also due to the limited number of veto players at the time. As Tsebelis's (1995) argues, there is the reduced probability of enacting a policy change when there is an increase in the number of veto players in the policy space. The military government at the time had gradually introduced a culture of silence, which resulted in a non-existent civil society. Thus, the policy space was the reserve of the military regime and its associates. This made it easy for the government to undertake the shift in the objective of education as the government did not entertain dissenting and opposing views, hence there were no genuine "veto players" capable of shaping outcomes except the IMF and WB.

On the other hand, there was policy stability in the financing of basic education. This was due to the increase cohesion of the members of the PNDC government and its associates to oppose any attempt by the IMF and WB to introduce fees and cost-sharing at the basic level. A cost-sharing policy at the basic level was seen by the PNDC government as inconsistent with its ideological claims of being a government of the poor and vulnerable in society. As discussed earlier, when there is an increase in the cohesion of a given veto player's constituent group, policy change may be difficult to achieve (Trebilcock, 2014; Orenstein, 2008; Tsebelis, 1995). This was the case with financing basic education.

Concerning the content of the educational system, the 1987 reform was largely path dependent with some incremental changes at the JSS level. One would have expected that once the objective of education had changed, the content would have also received considerable revision. However, this was not the case for one simple reason. The government was constrained with regards to the availability and capacity of existing teachers to deliver any dramatic content changes. Again, any dramatic change to the curriculum would have been met with strike actions from the GNAT. This institutional constraint forced the government to introduce minor changes to the existing curriculum.

5.7 The processes of Bricolage and Translation during the 1987 education reform

5.7.1 The Processes of Bricolage

From the above discussion, it can be argued that the Evans-Anfom Education Commission ostensibly recombined existing educational principles and practices outlined in previous educational reforms (particularly the 1974 reform) to innovate and craft solutions to address the identified problems in Ghana's educational system in a process Campbell (2004) referred to as bricolage. To begin with, the government instituted a 20-member Education Commission to reform the educational system. However, 6 of the members who were all international experts failed to participate in the work of the Commission. As a result, only fourteen members who were all Ghanaians participated in the reform process. Even though the Commission reviewed international scholarly works on education reforms, they did not directly benefit from the international perspectives of the 6 foreign experts. Again, due to the economic challenges at the time, the government did not provide adequate funds for the Commission to embark on international travels to learn best practices from other countries. In addition, due to the unavailability of funds and the military regime in place, the Commission limited its public engagement to few selected individuals and institutions in Accra and Tema, depriving other parts of the country the opportunity to participate in the reform process. Confronted with these challenges, the Commission had to rely on existing educational principles and practices to innovate and address the perceived challenges with the existing educational system. In line with this, the Evans-Anfom Commission reviewed existing policies to guide them in their recommendations. Particularly, the work of the Commission was influenced by the education reports issued by the Konuah and Dzobo Education Committees in 1971 and 1974 respectively. For example, the recommendations of the Dzobo Committee in 1974 had already led to significant reduction in the number of years of pre-tertiary education from seventeen years (6:4:5:2 system) to thirteen years (6:3:4). In addition, the 1974 reform introduced and piloted the JSS/SSS concepts to replace the middle school and 'O' and 'A' levels. The Evans-Anfom Commission maintained this structure but recommended a nation-wide roll-out of the JSS/SSS concept in 1987. Again, they maintained the 9-year basic education (i.e. 6 years of primary school and 3 years of JSS) and only reduced secondary education by a 1 year. This reduced pre-tertiary education from thirteen years (6:3:4) to twelve years (6:3:3).

Thus, the Education Commission and the actors involved in the 1987 reform basically tapped into their existing repertoire of institutional principles and practices to innovate. The outcome of the 1987 reform was therefore a new educational system that resembled the previous educational system introduced in 1974. As noted by Campbell (2004), bricolage could either be substantive or symbolic. Substantive bricolage follows the rational-choice logic of instrumentality where actors are guided by their self-interest and goals. Symbolic bricolage, on the other hand, follows the cultural logic of appropriateness where individuals seek to act appropriately vis-à-vis their cultural environments (Parsons, 2007; Campbell, 2004). The 1987 education reform was a combination of these two types of bricolage. Substantively, the PNDC government sought to use the reform to address the problems with the existing educational system. In addition, the reform was to aid the PNDC government in its transformational agenda by producing the needed labor force for the state. In an interview with Miss. Dzeagu, the National Coordinator of Ghana National Education Campaign Coalition (GNECC), she said:

... the 1987 reform was expected to equip students with the skills to enable them transition into the world of work after junior high [school] and be able to function adequately.

However, the decision to maintain and continue financing basic education in spite of the harsh economic conditions at the time was purely symbolic. The symbolic bricolage was for two reasons. First, it was an attempt by the PNDC government to generate public acceptance and legitimacy for the 1987 reform within the broad social environment. Second and most importantly, it was a means of assuring Ghanaians that regardless of the ERP agreement signed with the IMF and WB in 1983, the PNDC administration would continue to introduce and implement pro-poor and pro-rural policies.

5.7.2 The Processes of Translation

The processes of translation involve the “combination of externally given elements [ideas] received through diffusion and domestically given ones inherited from the past” (Campbell, 2004:80). However, the 1987 reform did not see very much of translation due to the military nature of the government. Typical of military regimes, the policy space was limited to government and quasi-government agencies with virtually no room for both internal and external

non-state actors. Again, the 6 international consultants who were invited to be part of the 20-member Evans-Anfom Education Commission did not honor the invitation. As a result, the Commission was made up of the remaining fourteen local members selected from the government and its allied agencies.

However, the dire economic situation of the Ghanaian state in the early 1980s forced the PNDC military government to turn to the IMF and WB for financial bail-out. This led to some minimal translation of ideas during the 1987 education reform. Thus, even though the processes leading to the 1987 education reform were mainly bricolage in nature, there was an element of translation due to the work of the IMF and WB in SSA. As indicated earlier, the IMF and WB were not directly involved in the 1987 education reform. However, their push for a paradigm shift from the nationalistic and identity-creating objectives of education to the EKE in the Global South influenced Ghana's 1987 education reform. This was done through their participation in government forums such as the Structural Adjustment Participatory Review Initiative (SAPRI) and the Citizens Assessment of Structural Adjustment (CASA) (Structural Adjustment Participatory Review International Network (SAPRIN), 2002). In addition, the work of the Evans-Anfom Commission was influenced by the annual reports issued by these Bretton Woods Institutions highlighting the need for Ghana to align its educational objectives to that of the EKE paradigm. Therefore, the objective of Ghana's educational system changed to EKE as discussed earlier.

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the factors that led to the 1987 education reforms in Ghana. Again, the chapter discussed why the objective of Ghana's educational system changed from nation-building and identity-creation to EKE. In addition, the chapter discussed the key actors that were involved in the reform process and the mechanism they employed to influence the reform process. As argued, the 1987 education reform was not merely an imposition from IMF and WB due to the ERP signed between them and the PNDC government in 1983. However, domestic factors including the demand from the Ghanaian people for education reform and the desire of the PNDC government to introduce education reform in line with its pro-poor and populist policies occasioned the 1987 education reform. These domestic factors coincided with the

demands by IMF and WB for the PNDC government to reduce its social expenditure as a condition for assessing loans under the ERP agreement.

Again, the discussions above show that due to the military rule at the time, the policy space was closed to non-state actors except the teacher unions and mission schools who provided critical services within the educational system. Nevertheless, due to the culture of silence at the time, these non-state actors could not influence the reform process very much as the government did not kowtow to divergent and dissenting views. Again, the government consciously ignored the duality of the Ghanaian state. As such, traditional authorities were completely sidelined in the reform process. However, IMF and WB were able to influence the reform process through their global push for the adoption of the EKE. This was done through the issuing of country annual reports that highlighted the essence of the EKE and the financial assistance they provided countries that opted for the EKE.

The objective of Ghana's educational system therefore witnessed a path departing change as discussed earlier. The content, structure and duration of the educational system also saw some significant changes. These changes were however begun in 1974 when the NRC/SMC military government established the Dzobo Education Committee to reform the educational system in place. Regardless of the IMF and WB's push for reduction in the government's social expenditure, the 1987 education reform maintained the free basic education that was introduced under the 1951 ADPE. Thus, the work of the Evans-Anfom Commission was influenced by both bricolage and translation processes. The Commission reviewed past education reforms and policies; and country annual reports and general publications of IMF and WB and other international agencies such as UNESCO and UNICEF.

CHAPTER 6: 2007 EDUCATION REFORM IN GHANA

6.1 Introduction

After the return to constitutional democracy in 1993, the NDC did not introduce any major reform to the educational system that was instituted by the PNDC administration in 1987¹¹². However, in fulfillment of the provisions of Section 38 of the 1992 constitution, the NDC government introduced the FCUBE programme in 1995 as discussed earlier. Unfortunately for the NDC government, it lost the 2000 presidential election to John Agyekum Kuffour, the candidate of the NPP. This marked the first time Ghana changed a ruling government through elections since independence in 1957. President Kuffour decided to reform the existing educational system that had been in place for fifteen years. He set up a thirty-member Education Committee in 2002 under the chairmanship of Professor Jophus Anamuah-Mensah to take stock of what has happened in education, and based on that, as well as current developments in the global world, chart a new path for the future.

The Committee completed its work after 10 months and submitted its report to the government. Based on the recommendation of the Committee, the NPP government introduced reforms to the educational system in 2007. While the reform dealt with the entire educational system in the country (i.e. from kindergarten to tertiary education), this research focused on the aspects of the reform that impacted basic education (kindergarten to junior secondary education).

This chapter explores the factors that informed the decision of the NPP government to undertake the 2007 reform. As the discussions will show, the decision to embark on education reform was due to both local and international factors. Locally, the existing educational system had been unable to achieve the provisions under Section 38 of the 1992 constitution in spite of the introduction of the FCUBE programme in 1995 by the NDC administration. These provisions had been re-enforced by the enactment of the Children's Act of 1998 (Act 560). Internationally, global developments such as the promulgation of MDGs in 2000; the 2000 Dakar Framework for Action: Education for All and the 1986 African Charter on Human and People's Rights changed the educational narrative. In addition to the EKE pushed by the WB and IMF in the 1980s, these

¹¹² As discussed earlier, the NDC was formed out of the PNDC. Consequently, the NDC continued with most of the policy initiatives started by the PNDC when they assumed office in 1993. This included the 1987 education reform.

global developments in late 1990s and early 2000s made basic education a ‘basic right issue’. These combined forces became a justifiable ground for the NPP government to initiate the 2007 educational reform.

The chapter proceeds with an overview of the educational system proposed and implemented in 2007 by the government. This discussion is done by detailing the various dimensions of the reform as argued by Campbell (2004). Accordingly, four dimensions are outlined and discussed: the objective, the structure and duration of basic education, the content, and the financing of basic education. The detailing of the dimensions of the reform enables the research to ascertain the direction of change that occurred with the 2007 reform (i.e. whether incremental or dramatic changes).

Again, the chapter elucidates the key actors that were involved in the reform process and the ideational mechanism (bricolage or translation) they employed to influence the process. To ascertain these key actors, the chapter examines the actors that were engaged by the Education Committee during their 10-months work. To address the issues raised above, interviews conducted with identified national and transnational actors involved in education reform processes in Ghana; official records from government through GES and MoE; news articles and existing scholarly work on education reforms in Ghana were analyzed within the ideational and institutional framework adopted for this study.

6.2 The Making of the 2007 Education Reform

6.2.1 Why the 2007 Education Reform?

Upon assuming office in 2001, the NPP administration identified the provision of equitable and quality education as one of its priority areas. Accordingly, the government decided to reform the 15-year old educational system instituted in 1987 due to both local and international factors. Locally, the government adduced two main reasons for the 2007 reform. First, the government argued that the 1987 education reform and the subsequent implementation of the FCUBE programme in 1995 had not yielded the desired outcome for the state. In the government’s white paper issued in 2004, the government said, “owing to the numerous problems, stakeholders have expressed agreement to the effect that public education in Ghana, has failed to meet expectations in terms of its coverage, quality, equitableness and economic utility” (Republic of Ghana,

2004:1). Thus, in spite of some successes with FCUBE, the educational system was still saddled with problems of inadequate access to education; poor quality teaching and learning; and weak management capacity at all levels. The existing educational system was therefore seen to lack critical components such as access, quality and relevance to local needs (Kuyini, 2013; Darvas, & Krauss, 2011). Consequently, the government saw the 1987 reform as outdated, hence its inability to achieve the provisions of Section 38 of the 1992 Constitution. Secondly, the government underscored the need to reform the educational system to reflect the provisions of the Children's Act of 1998 (Act 560) which made the provision of basic education a basic right. For example, Section 8 (sub-section 1) and 10 (sub-section 2) state respectively that:

- 1) No person shall deprive a child access to education, immunization, adequate diet, clothing, shelter, medical attention or any other thing required for his development;
- 2) A disabled person has a right to special care, education and training wherever possible to develop his maximum potential and be self-reliant;

The flaws of the existing educational system could therefore not produce the appropriate human resource in the form of skilled, technologically advanced and disciplined workforce with the right ethics to service the growing economy. In his remarks at the launch of the 2007 reform, the Minister of Education, Papa Owusu-Ankoma, noted:

A sober look at the country's education system brought out major failures, which if left unresolved would hinder efforts to propel Ghana to a great future...about 60 percent of Junior Secondary School (JSS) graduates left school ill equipped and not proficient in craft and technical skills to enter the job market... new Education Reform was the best that the country could afford, that would address these systemic faults and correlate to the needs of industry so as to maximize potentials¹¹³.

¹¹³ <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/GNAT-s-caution-On-New-Educational-Reform-124674#>. Accessed on 19 January, 2019.

Others also argue that the 2007 education reform was purely political as the NPP government sought to introduce education reform in line with its liberal ideological leanings¹¹⁴ (Aziabah, 2017; Braimah, Mbowura, & Seidu, 2014). In an interview with Professor Addae-Mensah, former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ghana, he said:

...what drives these things is political, not only just political but partisan political. And in that respect, at least in this our 4th republican period, both of the big parties are guilty. I won't mince my words about that. NDC came they did all sorts of funny things. NPP came, swept it over and did all sorts of funnier things. NDC came again did even funniest things and now, it just a see-saw... But what is existing presently is rather the political factors that is foremost. It looks as if the political consideration seems to be overshadowing the social factors, the cultural factors and the financial considerations. It looks as if both parties, what they ask before they touch education is what benefit will it bring in terms of votes.

A former Director-General of GES, Mr. Aheto-Tsegah, had this to say:

A lot of these reforms are purely political in nature. They have been inspired by politicians and key technical people who are connected to politicians. Not a lot of public consultation was done in relation to the 1987 reform. 2007 reform, they will tell you that they set up a review committee so that everybody can come and say whatever they want. But in the end, it was the political considerations of the ruling government that mattered.

Thus, even though, the government alluded to the deficiencies in the existing educational system as the local factor that drove the 2007 reform, it was not the only local factor. As shall be

¹¹⁴ For a discussion on how different political ideologies inform public policies, see Berliner, D. C., & Biddle, B. J. (1996). The manufactured crisis: Myths, fraud, and the attack on America's public schools. *Nassp Bulletin*, 80(576), 119-121 and Bracey, G. W. (1995). The fifth Bracey report on the condition of public education. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 77(2), 149-160.

discussed later, the government varied some of the recommendations of the Education Committee for its own political purposes. For example, the government's decision to rename Junior and Senior Secondary Schools as Junior and Senior High Schools had no significant bearing on addressing the problems of access and quality identified by the government.

In addition to these domestic factors, there were international factors that informed the government's decision to embark on the 2007 reform. As Mr. Aheto-Tsegah noted:

...So basically, international agreements and international standards that were raised during international conferences influenced our reforms ... for example MDGs and now the SDGs, EFA influencing the 2007 reforms... these were external ideas [which] had to do with the global emphasis on access.

Similarly, in an interview with the Chairman of the 2002 Education Committee, Prof. Anamuah-Mensah, he said:

... and then also the foreign interventions. For a long time when we were receiving support from either IMF, from World Bank, bilaterally agreement with UK, DFID and all those groups. They [TNAs] have an agenda, so they come and say ooh we want to look at this aspect [of education] so they are given the freedom to do that. It was only during the time of [President] Kufuor ... that I know they [government] tried to create a basket that these are the things that the country intends to do. If you want to support us pick from the basket...it started well but they didn't like it that way because it is difficult to push your [TNAs] agenda when you are being told that you can only put it into this if you are interested in what the country is doing.

Furthermore, Dr. Ananga of University of Education, Winneba and a member of the GES Council noted "the UN, WB, international policy goals and objectives are key in driving the agenda of education". Thus, several international frameworks informed the government's

decision to undertake the 2007 reform. An example is the Millennium Declaration adopted by world leaders at the Millennium Summit of the United Nations in 2000 which identified fundamental values essential to international relations. This declaration led to the adoption the 8 UN MDGs in 2000 which were to be achieved by 2015. Education was seen to be a critical tool for the attainment of all the 8 goals. Specifically, Goal 2 of MDGs aimed at achieving universal primary education. The target was therefore to have all children (both boys and girls) complete a full course of primary schooling by 2015 (United Nations, 2015). Ghana, as a member of the UN, committed to the tenets of MDGs in September 2001 and, to ensure full implementation, mainstreamed them into the respective national development policy frameworks which included the 2007 education reform (Republic of Ghana, 2015). The second global movement that informed the 2007 reform was the UNESCO-led Education For All (EFA) initiative which was adopted by the Dakar Framework in 2000 at the World Education Forum (WEF) in Senegal. The EFA was a global commitment to provide quality basic education for all children, youth and adults by 2015. The EFA had six goals:

- i. To expand early childhood care and education;
- ii. To provide free and compulsory primary education for all;
- iii. To promote learning and life skills for young people and adults;
- iv. To increase adult literacy by 50 percent;
- v. To achieve gender parity by 2005, gender equality by 2015; and
- vi. To improve the quality of education (Roche, 2016).

Ghana was one of the 164 governments that pledged to achieve the goals of the EFA by 2015. Similarly, the provisions of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (also known as the Banjul Charter) adopted in 1986 made the provision of education a human right issue. Accordingly, member states were required to ensure the enjoyment of these rights by their citizens. Particularly, article 17 of the Charter states:

1. Every individual shall have the right to education;
2. Every individual may freely take part in the cultural life of his community; and
3. The promotion and protection of morals and traditional values recognized by the community shall be the duty of the State.

The Anamuah-Mensah led Education Committee was mindful of the provisions enshrined in these international protocols during its work. These provisions informed some of the recommendations of the Committee (Anamuah-Mensah, Effah, & Sarkodie, 2002).

6.2.2 Setting up the Committee

In view of the above factors, the NPP government inaugurated a 30-member Education Committee under the chairmanship of Prof. Jophus Anamuah-Mensah to review the entire educational system in the country with the view to making it responsive to current challenges. Additionally, the Committee was tasked to re-examine the goals and philosophy of the present educational system, the principles which should guide curricular design, preschool/basic education, secondary/technical/vocational education, and teacher education, tertiary education as well as management and financing of education. Unlike the 1984 Evans-Anfom Education Commission, the membership of the Anamuah-Mensah Education Committee comprised both state (13 members) and non-state actors (17 members) as shown in figure 6.1 below:

Figure 6. 1: Composition of the Anamuah-Mensah Education Committee

	Name	Institution	Portfolio
STATE-ACTORS	1. Prof. Jophus Anamuah-Mensah	University College of Education, Winneba	Chairman
	2. Hon. James Adusei Sarkodie	Chairman of Parliamentary Select Committee on Education	Member
	3. Hon. Kosi Kedom	Member of Parliament and Ranking Member on Education	Member
	4. Prof. Robert Addo-Fenning	University of Ghana	Member
	5. Prof. Dabiel Afedzi Akyeampong	University of Ghana and Chairman of National Accreditation Board	Member
	6. Prof. Henrietta J.A.N. Mensah-Bonsu	University of Ghana and Chairman of national Accreditation Board	Member
	7. Prof. Frank Obed Kwami	Chairman of Ho Polytechnic Council and former Vice-Chancellor, KNUST	Member
	8. Prof. Kofi Awusabo Asare	Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Cape Coast	Member
	9. Dr. Nii Narku Quaynor	Executive Director, NCS	Member
	10. Dr. Mrs. Sylvia A.M. Boye	Chairperson, GETFund	Member
	11. Mrs. Beatrice Addo	Head, Test Development, WAEC	Member, Representing WAEC
	12. Ms. Lydia Osei	Deputy Director-General GES	Member, Representing GES
	13. Mr. Emmanuel Acquaye	Director Basic Education, GES	Member, Representing GES
NON-STATE-ACTORS	14. Mr. Gerald Annan-Forson	President, Concerned Parents Association of Ghana	Member, Representing Concerned Parents Association of Ghana
	15. Dr. Clement Somuah	Advanced Computer Technology	Member
	16. Alhaji Rahim Gbadamosi	Registrar, Islamic University of Ghana and Former Director-General of GES	Member
	17. Mr. Kobina Quansah	Managing Director, Barclays bank	Member, Representing Banking and Financial Institutions
	18. Mr. Edward Bawa	National President (NUGS)	Member, Representing NUGS
	19. Mr. Seji Seji	National Coordinating Secretary, GNUPS	Member, Representing GNUPS
	20. Mr. Alfred Kofi Appiah	Programme Manager, GNECC	Member, Representing GNECC
	21. Mr. Cletus Joseph Kosiba	Director, Policy and Communication, AGI	Member, Representing AGI
	22. Rev. Dr. Robert Aboagye-Mensah	General Secretary, Christian Council	Member, Representing Christian Council
	23. Mr. Lucas Kodzoga Alagbo	National President, NAGRAT	Member, Representing NAGRAT
	24. Mr. Joe Augustus K. Frempong	Deputy General Secretary GNAT	Member, Representing GNAT
	25. Mrs. Marie Alice Agyeman	Headmistress, Holy Child Secondary School	Member, Representing GNAT
	26. Dr. James Flolu	National Vice President, University Teachers Association of Ghana (UTAG)	Member, Representing UTAG
	27. Mr. Emmanuel K. Agyemang	Lecturer, Accra Polytechnic (POTAG)	Member, Representing POTAG
	28. Ms. Dinah Dadzie	Consultant,	Member, Representing Concerned Parents Association of Ghana
	29. Rev. Msgr. Hilary Y.M. Senoo	Former General Manager of Catholic Schools, Catholic Secretariat	Representing Catholic Secretariat
	30. Rev. Emmanuel Apea	Former Director of UNESCO	Member

Source: Anamuah-Mensah, Effah, & Sarkodie (2002).

The state actors were derived from state institutions that were involved in the provision of education as shown in the table above. This included the GES and some selected tertiary level institutions related to education. Members of the non-state actors came from teacher unions (e.g.

UTAG, POTAG, GNAT and NAGRAT), concerned parents, private providers of education (especially mission schools), students unions (NUGS and GNUPS) and GNECC, the umbrella body of domestic Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) operating in the educational sector. The involvement of the non-state actors was due to the democratic system that was in place at the time. The return to democratic rule in 1993 had opened the policy space for the civil society and other non-state actors to participate in the policy process.

Regardless of the democratic dispensation and the opening of the policy space to non-state actors, there was no representation of the traditional authority on the Anamuah-Mensah Committee. The traditional institution through the National House of Chiefs protested their omission from the Committee and their continuous marginalization by successive governments in national policy discourse. They petitioned the NPP government to make provision for a representation from the traditional institution. The government refused their request and instead argued that the traditional institutions could participate in the regional and community-based local meetings of the Education Committee in the various communities as well as submit proposals or memoranda to the Committee as advertised.

Another interesting observation is the non-representation and the non-involvement of trans-national actors (TNAs) in the Education Committee. Even though TNAs did not directly participate in the work of the Education Committee, these TNAs (particularly the UN and its affiliate agencies such as the IMF, WB, UNDP, UNESCO, UNICEF) continued their global push for EKE, which did influence the work of the Education Committee. For example, in pushing for the global adoption of EKE, the WB opined that education was fundamental for development and growth; and the most powerful instrument for reducing poverty and inequality. Accordingly, the EKE was to assist developing countries in equipping themselves with the highly skilled and flexible human capital needed to compete effectively in the global market¹¹⁵. Again, the global adoption of the 8 UN MDGs also influenced the work of the Committee. The Chairman of the Education Committee, Prof. Anamuah-Mensah noted:

...at that time, we also had the MDGs. It is an international convention that we have appended our signature to it. As a

¹¹⁵<https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/education>. Retrieved on March 15, 2019

signatory to the MDGs therefore, we will go by it. So we adopted the MDGs even though we started the universal long ago. It came to re-enforce what we were trying to do.

Thus, the annual country reports produced by international agencies and the many international conventions that Ghana has signed unto invariably impacted the work of the Committee.

6.2.3 Methodology of the Committee

In view of the broad mandate of the Committee, the Committee was sub-divided into 5 working groups (Pre-School/Basic Education; Secondary/Technical/Vocational Education; tertiary Education; Teacher Education; and Management and Finance). These sub-groups examined in detail the various aspects and levels of education and produced draft reports for consideration at plenary sessions. A number of strategies were adopted to collect data for their report. These included review of existing documents, receipt and study of memoranda, plenary sessions and oral presentations from individuals and institutions. The Committee also embarked on regional visits, retreats and visits to selected institutions and organizations for interactions.

Existing documents that were reviewed were previous major reports on educational reforms including, Kwamong Report (1967), Dzobo Report (1972), Evans-Anfom Report (1986), Report on Education Reform Committee at Pre-tertiary Education (1974), Akyeampong Report - Evaluation of the Objectives of the Tertiary Education Reform (1998), Kwami Report (2000) and deHeer-Amissah Report (1994). In addition, the Committee reviewed country reports on education from the WB, UNESCO and the UNDP.

The Committee's call for memoranda was highly successful. A total of 286 memoranda were received and considered by the Committee. Unlike the unsuccessful call for memoranda made by the Evans-Anfom Commission in 1984 due to the culture of silence, the democratic atmosphere in 2002 enabled many Ghanaians and institutions to respond to the call for memoranda. The Committee sent advertisement and granted interviews to both the print and electronic media to encourage many Ghanaians and civil society organizations to submit memoranda. They also allowed a longer duration (6 months) for the submission of these memoranda. Again, unlike the Evans-Anfom Commission that limited its visit to schools and

institutions in Accra and Tema, the Anamuah-Mensah Committee constituted itself into five groups for the purpose of visiting all the ten regions in the country at the time. Each group visited two regions. In each region, the group held a forum in the regional capital and another in a deprived district. The groups also held radio discussions at the regional capitals during which the general public had the opportunity to phone-in to express their views. This enabled the Committee to collate the views of the public, and also solicit the buy-in of the general population. The different strategies and expansive involvement of the public ultimately generated a sense of ownership among Ghanaians.

6.3 Key Actors of the 2007 Education Reform and their mechanism of Influence

The democratic dispensation in 2007 enabled different actors to participate in the 2007 education reform process. Unlike the 1987 education reform which was largely the product of the state and its allied institutions due to the military regime at the time, the 2007 education reform was opened to participation from non-state actors. Thus, the influence of non-state actors was brought to bear on the work of the Anamuah-Mensah Education Committee. The key actors that were involved in the 2007 education reform and the mechanism they employed are summarized in Table 6.1 below:

Table 6. 1: Key Actors of the 2007 Education Reform and their Mechanisms of Influence

	Actor	Mechanism of Influence	Means of Influence
State Actors	Ministry of Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ideas (Programs, Paradigms, Framing, Public Sentiment) • Institutional 	Participate in Conferences, Research presentations, Seminars, Workshops, Stakeholder Meetings
	University of Education, Winneba	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ideas (Programs, Paradigms, Framing, Public Sentiment) • Institutional 	Research presentations, Participate in Seminars, Workshops, Stakeholder Meetings
	Cape Coast University	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ideas (Programs, Paradigms, Framing, Public Sentiment) • Institutional 	Research presentations, Participate in Seminars, Workshops, Stakeholder Meetings
	University of Ghana	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ideas (Programs, Paradigms, Framing, 	Research presentations, Participate in Seminars,

	Actor	Mechanism of Influence	Means of Influence
		Public Sentiment) • Institutional	Workshops, Stakeholder Meetings
	Parliamentary Select Committee on Education	• Ideas • Institutional	Participate in Seminars, Workshops, Stakeholder Meetings
	Ghana Education Service	• Ideas (Programs, Paradigms, Framing, Public Sentiment) • Institutional	Research presentations, Participate in Seminars, Workshops, Stakeholder Meetings
	West Africa Examination Council	• Ideas (Paradigm, Public Sentiment) • Institutional	Research presentation, Participate in Seminars, Workshops, Stakeholder Meetings
Non-State Actors	National Union of Ghana Students	• Ideas (Framing and Public Sentiment) • Institutional	Research presentation, Participate in Seminars, Workshops, Stakeholder Meetings
	Trade Union Congress	• Ideas (Framing and Public Sentiment) • Institutional	Research presentation, Participate in Seminars, Workshops, Stakeholder Meetings
	Education Unit of Missions	• Ideas (Programs, Framing, Public Sentiment) • Institutional	Research presentation, Seminars, Workshops, Stakeholder Meetings
	Ghana National Association of Teachers	• Ideas (Framing, Public Sentiment) • Institutional	Research presentation, Seminars, Workshops, Stakeholder Meetings, Threats of Strike
	National Association of Graduate Teachers	• Ideas (Framing, Public Sentiment) • Institutional	Research presentation, Seminars, Workshops, Stakeholder Meetings, Threats of Strike
	Ghana National Education Campaign Coalition	• Ideas (Programs, Framing, Public Sentiment) • Institutional	Research presentation, Seminars, Workshops, Stakeholder Meetings
	Experts and Consultants	• Ideas (Framing, Public Sentiment)	Research presentation, Seminars, Workshops, Stakeholder Meetings
	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural	• Ideas (Paradigm and Programs) • Institutional • Structural	Participate in Conferences, Research presentations, Seminars, Workshops

	Actor	Mechanism of Influence	Means of Influence
	Organization		
	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ideas (Paradigm and Programs) • Institutional • Structural 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participate in Conferences, Research presentations, Seminars, Workshops
	International Monetary Fund	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ideas (Paradigm and Programs) • Institutional • Structural 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participate in Conferences, Research presentations, Seminars, Workshops • Provide Scholarships • Conditionality
	World Bank	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ideas (Paradigm and Programs) • Institutional • Structural 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participate in Conferences, Research presentations, Seminars, Workshops • Provide Scholarships • Conditionality

Source: Field Data.

From Table 6.1 above, both state and non-state actors participated in the 2007 reform process. The state actors were mainly those institutions of the state that had education as a core function. These included MoE, GES, public universities and the West African Examination Council (WAEC). These actors basically used ideas as their means of influence. They conducted research and made their findings public which informed both public opinion and the work of the Education Committee. In addition to having representation on the Education Committee, they submitted memoranda to the committee based on their own research findings. The non-state actors also influenced the reform process through the sharing of ideas. The domestic NGOs, under the umbrella of GNECC¹¹⁶, conducted research and made their research reports available to both the public and the Education Committee. In many instances, GNECC courted the support of the public through press releases, conferences and stakeholder engagements. Such activities were aimed at influencing the reform agenda. In an interview with the national Coordinator of GNECC, Miss Veronica Dzeagu, she said:

The coalition [GNECC] has been undertaking research advocacy campaigns to promote the right to education particularly for the

¹¹⁶ GNECC has over 200 members.

marginalized and vulnerable children in Ghana...Over the years most of our work has centered around basic education delivery and so we have been involved in the development of a number of education policies such as the inclusive education policy, girls education policy and sexual harassment policy.

In recent times, GNECC brings its influence to bear during the National Education Sector Annual Review (NESAR) and the quarterly meetings of the Education Sector Working Group (ESWG) which consists of MoE, development partners and the civil society organizations. Miss Dzeagu again noted:

The MoE and its agencies have come to recognize our role and they [MoE] work very closely with us, as the representative institution of civil society organizations in Ghana...there are a number of policy platforms where development partners, CSO's, and government meet to discuss ongoing programs and emerging issues. We have the National Education Sector Annual Review (NESAR) and the [Education] Sector Working Group (ESWG) which are the biggest policy and technical platforms at MoE. The ESWG meets every quarter to discuss emerging issues; how implementation of programs is going. When we have evidence, we share on what is working, what is not working and then we take collective decision on what should be done going forward. We also have smaller technical groups based on programs that are running, so we have for instance the complementary basic education technical group, the technical group on education decentralization, girls' education technical group and inclusive education [group]. We have a whole lot of them [technical groups] at which we bring up issues and best practices ... as a coalition we are also members of networks at the Africa and international levels so we also have opportunity to learn about best practices elsewhere and then we

share with the ministry to see how we can also bring them on board in terms of implementing policies.

In addition to domestic NGOs, development partners (e.g. WB, IMF, UNICEF, UNESCO, JICA, USAID and UK Aid) and other international NGOs (such as Oxfam, World Vision and Action Aid) also influenced the 2007 reform through the submission of memoranda and research presentations. Again, these organizations produce annual country reports which were reviewed by the Education Committee. In these country reports, the UN agencies (i.e. UNESCO, UNICEF, IMF and WB) continued the push for the global adoption of the EKE which they had begun in the 1980s. These days, these international agencies finance targeted programs in the various communities through partnership with domestic NGOs and traditional institutions. The outcomes of these programs are then used as evidence-based to influence government reform agenda. In an interview with Mr. Ofosu of World Vision, Ghana, he said:

We [international agencies] do [influence government policies] but usually we want to be in sync with government. For example, we know Ghanaians were not reading, and this indeed affected learning outcomes, so in 2005, USAID dangled a proposal before government and said let us help your children read. So we are giving you x amount of money. We found out that mother tongue instruction with an early exit component is a good way that majority of countries or people can read faster, and the government accepted the challenge. This one I'm not saying that it was the government that says well our kids are not reading so we are going to do this. It's just like softly pushed by development partners and or international local NGO's.

Similarly, Mrs. Nerquaye-Tetteh of UNESCO-Ghana said:

Normally, these organizations are donor [agencies] which means they are bringing something to the table that the government really wants. But more importantly, UNESCO and UNICEF for instance have been churning out reports and these reports are based on

statistics. So, they [international agencies] are not seen as authoritarian groups that are saying, listen we are going to give you money but give us this. Rather, they [international agencies] are saying we have studied the trends and we think far too many females are dropping out therefore we are going to give you money, but that money can only go towards sensitizing people as to the importance of girl child education ... So I'm just saying it is a bit erroneous to say it's just because they have money that the government listens to them. But they also have facts, usually they have decided to channel their money in a certain direction based on research that has been undertaken in our country by sometimes Ghanaians for them. And so faced with facts, it is difficult to ignore. So the world education reports, the reports that come out yearly will always map and show where we are which makes life not easier. It makes it difficult to say no to.

The participation of international agencies in NESAR and ESWG where ideas are shared and exchanged between the government and international agencies reinforces the notion that it is not always the case that policies prescriptions are imposed on developing countries through aid conditionalities. As shown above, other mechanisms such as ideational ones are equally used by these international agencies to influence policy decisions in these developing countries.

Despite the active engagement and involvement of other non-state actors in the 2007 education reform, the Education Committee did not actively engage the traditional authority. This contrasted with the widely popularized notion that the NPP was sympathetic to the chieftaincy institution because the party traces its roots to the National Liberation Movement (NLM) which was founded by Chief Linguist Baffour Osei Akoto in 1954¹¹⁷. Once the NPP won the 2000 general elections, it was widely anticipated that the NPP would actively engage the chieftaincy institution in the governance of the nation. This was due to three main factors. The first was the party's association with the NLM as has been alluded to above. The second was the

¹¹⁷ The NLM was founded by the Ashanti aristocracy to primarily opposed the CPPs centralization agenda and pushed for a continuing role for traditional leaders in the lead up to Ghana's independence in 1957

provisions of Articles 270 to 277 of the 1992 constitution that guaranteed the existence of traditional institutions. The third was the fact that many leading members of the NPP hailed from royal homes. For example, the then President, John Agyekum Kuffour was an Ashanti royal while Nana Addo Dankwah Akufo-Addo (the current President) who was then the Minister for Foreign Affairs was an Akyem-Abuakwa royal. Despite these factors, the NPP government failed to accord the chieftaincy institution any representation on the 2002 Anamuah-Mensah Education Committee. To register their protest, the traditional institutions opted against submitting memoranda to the Committee. When asked in an interview why traditional authorities were not represented on the 2002 Education Committee, Prof. Anamuah-Mensah, Chairman of the 2002 Education Committee said:

Traditional authorities are important [actors] but when you mention the critical ones [actors], I'll not put them there as critical. Most of the traditional leaders have no power or control to do anything ... only a few of them have some influence...the Asantehene and the one in the Eastern region [Okyehehene] are and we can see it [their influence] but the majority are really not influential as we expect them to be.

Interestingly, in the same interview, he indicated the importance and influence of traditional authority in rural areas especially in the Northern region of Ghana. He said:

I remember talking to the chief here [Cape Coast] and I was telling him I went to Aburaw-Dunkwa and I saw somethingthey [Aburaw-Dunkwa] made sure that no kids roams on the street after 6pm, no funerals and things are working even though the grades are not up but it is coming gradually... in recent work that we are doing on teacher education reform for the Colleges of Education, we included the chiefs. We had meetings in five areas; in the Northern, in the Volta region, Eastern, Central region and Greater Accra. All of them [meetings] we sent letters to the chiefs inviting them to come as well. It was in the North that a lot of chiefs turned

up. They were more interested in what was happening, and I thought that was good. We need to follow this up.

The marginalization of the traditional institution in national policy discourse by governments and policymakers since independence obfuscates the political duality of the Ghanaian state. As indicated earlier, attempts to eliminate the traditional institution by both the colonial administration and the post independent government did not succeed because the traditional institution emerged naturally as the evolution of man in Africa and pre-industrial societies, where chiefs and monarchs were the citadel of leadership, development and governance (Mair, 1977; Busia, 1951). In the words of Hameit-Sievers (1998: 58), “chieftaincy is always understood and legitimized as being founded on the principle of tradition; chieftaincy without reference to tradition seems an unimaginable concept - a contradiction in itself.” The political duality of the Ghanaian state is therefore due to inability of the colonial administration and post-independence governments to dislodge this basis of legitimacy of traditional institutions (i.e. tradition).

The uniqueness of traditional institutions in Ghana is that almost every community has a traditional ruler. These traditional rulers are taking up the challenges of the twenty-first century, tackling issues as diverse as children’s rights, education, the environment, women’s rights, and HIV/AIDS¹¹⁸. As the Asantehene, Otumfuo Osei Tutu II puts it:

Our predecessors engaged in inter-tribal wars, fighting for conquest over territories and people. Today, the war should be vigorous and intensive against dehumanization, poverty, marginalization, ignorance and disease. ... Chieftaincy must be used to propel economic development through proper lands administration, through facilitating investments in our communities, and through codification and customs and traditions making it impossible for imposters to get enstooled and creating unnecessary situations for litigation (Ayee, 2007:2).

¹¹⁸ Ray and Eizlini (2011:46-50); Ray and Brown (2011: 89-120) have discussed the involvement of chiefs in the strategy to fight/combat HIV/AIDS in Ghana in partnership with Ghana Aids Commission in a strategy termed as ‘social marketing’. They also indicate the building of organizations and institutions by chiefs to engage in HIV/AIDS education awareness creation.

In the contemporary Ghanaian state, traditional institutions have become mobilizing forces that lobby the central government for development projects in addition to organizing fundraising on their own for development purposes (Ray & Eizlini, 2011; Bob-Milliar, 2009). As Ray (2003: 250) aptly opines, “chiefs might not be the central component of the politics, economic and culture of Ghana, but chiefs are of great relevance to the people and state of Ghana”.

6.4 Key Provisions of the 2007 Education Reform

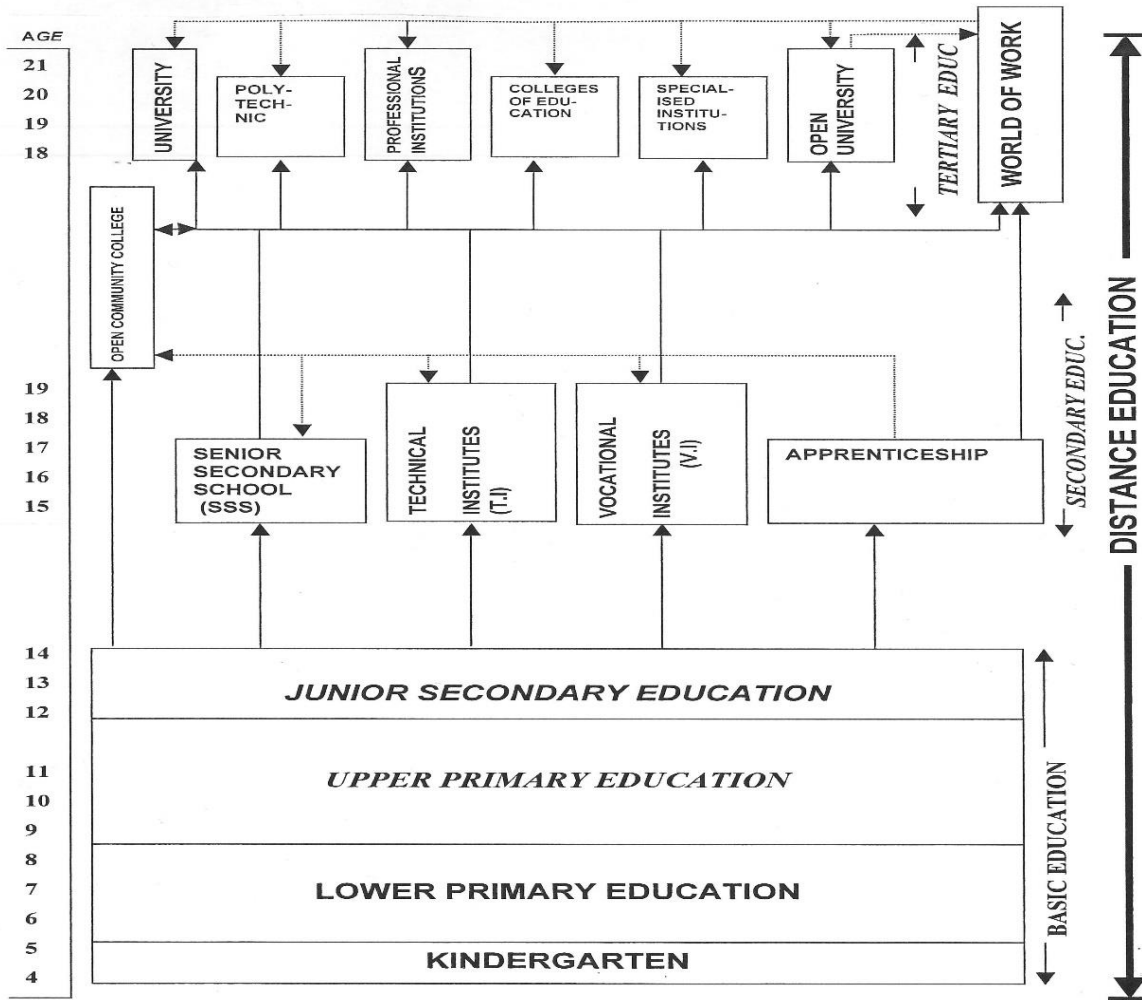
The Anamuah-Mensah Education Committee completed its work and submitted its report to the government through the MoE in 2002. However, the implementation of the recommendations of the Committee began in 2007 (i.e. 5 years after the report had been submitted to the NPP government). Though the recommendations of the Committee did not significantly alter the existing educational system which was put in place by the PNDC administration in 1987, three significant changes were made.

First, even though the objective of education reflected the EKE pushed by the Bretton Woods Institutions, the committee modified it to reflect the needs of the Ghanaian. Thus, the underlying objective of Ghana’s educational system was the “creation of well-balanced (intellectually, spiritually, emotionally, and physically) individuals with the requisite knowledge, skills, values and aptitudes for self-actualization and for the socio-economic and political transformation of the nation” (Anamuah-Mensah, Effah, & Sarkodie, 2002:20). To this end, education was to equip individuals with the requisite skills and capabilities to take advantage of the socio-political and economic opportunities within the Ghanaian society first before thinking of the global system.

The second significant change made by the Committee was the restructuring of basic education to formally include a 2-year pre-school (see Figure 6.2 below). Unlike the 1987 reform which recognized the importance of pre-school but did not formally include it to the basic education structure, the 2007 reform made pre-school a government responsibility. Thus, pre-tertiary education changed from the 6:3:3 (i.e. 6-year primary education, 3-year JSS and 3-year SSS) structure instituted in 1987 to 2:6:3:3 (i.e. 2-year pre-school, 6-year primary education, 3-year JSS and 3-year SSS). In addition to the existing system, the Committee recommended the

creation of Open Community Colleges and an Open University to provide avenues for work-study programmes and life-long education.

Figure 6. 2: Ghana's Educational Structure in 2007



Source: Anamuah-Mensah, Effah, & Sarkodie (2002).

However, during the actual implementation of the reform, the government decided to make SSS education 4 years instead of the 3 years proposed by the Committee (Republic of Ghana, 2004). This was to ensure that the instructional-time lost due to the cumbersome nature of the Computerized School Selection and Placement System (CSSPS)¹¹⁹ was recovered to allow

¹¹⁹ The CSSPS was introduced in 2005 to automatically place successful BECE candidates in the various secondary schools across the country. Due to the cumbersome nature of the processes, there are usually delays in placing these students leading to the loss of instructional time.

the SSS students complete the syllabi for the final West African Senior Secondary Certificate Examinations (WASSCE).

The third significant change initiated by the 2007 reform was the comprehensive review of the existing Education Act of 1961 (Act 87). This comprehensive review led to the introduction of the 2008 Education Act (Act 778). The most significant provisions of Act 778 were the provisions under Sections 7 to 18. Sections 7 and 8 established the National Inspectorate Board (NIB). The functions of the Board include the inspection of schools in both the first and second cycle levels to ensure and enforce set standards in both public and private schools (Act 778). Again, Sections 9 to 15 established the National Teaching Council (NTC). The core function of the Council is to advise the Minister responsible for Education on matters relating to improving the professional standing and status of teachers as well as licensing and registering teachers in Ghana. Lastly, Sections 17 and 18 established the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NaCCA). NaCCA is responsible for determining the goals, aims and structure of courses at the various levels of pre-tertiary education periodically in accordance with government's policies. They are therefore responsible for recommending core and elective subjects as well as new subjects as and when these new subjects become necessary for the pre-tertiary educational system in Ghana. The establishment of these three bodies increased the number of government agencies responsible for basic education from 1 to 4 which significantly hived off some of the mandate of the existing GES.

6.5 The Processes of Bricolage and Translation during the 2007 Education Reform

Understanding the processes that leads to the enactment of policies in developing countries is critical to global policy studies. This is in view of the over-popularization of the imposition or conditionality thesis that assumes that policies in developing countries mainly come about due to imposition or aid conditionalities from external actors such as the WB and the IMF. However, as discussed already, the decision to embark on the 2007 education reform by the ruling NPP government was socio-politically induced which was informed by both internal and external ideas and not an imposition from an external actor. An examination of the processes adopted by the reform committee and the recommendations thereafter shows both the processes of bricolage (substantive and symbolic) and translation.

6.5.1 The Processes of Bricolage

Bricolage, as discussed earlier, basically refers to the process where a stock of already existing institutional principles and practices are used by actors to innovate. Thus, the resulting new institutions differ from but resemble the old ones (Campbell, 2004; Douglas, 1986). Similarly, in education reforms initiatives, old policies serve as a repertoire for actors to use in bringing about solutions to identified problems. The Anamuah-Mensah Education Committee engaged in this exercise during their deliberations. The Committee reviewed previous major reports on educational reforms including, Kwapong Report (1967), Konuah Report (1971), Dzobo Report (1972), Anfom Report (1986), Report on Education Reform Committee at Pre-tertiary Education (1974), Akyeampong Report - Evaluation of the Objectives of the Tertiary Education Reform (1998), Kwami Report (2000) and deHeer-Amissah Report (1994). In addition, the Committee reviewed country reports on education from the WB, UNESCO and the UNDP. Based on these documents, the Chairman of the Education Committee, Prof. Anamuah-Mensah, wrote a paper which mapped the deficiencies in the existing system. This paper then informed the work of the Committee. In an interview with him, he said:

I wrote a paper that brought out all these issues [access, quality, neglect of technical and vocational education] based on the available reports. We shared it and agreed that these are critical issues that need to be dealt with. The government has also, in forming the committee, has come out with certain things [goals] that needed to be looked at.

Based on this paper, the Committee was divided into five working groups examining in detail the main aspects of pre-school/basic education, secondary/technical/vocational education, teacher education, and tertiary education as well as management and financing of education. He said:

...we divided ourselves into groups. Some went into the technical vocational side, some went into the grammar side, some looked at the basic education, and some looked at tertiary. We visited various places, talked to schools, talked to people just to get the right information. We looked at the especially technical schools;

what is the condition of their equipment for running these [schools] and we realized that really, the technical schools were behind in the sense that at that the technical college, the machines there were outdated, rusty and yet they are offering technical education. We don't know what they are doing so we mapped all these and then we asked for memos from people. So we had a lot of issues and so inviting certain other people in the sense trying to cover as many of the stakeholders as possible and so on just to know people's ideas. Where we can fit them in, we fit them in. Where we can't, we stop so it was a very tough [exercise] as people went to the North to gather information and so on.

Based on these assessments, the Committee made its recommendations to the government which informed the 2007 reform. The recommendations were both substantive and symbolic. For example, substantively, the proposed structure for education introduced a formal 2-year pre-school to the existing structure. Again, the objective and content of education were revised to ensure that they were domestic-industry relevant. These were to address some of the problems identified by the Education Committee. In addition to this, the government revised the secondary school system from 3 years to 4 years to deal with the problems emanating for the introduction of the CSSPS. In spite of the substantive bricolage, the government also engaged in symbolic bricolage where free and compulsory basic education was maintained. The government also symbolically renamed Junior and Senior Secondary Schools as Junior and Senior High Schools respectively. The name change did not have any significant impact on the delivery of education in the country.

6.5.2 The Processes of Translation

The Committee also engaged in a process Campbell (2004) describes as translation. In the translation process, new ideas are diffused by policy entrepreneurs (i.e. the international agencies and NGOs). The diffusion of ideas by these entrepreneurs or agencies are done through various means including international conferences, research publication, award of scholarships, annual country reports, workshops, seminars, provision of technical advices and consultancies. Once

these ideas are accepted by domestic policymakers, they are combined with already existing institutional principles and practices to address the identified problems. In an interview with Prof. Anamuah-Mensah, he said:

Unfortunately, we did not go outside but we had the information. In fact, some of the things that I put in for discussion came from outside. So I was looking at what was happening outside and how they improved their education and how we could integrate that into our system ... We were looking at what happened in Malaysia, UK, India ... and then not forgetting the international conventions that we appended our signatures to ... So we had a look at all these and once we did that, then we met several times; people writing the reports and then reflecting on comments and contributions that have come from different stakeholders and from our own interaction with people, identifying the salient things. So different reports came from different areas and we discussed those reports; modified some things because we were going to tell a story of the educational reform and therefore, we needed to ensure that the story flows.

The Committee modified some of the ideas translated from outside the country to suit the existing socio-political and institutional context. For example, the Committee did not wholly accept the EKE agenda being pushed by IMF and WB. They modified it to focus on the domestic needs of the country. Again, the Committee pushed back on attempts to introduce any kind of fees at the basic level. While the charging of fees at the basic level made economic sense, it was both socially and politically imprudent. Such an attempt will have infringed on the provisions in the 1992 constitutions as well caused the government electoral votes in the next election.

6.6 Policy Stability and Change: 2007 Education Reform in Ghana

As discussed in chapters 2 and 5, most institutionalist tend to see change as incremental and path dependent. Thus, as Campbell (2004:62) argues, social actions are seen to be embedded in institutions that ultimately constrain actors and the possibility of change. As such, policy change,

just like institutions, is seen to be routinely incremental as existing policies enable, empower, constitute, constrain, and exert path dependent outcomes. In this light, the 2007 education reform is largely argued to be incremental in nature by most Ghanaians. For example, in an interview with Mr. Nyoagbe, a consultant to GES, he said:

Talking about educational reforms, I think this word has been bandied about. Some people talk of Kuffour's reform with the Education Act 778 of 2008 ... but it was a review which tried to identify the shortcomings of the existing system and tried to correct them, that is how you look at Kuffour's Anamuah-Mensah report ... I will not call that a reform not because of my political persuasion but I think that, he tried to look at the weaknesses in the existing reform which was started perhaps 13-15 years earlier.

Similarly, Mr. Osei-Mensah¹²⁰ said:

... In fact, if you look at since 1976 when this one [JSS and SSS] was introduced, the changes which have come are not fundamental, they have not changed the structure too much.

Dr. Ananga¹²¹ equally noted:

Now, what they did was not to close down the whole system that was introduced in 1987, but to add some innovations and amendments to what is been implemented, and one of it was the introduction of the KG.

There is therefore a general acceptance among Ghanaian scholars that the 2007 education reform was continuous; thus, introducing marginal and incremental changes to the existing educational system. However, describing patterns of policy change is not a straightforward exercise. Such an exercise requires the specification of the critical dimensions of the policy in question that may be subject to change as discussed earlier. Accordingly, the 2007 education reform has four

¹²⁰ Mr. Osei-Mensah is a retired educationist and a former secretary of GNAT.

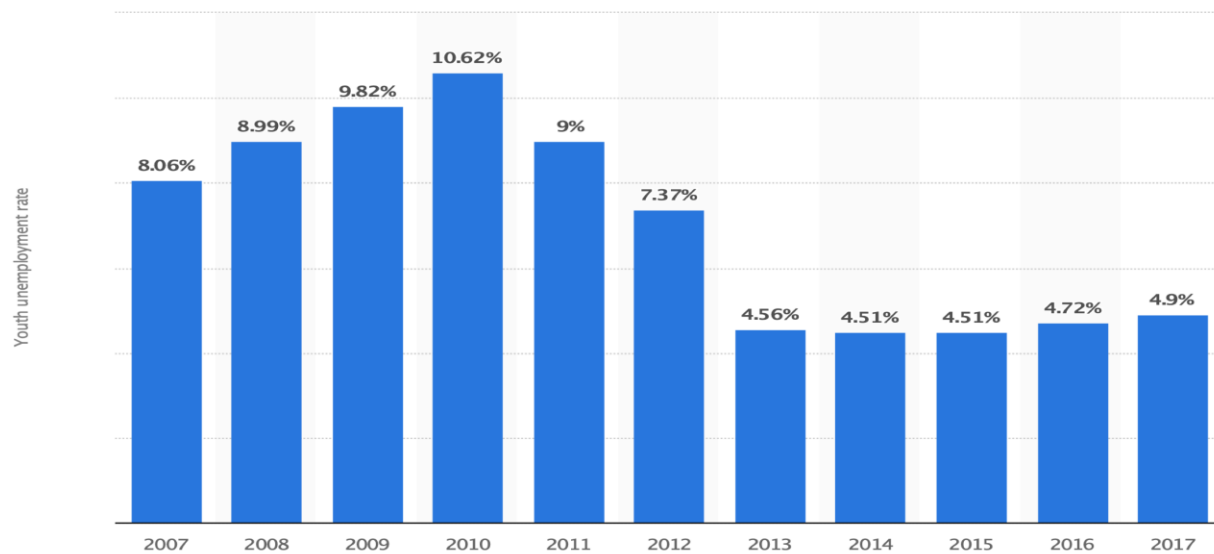
¹²¹ Dr. Ananga is an educationist and a Senior Lecturer at UEW.

dimensions which, when specified, reveals contrasting patterns of change within the same reform. These four dimensions are objective; structure and duration; content and financing.

The first dimension of the 2007 education reform is the objective. As indicated already, the objective of education continued to be influenced by the EKE principle. However, the Anamuah-Mensah Committee modified the objective to focus on the demands of the national economy. Thus, education was to be based on the economic-value principle pushed by IMF and WB in the 1980s but the focus shifted from breeding a globally competitive individual to a focus on breeding Ghanaians to meet the economic needs of the country. This change was necessitated by the growing unemployment figures (see Figure 6.3) in the country which had been attributed to the inability of the educational system to produce students with the necessary skills for the Ghanaian job economy. Mr. Nyoagbe once again noted:

... our educational system had only produced pen pushers, pen pushers to mean people who do the liberal arts, they're not well vexed with critical thinking, problem solving skills and practical skills. I mean technical and vocational skills so to speak, so that cry [unemployable graduates] had been there long ago.

Figure 6. 3: Ghana: Youth unemployment rate from 2007 to 2017



Source: Statista (2019).¹²²

As a result, the Association of Ghana Industries (AGI), Ghana Employers' Association (GEA), Student Unions such as NUGS and GNUPS and GNECC began series of campaigns using both print and electronic media, open forums, seminars and workshops to influence public opinion and get the government to review the objective of the educational system. This was possible because there was similarity in the policy positions of these veto players during the reform process. They came together to fight a common enemy (i.e. unemployment). As Tsebelis's (1995) argues, when there is a similarity of policy positions among veto players, the possibility of a policy change is increased and vice versa. This was the case with the re-focusing of the objective of Ghana's education under 2007 reform.

The second dimension of the 2007 education reform was the structure and duration. The structure and duration of education did not change much from the existing system. The 2007 reform continued with the three levels of education (i.e. basic, secondary and tertiary levels of education) which had existed since the 1950s. However, a major change was made to the basic educational structure instituted in 1987. Unlike the 1987 reform, a 2-year pre-school was added

¹²² <https://www.statista.com/statistics/812039/youth-unemployment-rate-in-ghana/>. Accessed on February 21, 2019.

to the basic school structure. This change was pushed by GNECC to enable women engage in economic activity. In an interview with Mrs. Aklaku of World Education, she said:

The civil society really pushed hard for this change. Women stayed home to take care of the kids while their husbands went to work. That wasn't fair to women. We pushed government to formalize kindergarten education so that nursing mothers can send their children to school while they engaged in economic activity. It is good for the government and country as a whole you know...internationally, this was the practice too. We must learn from best practices as well.

Thus, the duration of basic education was increased from 9 years to 11 years in a 2:6:3 structure¹²³. Again, the government increased the 3-year secondary education to 4-years due to reasons discussed earlier. On the other hand, the duration of tertiary education remained the same as before.

The third dimension is the content of the educational system. The content of education saw marginal but significant changes to reflect the socio-cultural and economic circumstances of the country. This was because any radical reform of the content of education especially at the basic level required retraining of existing teachers to deliver. The government did not have the necessary financial resources to undertake this exercise. Again, the Teacher Unions served notices of boycotts and industrial strike actions should the government introduce radical content reform. They argued that a radical content reform would lead to some of their members losing their jobs. On the back of these two reasons, the Committee retained most of the subjects that were introduced in the 1987 reform. However, the Committee introduced marginal changes to the content at the basic level which included the introduction of creative arts comprising, Art and Craft, Music and Dance, Physical Education. Significantly, at all levels of Ghana's education, the 2007 reform introduced Information and Communications Technology (ICT). This was to keep up with global trends where ICT had become a critical tool for national development.

¹²³ That is 2 years of pre-school, 6 years of primary school and 3 years of JHS.

The final dimension of the 2007 reform is the financing of education. Once again, the 2007 education reform maintained the existing financing arrangement. Free and compulsory universal basic education was maintained while government continued with the cost-sharing principle in both the secondary and tertiary levels of education. Accordingly, about 95% of the education budget is financed by government. In an interview with Mr. Wesley-Otoo¹²⁴ of the MoE, he said:

...Donors, all the assistance put together, is less than 5%. Yes, for education, is less than 5% ... what we account for is less than 5%. Donors and CSOs, all of them put together is less than 5%. So government total budget for education is 95%. All the others put together is 5%.

The provisions of the 1992 constitution, the political consequences of introducing any form of fees at the basic level and the existence of the several veto players made it difficult for any attempt to change this financing arrangement.

From the above discussions, it is obvious that the 2007 education reform introduced some marginal and significant changes to the existing system. As shown, the objective and content witnessed incremental but significant changes. The re-focusing of the objective of Ghana's education and the subsequent introduction of ICT to the content significantly changed the educational system. The 2007 reform also introduced significant changes to the structure and duration of the educational system at the basic level. The inclusion of a 2-year pre-school to the formal school system increased the basic education from 9 years to 11 years. However, as discussed above, the financing of basic education continued to be the sole responsibility of government due to the provisions of the 1992 constitution as well as the political cost associated with the introduction of any kind of fees at that level.

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the factors that led to the 2007 education reform. As argued, the deficiencies of the educational system instituted in 1987, the neo-liberal ideological leanings of

¹²⁴ Mr. Ernest Wesley-Otoo is the Officer in charge of basic education at the MoE.

the NPP government and the global trends informed the decision by the government to introduce the 2007 education reform. The objective was to make it more accessible and improve on the quality of the education being delivered to Ghanaians. The chapter also discussed the key actors that were involved in the reform process and the means by which they influenced the process. Unlike the 1987 reform, the 2007 education reform occurred under a democratic government. As such, there were a plethora of non-state actors participating in the reform process. These non-state actors consisted of both domestic NGOs such as GNECC and TNAs (i.e. international NGOs such as World Vision and Oxfam; and international agencies and development partners such as WB, IMF, UNICEF, USAID, DFID and JICA). These non-state actors influenced the reform process through the sharing of ideas using conferences, research presentations, media briefings, and project and program reports. This shows that in addition to conditionalities, TNAs use ideas to bring about reforms in developing countries. In recent times, what TNAs partner and finance domestic NGOs and the traditional authorities to introduce projects and programs. They then use the successes of these programs and projects as evidence to influence government policy decision. Mrs. Arthur again said:

UNICEF, in partnership with government [GES] has launched a complementary basic education program called the School for Life program. This program aims at transforming all schools in the 10 most deprived districts of Ghana into Child-Friendly Schools. We use government systems and through that we are able to strengthen the system through the implementation of some of the interventions that have been agreed between UNICEF and government. We want the government to see how the processes and the outcomes of these interventions are. And if it's really successful, the government can just take it up or scale it across the country.

However, just like the processes of the 1987 reform, the government did not consider the duality of the Ghanaian political system. Consequently, traditional authorities were not actively engaged in the reform process.

The chapter also discussed the processes of bricolage and translation. As discussed above, the Anamuah-Mensah Committee engaged in the review of past reforms to make recommendations for the 2007 reform. Most of the recommendations were informed by the earlier reforms initiated in the country. In addition, external ideas from the reports of TNAs as well as global conventions on education informed the Committee's recommendations. For example, the recommendation for the inclusion of ICT into the content of the educational system at all levels was informed by global developments. The chapter further discussed the issue of policy stability and change. The study observed that while the 2007 education reform saw policy stability (financing); incremental and path dependent changes (i.e. objective and content), the structure saw path departing and significant changes with the formalization of the 2-year pre-school. As such, the 2007 education reform entails both elements of path dependent and path departing changes.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

Ghana has experienced several reforms in its educational system since the introduction of formal education in 1529 by the Portuguese merchants. These reforms have always aimed at improving the quality of the educational system as well as expanding access to all parts of the country. Upon attaining independence and a republican status in 1957 and 1960, respectively, Ghana under the leadership of Nkrumah and the CPP embarked on a comprehensive reform exercise leading to the enactment of the 1961 Education Act (Act 87). Successive governments after Nkrumah continued to tackle the problems of the educational system through various policies and reform initiatives. Two of such reforms were the 1987 and 2007 reforms undertaken by the PNDC and NPP governments respectively. As discussed earlier, many studies postulate that policy initiatives in SSA are mostly dictated by the imposition of aid conditionalities from wealthy nations masquerading themselves as development partners or international agencies such as IMF and WB. For example, many studies argue that Ghana's decision to undertake the 1987 reform was due to the aid conditionalities imposed on the PNDC government by the IMF and WB under the ERP agreement signed in 1983. Such a view aligns with structural explanations of policy change (Parson (2007)). There are, however, instances where SSA countries have embarked on policy initiatives in contrast to aid conditionalities imposed by external development partners.

To account for the 1987 and 2007 education reforms in Ghana, thus, we need to look beyond the imposition thesis and explore other mechanisms by which these reforms may have come about. Accordingly, this study adopted both institutional and ideational explanatory frameworks to explore these reforms. The study adopted the institutional framework because institutional explanations pay attention to the particular socio-political and historical context of a phenomenon under study. A major weakness of the institutional framework however, is its over reliance on the concept of path-dependency, which depicts change as following an evolutionary path resulting in continuity and incrementalism where marginal changes are made to existing policies. To address this weakness, ideational perspectives were adopted to show that path

departing changes are possible when the dimensions and time frame of a policy are specified (Campbell, 2004). Drawing on this scholarship, the study adopted Campbell's (2004) ideational mechanisms of bricolage and translation, which had not been extensively used to study social policy in SSA. This allowed for the development of an actor-centric institutional framework that teases out the key actors that matter for education reform in Ghana and the exploration of the mechanisms these actors employ to influence the reform process. To address the research objectives above required an in-depth analysis of the reforms in question. I therefore employed the case study approach based on the qualitative methods of inquiry. This involved detailed document reviews and semi-structured face-to-face interviews with key actors within the educational sector. The acquired research data was then analyzed using the NVivo (v. 12) qualitative software.

Based on the analysis, the study shows that the 1987 and 2007 educational reforms were shaped by both domestic and external factors. Domestically, the ideological leanings of both the PNDC and NPP governments influenced their decision to introduce the 1987 and 2007 reforms respectively. Ideologically, the PNDC saw itself as a socialist government, while the NPP sees itself as a liberal government. The PNDC, therefore, introduced a number of anti-elitist, pro-poor, and pro-rural social policies after they overthrew Limann's administration in 1981. This influenced their decision to reform the educational system in line with a populist philosophy. Again, there were agitations from the people regarding the ineffectiveness of the educational system in place. The PNDC, being a military government, seized the moment to address the concerns of the people as a means of legitimizing its rule. These domestic demands coincided with the conditionalities imposed by the IMF and WB under the ERP agreement signed in 1983. The PNDC was required to reduce its education spending through privatization and cost-sharing. While the PNDC yielded to cost-sharing at the secondary and tertiary levels of education, it rejected its implementation at the basic level due to the negative political ramifications of such a decision. At the same time, the IMF and WB begun pushing for the global adoption of EKE in the Global South. Through conferences, country annual reports, seminars, research publications and participation in government forums such as SAPRI and CASA, they succeeded in influencing the PNDC administration to change the main objective of Ghana's education from identity-creating to one which emphasized economic values (i.e. EKE).

Similarly, the decision by the NPP government to embark on the 2007 reform was due to demands from the people for an improved educational system that served the needs of the Ghanaian economy and the desire of the government to imprint its liberal ideological leanings on the educational system in place. In addition to these domestic factors, the developments on the international scene also informed the reform process. The growth and expansion of ICT globally required reforming the education system to respond to these changes. In addition, Goal 2 of MDGs (i.e. attainment of universal primary education by 2015) that Ghana signed onto in 2000 required reforming the educational system to meet the goal.

Based on the above, the study argues that over emphasizing the imposition and conditionality theses blinds us to the potential impact of other mechanisms (i.e. ideas, institutions and politics) that may shape policy change in developing countries such as Ghana. Should developing countries decide against taking loans from development partners or should all countries become developed, are we to suggest that policy changes would not occur? The answer is certainly “no”. Policy changes and initiatives will continue to take place in both developed and developing countries. Therefore, we need to look beyond the imposition and conditionality theses, even though conditionalities are indeed used to facilitate reforms in developing countries. It must be noted that the ability of external actors (development partners) to promulgate their policy ideas in developing countries is also largely due to their financial and human resources.

The study also shows that the political regime in place affected the policy process which led to the 1987 and 2007 education reforms. While the 1987 reform occurred under a military regime, the 2007 reform happened under a democratically elected government. The 1987 education reform was undertaken in a political environment where there was a limit to freedom of expression with virtually a non-existent civil society. As such, dissenting views were not entertained by the PNDC government. It is therefore not surprising that all the six international consultants on the Evans-Anfom Commission failed to participate in the work of the Commission. The policy space during the PNDC military rule was closed and dominated by state actors and a few co-opted non-state actors (Trade and Student Unions) with similar policy positions. This meant that rapid policy change was possible due to the limited number of veto players involved. As noted earlier by Tsebelis’s (1995), when there is a similarity of policy positions among veto players, the possibility of a policy change is increased. In the case of the

1987 education reform, the PNDC government was the only veto player making policy change possible. The government allowed only Trade and Student Unions, which were in support of its populist policies to participate in the reform process. Due to the singular veto status of the PNDC government and the global push for EKE by the Bretton Woods Institutions (IMF and WB), Ghana witnessed rapid policy change in its educational system in 1987. In contrast, the 2007 education reform occurred under a democratically elected NPP government. The policy space was open to the civil society with a number of non-state actors influencing the reform process through the sharing of ideas through conferences, workshops, seminars, research publications, press releases and annual country reports. Due to the multiplicity of veto players in the reform process, dramatic policy change was difficult. The outcome of the 2007 reform was therefore characterized by policy stability and incremental changes compared to the rapid change witnessed in 1987.

Finally, the study shows that the duality of the political system in Ghana is ignored by governments, policymakers, and policy analysts regardless of the political regime in place. Yet several attempts by both colonial and post-colonial governments to eliminate the pre-existing political system (traditional political institutions) in Ghana and other Sub-Saharan countries did not materialize and these institutions continue to rival the formal state apparatus for both sovereignty and legitimacy. As Bofo-Arthur (2003:126) aptly states, “the nature and challenges of the chieftaincy institution over the years are varied and range from colonially crafted mechanisms to break authority to the imperceptible marginalization of chiefs in political life through constitutional provision”. Upon realizing that it could not eliminate traditional authorities in the Gold Coast, the colonial administration successfully incorporated them into the colonial governance architecture through the indirect rule system (Busia, 1951). Majority of the respondents during the interview also noted that since independence in 1957, both civilian and military regimes have recognized the enormous contributions of traditional institutions and their power within the Ghanaian society. For example, all the military regimes in Ghana since 1966 have courted the support of traditional authorities to gain legitimacy. Likewise, democratic governments court the support of these traditional institutions to either maintain power or capture the levers of government after which they are jettisoned. This is evident in the inability of politicians to divorce themselves from traditional authorities in times of elections in most parts of

Africa. In spite of the power and influence of traditional authorities, they are continuously marginalized during policy formulation. Both the 1987 Evans-Anfom Commission and the 2002 Anamuah-Mensah Committee had no representation from the traditional political institutions. This means a critical group of actors within the policy space was sidelined during the reform processes. While one could understand their exclusion in 1987, their exclusion in 2002 in a democratic dispensation with a wider and broader non-state participation is problematic at best, in terms of policy implementation.

7.2 The Processes of Bricolage and Translation in Education Reforms in Ghana

The adoption of an actor-centric institutional framework enabled the research to draw on ideational perspectives in the analysis. As such, the study adopted the mechanisms of bricolage and translation as espoused by Campbell (2004). While Campbell (2004:92) discusses these two ideational mechanisms in relation to institutional change, he nonetheless opines that “policymaking is often a process of institution building and institutional change”. In view of this, the study used these ideational mechanisms to explain the processes of the 1987 and 2007 reforms. Both the 1987 and 2007 education reforms show evidence that both processes of bricolage and translation took place. As discussed earlier, bricolage involves combining existing policy elements to derive solutions to identified problems. Hence, new policies designed are derived from existing policies. This was the case with both the 1987 and 2007 reforms.

During the 1987 reform, the Evans-Anfom Commission reviewed existing policies to guide them in their recommendations. The structure and duration of the educational system instituted during the 1987 reform was already contained in two separate education reports issued in 1971 and 1974. In 1970, the Busia-led administration established the Konuah Education Committee to review the educational system and make appropriate recommendations for overhauling the existing system. One of the recommendations was the introduction of the JSS/SSS concept to replace the middle school and ‘O’ and ‘A’ levels. A similar recommendation was made and piloted by the Dzobo Committee in 1974. The Evans-Anfom Commission carried on with the JSS/SSS concept as had been proposed in 1971 and 1974. They also conducted interviews with some selected teachers, students, and schools in Accra and Tema to ascertain their views. The 1987 reform was therefore largely derived from bricolage processes.

Yet, there was minimal translation processes due to the activities of the WB and IMF. The global push for a paradigm shift in the objective of education in the Global South influenced the Evans-Anfom Commission to adopt the EKE. Thus, the objective of Ghana's education shifted from identity-creation to the EKE principle. The translation of ideas was through the annual country reports prepared by international agencies such as IMF, WB, UNESCO and UNICEF; domestic and international conferences and seminars; and research publications. In addition to this, the increased interaction between the PNDC government and the IMF and WB during the ERP implementation in the 1980s enabled these institutions to share their ideas with the PNDC government through forums such as SAPRI and CASA. Again, Ghana is a member of the United Nations, which has a number of conventions that guide policy decisions in member countries. As such, the Evans-Anfom Commission considered these conventions during its deliberations. These included the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the 1959 Declaration of the Rights of the Child, the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the 1986 African Charter on Human and People's Rights.

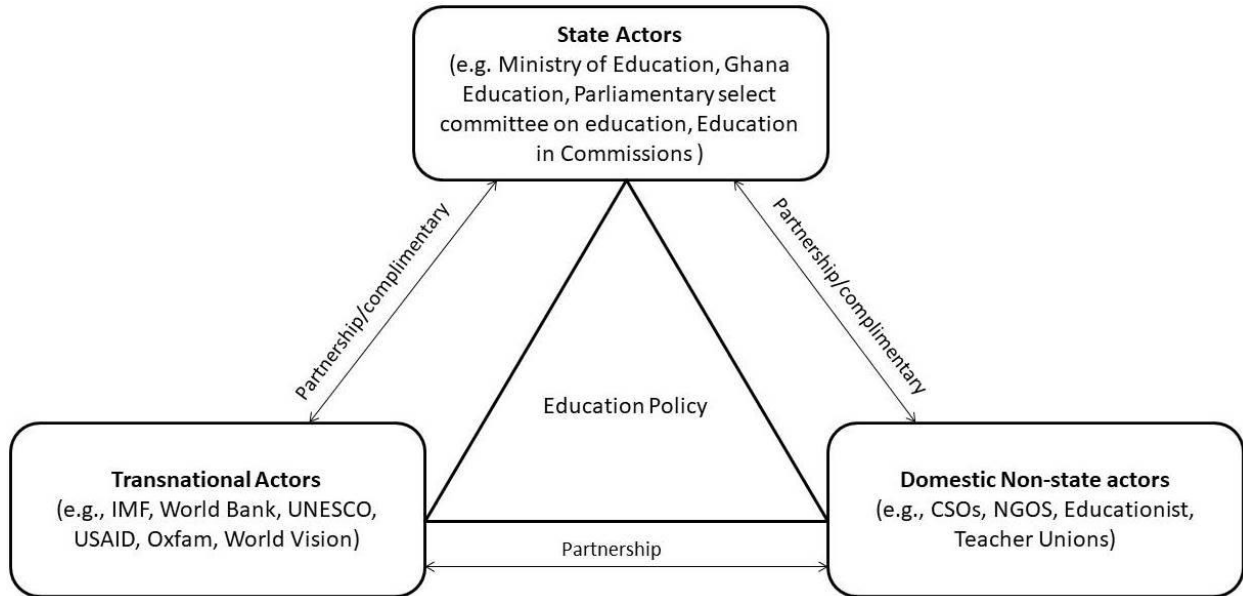
Similarly, the 2002 Anamuah-Mensah Education Committee engaged in both bricolage and translation. The Committee began its work by reviewing reforms undertaken since independence. In addition, the Committee called for the submission of memoranda from the general public, engaged in plenary sessions and listened to oral presentations from individuals and institutions in Ghana. The Committee also embarked on regional visits, retreats and visits to selected institutions and organizations for interactions which enabled the Committee to map-out the problems with the existing system. Due to the extensive bricolage processes adopted by the Committee, the 2007 reform resembled the educational system proposed by the 1971, 1974, and 1987 reforms. The reform exhibited both substantive and symbolic bricolage. For example, substantively, the study of ICT was added to the curriculum at all the three levels of education in Ghana. In addition, the EKE objective adopted under the 1987 reform was modified to focus on producing students to meet the industrial and developmental needs of the country. Symbolically, the government maintained the concepts of JSS and SSS but changed their names to Junior and Senior High Schools respectively. Again, the free and compulsory universal basic education was maintained for political purposes despite the liberal inclination of the NPP government.

However, the Anamuah-Mensah Committee looked beyond Ghana and imported ideas that fitted the socio-cultural, economic and political dynamics of the country through the process of translation. The Committee sourced for ideas from annual country reports of international agencies (e.g. IMF, WB, USAID, UNESCO and UNICEF). They also studied the educational systems in countries such as Malaysia, India and the United Kingdom for lesson drawing and best practices. Again, the Committee was mindful of the various international protocols on education that Ghana had signed. These included the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the 1959 Declaration of the Rights of the Child, the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the 1986 African Charter on Human and People's Rights, the 2000 MDGs and the 2000 Dakar Framework for Action: Education for All. These international frameworks and protocols influenced the work of the Committee. For example, although free and compulsory universal basic education is provided for in Ghana's 1992 Constitution, the decision to maintain FCUBE was equally influenced by Goal 2 of MDGs which required the attainment of universal primary education in 2015 and the 2000 EFA initiative which is being championed by UNESCO.

7.3 Key Actors That Matter for Education Reform in Ghana

The actor-centric institutional framework adopted for the study enabled the study to explore the key actors that matter for reforms in Ghana. This is because ideas do not emerge spontaneously, they are carried by actors. As such, the issue of actors and agency are critical for understanding education reforms in Ghana. In line with this, the study postulated two broad categories of key actors that mattered for education reforms in Ghana. These were the state actors and non-state actors. The non-state actors were further divided into traditional authorities and other non-state actors as shown in Figure 2.2 in Chapter 2 to reflect the duality of the Ghanaian state. However, the responses from interviews for this study shows that this framework was the 'ideal' framework but not what practically existed. In effect, the study shows that the key actors of education reforms in Ghana are the state actors, domestic CSOs and TNAs as shown in figure 7.1 below.

Figure 7. 1: Key Actors Who mattered for the 1987 and 2007 Education Reform



From the figure above, state actors are critical to education reforms because the government is the final authority on all policy initiatives in the country. Several state institutions that deal with education play crucial roles in the decision to reform or otherwise. These institutions come under the MoE, which is responsible for policy direction and initiatives of the government on basic, secondary and tertiary levels of education. There are currently 22 agencies¹²⁵ under the ministry that are responsible for specific policy initiatives. For example, the agency responsible for basic and secondary education is the GES while the National Council for Tertiary Education is responsible for tertiary education. Since the return to multi-party democracy, successive governments have developed manifestoes they sell to win electoral votes. Upon assuming power, they are obliged to implement their manifesto promises or risk losing the next elections. These promises therefore inform the policy decisions of the ruling government. This was the case of the 2007 reform. The NPP government had promised to reform the educational system to address the inherent challenges they perceived. It argued:

Our education system is in crisis. Out of a 100 of our children that starts kindergarten only 71 ends up in primary school, only 65 will go up to junior secondary school, out of that only 35 progress to

¹²⁵ Examples of these agencies are the Ghana Books Development Council (GBDC), National Accreditation Board (NAC), Students Loans Trust Fund (SLTF) and Ghana Library Authority (GLA).

senior secondary school and only 3 will end up in a tertiary institution. Many of our children and youth fall out because they cannot afford to climb the education ladder. Consequently, many of our children and youth are not well prepared for the job market because they lack the requisite quality of education and skills. The current state of our education is simply not acceptable (NPP Manifesto, 2012:19-21).

Starting from such a damning verdict of the existing educational system, they began the reform process when they won the 2000 general elections by inaugurating the Anamuah-Mensah Committee in 2002. The PNDC also painted a similar picture of the existing educational system in 1981 when they overthrew the Limann administration. Like the NPP administration, the PNDC military government also set up the Evans-Anfom Commission to begin the processes leading to the 1987 reform. With the possession of political power; control over both human and financial resources; and the political considerations ruling governments bring to bear on the policy processes, state actors have increasingly become central to explaining social change in Ghana and SSA countries where the vibrancy of the civil society is still questionable.

The next set of actors that are critical to education reforms in Ghana are the domestic CSOs. These include the Ghana National Association of Private Schools (GNAPS); prominent educationists and teachers' associations such as GNAT, NAGRAT and the Conference of Heads of Assisted Secondary Schools (CHASS). Others are the Student Unions such as the National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS), Ghana Union of Professional Students (GUPS) and Teacher Trainees Association of Ghana (TTAG); research think tanks such as the Institute for Education Studies (IFEST), IMANI Ghana, Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA), Institute of Policy and Research Analysis Ghana (IPRAG) and domestic NGOs in education who come under an umbrella body called GNECC. Since the return to democracy in 1992, the policy space has been inundated with many civil society organizations who act as intermediaries between the government and the Ghanaian people. These organizations conduct research and publish their findings to inform public debate on contemporary education issues. One of the means by which they do this is to partner TNAs to implement community projects and programs. They subsequently use the outcomes of these projects and programs as evidence-based research to

lobby government. They also engage in rigorous advocacy campaigns in both the print and electronic media to influence public opinions on relevant educational issues. In addition to these, the findings of their research are shared with the government during the National Education Sector Annual Review (NESAR)¹²⁶. This annual forum brings together government agencies, domestic NGOs, experts and TNAs to discuss and share ideas on how to improve educational outcomes in the country. Prior to NESAR, GNECC organizes the Civil Society Education Sector Annual Review Meeting, which state policy actors and TNAs are participants. At the meeting, GNECC drafts its policy positions which are then presented during the NESAR meeting. GNECC is also a member of the highest decision-making body of MoE (i.e. Ministerial Advisory Board). These institutional connections among governmental policy actors, CSOs and TNAs are instrumental in facilitating the sharing of ideas to influence government's education policy decisions. It must however be noted that while CSOs played active roles in the 2007 education reform, they did not play any active role in the 1987 reform. In 1987, CSOs were virtually non-existent due to the military regime in place at the time. The few institutional organizations such as GNAT and NUGS who were in existence were coopted by the military government. The atmosphere then did not permit any meaningful interaction between them and the government as dissenting views was not entertained.

The final group of actors critical to education reform in Ghana is TNAs. This group of actors engages in the sharing of ideas through international conferences, signing of international conventions and protocols, publication of research findings and issuance of annual country reports. The objective is to diffuse policy ideas on best practices across the globe. For example, during the 1980s, the IMF and WB pushed for the adoption of the EKE principle by SSA countries as opposed to the nationalist and identity-creating principle that guided education in SSA. In Ghana, this was achieved through the provision of technical assistance and consultancies to MoE at the time. Thus, TNAs have now come to the realization that imposition of policy prescriptions in many instances suffer from legitimacy and local ownership, which negatively impact the proposed policy prescription by them. As such, national governments of recipient countries may be unwilling to accept those policies for fear of political backlash. On the other hand, engaging in the sharing of ideas allows national policymakers of recipient countries to own

¹²⁶ Beginning 2018, MoE rebranded NESAR as Education Week.

the policy and commit to its implementation. Again, the process of diffusion of ideas allows recipient countries to modify the proposed policy idea to suit the domestic institutional environment. For example, in 2002, TNAs participated in the NESAR deliberations and made oral presentations. Again, through agencies such as UNESCO and UNICEF, TNAs regularly meet with the MoE to discuss matters related to education. Such meeting affords TNAs the opportunity to influence education policies. In addition to this, TNAs use their financial resources to partner domestic NGOs and Traditional Authorities to initiate pilot projects and programs in local communities in Ghana. For example, in partnership with community-based organizations (CBOs) and faith-based organizations (FBOs) in Ghana, World Education Ghana has introduced the Ghana Local Language Literacy Programme to enhance mother tongue literacy acquisition and improve English as a second language instruction in 120 schools in the Akropong North district in the Eastern Region. Similarly, USAID is partnering CSOs to implement the Improved Reading Performance Project in Primary Schools to improve reading proficiency for at least 2.8 million Ghanaian children upon primary school completion through USAID's Ghana Partnership for Education Project. The successful implementation of these pilot projects is used by these TNAs as evidence to influence governmental policy makers during stakeholder engagements and meetings.

7.4 Policy Stability and Change in Education Reforms in Ghana

As discussed earlier, many institutionalists perceive change to be path dependent and incremental, which is characterized by the making of successive marginal changes to existing policy. This is largely due to the lock-in effect which makes change difficult because policies emanate from the conscious efforts of powerful economic, social, and political actors. Thus, policies serve as distributional instruments which are saddled with power implications (Seto, et al. 2016). However, ideational scholars posit that radical changes could occur especially in times of crisis (Jones & Baumgartner, 2005; Hall, 1993). To ascertain the direction of change, Campbell (2004) was of the view that the dimensions and time frame of the policy should be specified. Accordingly, the study adopted Campbell's approach to analyze the 1987 and 2007 education reforms. The study shows that when the dimensions of these reforms are specified, both reforms exhibit continuity and change in the different dimensions.

For example, during the 1987 reform, the objective of education shifted to EKE because of the global activities of IMF and WB. This was made possible because the economic crisis experienced by the PNDC military government in the 1980s forced them to seek financial support from these Bretton Woods institutions. The IMF and WB took advantage of the economic situation to request the government to reform its educational system by adopting the EKE principle and cutting down on its educational spending in the ERP agreement signed in 1983. With regards to the structure and duration of education, the PNDC introduced radical changes leading to significant reduction in pre-tertiary education as discussed earlier. In addition to the demands of the IMF and WB, these changes also occurred because in a military regime, there are few veto players within the policy space, which enables policy cohesion and consensus building. On the other hand, for fear of political backlash and as a means of obtaining political legitimacy from Ghanaians, the PNDC government maintained the free and compulsory universal basic education started in 1961 notwithstanding the demands from the IMF and WB to introduce privatization and user-fees. These two demands were only introduced at the higher levels of education. Financing of basic education however continued being the responsibility of the state. The content of the educational system witnessed incremental changes as most of the subjects in the existing educational system were retained.

With regards to the 2007 reform, the return to democratic rule in 1993 had led to the blossoming of CSOs. These CSOs had become a key force to reckon with in the policy arena as they conducted researches and shared their findings with the public which in some instances countered government proposed policy initiatives. The increased number of veto players in the educational sector made policy change difficult as they could not easily build consensus. As a result, the 2007 reform witnessed policy stability with incremental changes. For example, the objective of education was modified to re-focus on the Ghanaian socio-economic environment while ICT was introduced at all the three levels of education to reflect global technological advancements. Again, the government continued with the free and compulsory universal education began in 1961. However, there was a significant restructuring of the educational system at the basic level to include a 2-year pre-school. This change was possible because of the national and global campaigns by GNECC and international NGOs such as International Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA) and Global Fund for Women (GFW) for the removal of

all forms of socio-cultural and political barriers to women participation in the economic life of countries worldwide. This campaign ultimately led to policy cohesion and consensus among the veto players in the educational sector. The outcome was the formal inclusion of pre-school to the basic education leading to the increase in basic education from 9 years to 11 years.

The discussion above therefore shows that policy changes are more difficult to enact in democratic regimes due to increased veto points than under military regimes, which usually have one veto player. It is however not always the case that military regimes with fewer veto points necessarily prevent other opposing forces from influencing the policy process as was seen during the 1987 reform. Again, even though democratic regimes have more veto points, the democratic system affords these veto players (especially non-state actors) the opportunity to mobilize and influence the reform process as happened during the 2007 education reform.

7.5 Policy Recommendations

Based on the discussions above, the study makes the following recommendations to assist national policymakers in the process of policymaking in Ghana. First, national policymakers should take active interest and participate fully in conferences, workshops and seminars organized by non-state actors especially TNAs and not just be interested in the per diems and the travel experiences they enjoy, if any. They should be aware that these forums have become integral parts of the policy development processes whereby ideas are shared among participants. In particular, the forums organized by the AU, the UN, and their affiliate agencies end up in the enactment of protocols and conventions that become binding once member countries append their signatures. As such, national policymakers should actively contribute and share their ideas and experiences to shape the policy proposals that emanate from such meetings instead of being passive recipients of policies and ideas transmitted to them at such forums. The increased global cooperation among national leaders to deal with common problems such as diseases, poverty and illiteracy should therefore be seen by national policymakers as an opportunity for sharing policy experiences and learning to address domestic problems.

Second, national policymakers should be aware that different contextual and environment variables affect the success of a policy. The adoption of policy prescriptions from TNAs or lessons drawing from other countries should therefore not be wholesale as the contextual and

environmental variables may not be similar. National policymakers should therefore adapt external policies to suit the domestic socio-cultural and political environment. For example, the attempt by the government to privatize the management of public basic schools through the Ghana Partnership Schools (GPS) Project under the broader framework of the Ghana Accountability for Learning Outcomes Project (GHALOP) funded by WB is not politically feasible because free and compulsory basic education is a constitutional responsibility of the state. It is therefore not surprising that one of the major stakeholders in education, the Teacher Unions including TEWU, CCT-GH, NAGRAT and GNAT have vehemently opposed this project.

Related to the recommendation above, TNAs should understand that national policymakers are guided by both the logics of instrumentality and appropriateness. Thus, national policymakers consider the socio-economic and political consequences of policies imposed on them by these development partners. For example, the PNDC had to introduce the Program of Action to Mitigate the Social Costs of Adjustment (PAMSCAD) in 1988 to deal with the social and economic hardships faced by Ghanaians due to the imposition of policy prescriptions by IMF and WB in the 1983 ERP agreement. In view of this, TNAs should engage national policymakers and share ideas using means such as conferences, workshops and seminars instead of imposing solutions on them in their search for financial assistance. This would also help in legitimizing policy prescriptions and encourage local ownership which are needed for an imposed policy to succeed in the recipient country. In this light, TNAs should be aware of the sovereignty of states and avoid undue domestic interference in the internal affairs of countries by building the capacity of national policymakers to effectively manage proposed policies since they are those with the political power to direct and implement policies.

Again, the politicization of CSOs makes them susceptible to political manipulation by both the ruling government and opposition parties. Hence, their policy prescriptions are viewed with political lenses. CSOs should therefore purge themselves of this tag and provide evidence-based well-researched policy prescriptions which will make it difficult for national policymakers to ignore. In doing so, their umbrella body, GNECC, should introduce guidelines to regulate the financing of their activities since some of their members do the bidding of political parties and international organizations because they are financed by them. The outcome is unnecessary

politicking which affects the cohesiveness needed to exert any meaningful influence on the policy process.

Finally, the duality of the Ghanaian society should not be ignored by government and its agencies. The post-independent Ghanaian state has merely paid lip service to traditional institutions. The state has not been audacious in translating its adoration of these institutions into an enduring solution to the structural problem that confronts them. The 1969, 1979, and 1992 Constitutions of Ghana systematically kept the institution outside the pale of those formal structures of power and governance. The 1992 Constitution only guarantees the existence of traditional institutions, conceding the fact that the basis of their existence lies in customary law, which predates the Constitution. As a result, the Constitution confines these institutions to customary matters. For example, the disqualification of chiefs from engaging in partisan politics is an indirect way of excluding them from the country's governance structure and processes except in strictly customary matters. However, these traditional institutions are highly revered by Ghanaians; not only because of their traditional role of maintaining the culture and traditions of the people, but rather the re-acceptance of their new challenge as "agents of development" in the modern politics of Ghana. They are therefore critical voices that policymakers ignore at their own peril.

7.6 Limitations and Future Research

To shape future research on education reforms and policy change in general in SSA, a number of limitations of the present study must be noted. The first limitation relates to the research site, Ghana, which is one of the 51 countries in SSA. Although the duality of the Ghanaian state is seen in most Sub-Saharan countries, there are key cultural, social, and political differences among them. For example, Ghana is regarded as a democratic country that guarantees the freedoms of its citizens. The same cannot be said of countries like DR Congo and Somalia. Again, while Ghana is a unitary state, Nigeria and South Africa are federal states. There are also differences in the political institutions among SSA countries. For example, while Ghana practices what is termed as neo-presidential system of government with an Executive President, Cape Verde practices a parliamentary system of government with different individuals occupying the positions of Head of State and Head of Government respectively. Again, while

Ghana has a unicameral legislature, countries such as Botswana, Burkina Faso and South Africa have bicameral legislatures. In addition, the religious landscape in Ghana is dominated by Christian churches while that of Niger is dominated by the Islamic faith. Based on these differences, the findings of this study may therefore not be applicable in other SSA countries. Extending the scope of the study to cover other dual states with different socio-cultural and political configurations would clarify the factors, actors and the mechanisms employed to influence education reforms or policy change in SSA.

The second limitation of the study is the qualitative case approach adopted by the study. The adoption of this approach meant the study learnt itself to the problem of selection bias. Accordingly, the study focuses on education reforms in Ghana (i.e. 1987 and 2007). There were other reforms that could have been selected to ascertain the factors, key actors and mechanisms employed to influence education reforms in Ghana. The study could have selected the 1974 reform instead of the 1987 reform because both happened under a military government. Again, the study could have focused on other policy areas such as transportation, health, and poverty. In view of this selection bias, other studies can focus on these areas to expand the discussions on the factors, key actors, and mechanisms of policy influence in Ghana and SSA more generally. Such studies will help challenge the popular notion that policy conditionalities by TNAs drive policy reforms in Ghana and SSA.

Another major area that could enrich policy studies in Ghana and SSA is how the duality of African states affects policymaking and implementation. This is an area that is immensely under studied by policy scholars in Africa and beyond. Since most African states are dual in nature, it will be interesting to see how the formal state apparatus interacts with these traditional institutions. Again, the popularity of these traditional institutions in the development discourse of many African states in recent times will require properly theorizing the institution and the role they play in the development agenda. This is more crucial as many CSOs and TNAs now see them as agents of development and have since begun working with them to bring about development in local communities in Ghana and SSA.

Furthermore, this study uses institutional and ideational perspectives to discuss education reforms in Ghana because these perspectives provide particularistic explanations to social and

political phenomenon. The choice of these perspectives was due to the need for the contextual understanding of the selected cases. However, structural and psychological explanations may offer some important insights into education reforms and policy studies which are generalistic in nature in both Ghana and SSA. As such, these perspectives may be used to address similar research questions to expand knowledge on policy studies in Ghana and SSA. For instance, it will be interesting to know how national policymakers and CSOs are influenced through psychological processes by TNAs since they usually see TNAs as technically superior to them.

Finally, the study suffers from data limitations. For instance, members of the 1984 Evans-Anfom Education Committee whose recommendations led to the 1987 reforms were unavailable for face-to-face interviews. Some had died while others were incapable of assisting due to age. The study therefore relied on published data and interviews to discuss the 1987 reform. A related limitation was the inability to assess the validity of the information provided or claims made by the interviewees. This was, however, addressed in part using official documents. Moreover, in terms of triangulation, the interviews with different people in different institutions served as a means to verify some of the information gathered during the interviews. The use of an open-ended structured interview guide also allowed the researcher to collect most often more than needed information. Yet, the researcher considered only relevant information needed to address the research questions. Subsequent studies may provide additional enrichment to the discussion on policy change by considering, at least, memos and minutes of discussions leading to both the 1987 and 2007 education reforms.

7.7 Concluding Remarks

This chapter provided a summary of the findings of the study which involved explaining the factors that necessitated the 1987 and 2007 education reforms. The chapter also summarized the findings of the study with regards to the key actors that mattered for education reforms in Ghana, their mechanism of influence and whether Ghana's educational system witnessed policy stability or change. The analyses show that both domestic and external factors account for education reforms. However, the domestic factors which are mainly political influence the decision to reform more than the external factors. The study also challenged the notion that Ghana and SSA

embark on policy change mainly because of the conditionalities attached to financial assistance from development partners.

As the analyses show, ideas are used by key actors to influence the policy process in the processes of bricolage and translation. The study identified three broad categories of actors: the state actors, CSOs and TNAs. Despite the duality of the Ghanaian society, traditional institutions are marginalized in the policy space, regardless of the type of regime in place. This important set of actors therefore does not participate in the reform process, which has implications for the successful implementation of policies.

In determining whether policy stability or change occurred in the 1987 and 2007 education reforms, the study argued for the adoption of Campbell's (2004) idea of specifying the dimensions and time frame of the policy in question. When this was done to both the 1987 and 2007 reforms, the study revealed that the different dimensions (i.e. objective; structure and duration; content and financing) had different outcomes. While the objective, structure, duration, and content saw significant changes, the financing of basic education remained stable. Thus, within the same reform agenda, both policy stability and change were observed.

These findings provide a relevant framework for understanding policy change in both Ghana and SSA more generally, where the theory of path dependence appears to appeal to many scholars. They also provide important lessons and strategies to national policymakers in Ghana and SSA not to discount the duality of their societies in pursuing education reforms and policy changes in other social policy areas.

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