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**Effects of Political Transition on the Education System in Ghana: An Analysis of the Fourth Republic**

By

Lovinger Yamoah

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies

through the Faculty of Education

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for

the Degree of Master of Education

at the University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

2023

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Effects of Political Transition on the Education System in Ghana: An Analysis of the Fourth Republic

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December 12<sup>th</sup>, 2023

## **DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY**

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## ABSTRACT

This qualitative case study examines the intricate relationship between political transitions and the educational landscape in Ghana, with a specific focus on the Fourth Republic that commenced in 1992. The objective of this study is to conduct a comprehensive analysis of how changes in government have influenced educational policies and outcomes in the country. By employing a qualitative research methodology, six participants were selected who represent a diverse range of perspectives, including teachers and education researchers. The research investigates the nuanced dynamics of consecutive political transitions, exploring the development of educational agendas and programs under different administrations. By engaging with the experiences and insights of the participants, the study identifies both the strengths and weaknesses inherent in Ghana's educational system during the Fourth Republic. Through this analysis, the study offers insights into the effectiveness of various policies and initiatives, shedding light on areas of success and challenges faced by the educational system. The findings of this research not only contribute to a deeper understanding of the impact of political transitions on Ghana's education but also provide valuable lessons for policymakers. The findings can inform evidence-based decision-making by highlighting effective strategies and areas requiring targeted interventions.

***Keywords:*** *Political change, Education sector, Transition period, Educational impact, Political transformation, Politicization of education*

## **DEDICATION**

This research is dedicated to those whose unwavering support and encouragement have been the bedrock of this scholarly endeavour. To my family, Dad, Mum and two big brothers (Kwasi Obeng and Eric Yamoah) whose love and understanding have been my constant motivation, and to my mentors (Dr. Andrew Allen and Dr. James Oloo), whose guidance and wisdom have shaped my academic journey. This work is a tribute to the resilience of the human spirit, symbolized by the countless individuals whose stories and experiences have enriched this research. May this contribution serve as a small testament to the collective pursuit of knowledge and the enduring power of collaboration.

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I am indebted to the participants of this research, whose willingness to share their experiences and perspectives has enriched the depth and authenticity of the findings. Their contributions have been pivotal in bringing this study to fruition.

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This research is a collective effort, and I am grateful to each individual who has played a role in its realization.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

ADPE - Accelerated Development Plan for Education  
AFRC - Armed Forces Revolutionary Council  
BECE - Basic Education Certificate Examination  
CPP - Convention Peoples Party  
CSSPS - Computerized School Selection and Placement System  
DTS- Double-Track System  
DFID - Department for International Development  
EFA - Education For All  
ESIP - Education Sector Improvement Programme  
ESP - Education Sector Plan  
FDSE - Free Day Secondary Education  
FFBEP - Fee-Free Basic Education Programme  
FSHS - Free Senior High School  
FSU - Free School Uniform  
GER - Gross Enrolment Rate  
GES - Ghana Education Service  
GoG - Government of Ghana  
GPRS - Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy  
GSFP - Ghana School Feeding Programme  
GSS - Ghana Statistical Service  
HCT - Human Capital Theory  
IMF - International Monetary Fund  
ISSER - Institute for Statistical Social and Economic Research  
JSS - Junior Secondary School  
KG - Kindergarten  
KESSP - Kenya Education Sector Support Programme  
MDGs - Millennium Development Goals  
MM - Management Member

MMDAs - Metropolitan Municipal District Assemblies  
MoE - Ministry of Education  
MoF Ministry of Finance  
MOESS - Ministry of Education Science and Sports  
NABCO - Nation Builders' Corps  
NCD - National Commission for Democracy  
NCTE National Council for Tertiary Education  
NCLB - No Child Left Behind  
NDC - National Democratic Congress  
NEPAD - New Partnership for Africa's Development  
NER - Net Enrolment Rate  
NERP - New Educational Reform Programme  
NGO Non-governmental Organization  
NLC - National Liberation Council  
NPP - New Patriotic Party  
NRC - National Redemption Council  
OECD - Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development  
PEAP - Poverty Eradication Action Plan  
PHC - Population and Housing Census  
PIAC - Public Interest and Accountability Committee  
PM - Policy Maker  
PNDC - Provisional National Defense Council  
PNP - People's National Party  
PP - Progress Party  
PRSP - Poverty Reduction Strategy Programme  
PTA - Parent-Teacher Association  
SADC - Southern African Development Community  
SAP - Structural Adjustment Programme  
SDGs - Sustainable Development Goals  
SHS - Senior High School

SM - Staff Member

SMC - Supreme Military Council

SSA - Sub-Saharan Africa

SSS - Senior Secondary School

TCPS - Tri-Council Policy Statement

UDHR - Universal Declaration of Human Right

UGCC - United Gold Coast Convention

UN - United Nations

UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

UPE - Universal Primary Education

USAID - United States Agency for International Development

WAEC West African Examinations Council

WASSCE - West African Senior School Certificate Examination

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **Background of the Study**

Education is the process through which a person develops by the needs and desires of society, he or she is an integral part (Singh, 2008). The primary goal of education is to help individuals reach their full potential so they can contribute to society in ways that match their skills, interests, and needs. Generally speaking, education serves to advance human development in the cognitive, emotional, and psycho-productive. A desirable approach to human behaviour is also a part of the teaching and learning process. As a result, a nation's educational system, whether official or informal, contains the single most important collection of social control instruments for national growth (Kingdom & Maekae, 2013).

According to the United Nations (2017), education is one of the most important drivers of social and economic empowerment, a key to ending the cycle of poverty, and a means of reducing inequality between individuals. Education is therefore regarded as a requirement for any nation's growth and as one of the most crucial investments a nation can make in its citizens (Afful-Broni & Sekyi, 2014). This acknowledgment has encouraged nations all over the world to make investments in education, from pre-kindergarten to post-secondary levels, a cornerstone of public policy. Additionally, many of the rights protected by the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights identify education as a requirement. The United Nations' global agenda items, such as Education for All in 1990, the Millennium Development Goals (2000-2015), and the Sustainable Development Goals (2015-2030), have highlighted the central role of quality and accessible education.



Education has sometimes been referred to as "the socialization of the young into the norms of the society" (Oloo & Kiramba, 2022, p. 332). Thus, decisions on what norms to prioritize and their social, cultural, economic, and political implications are of critical importance. Such decisions are determined, shaped, and implemented by the government of the day, including elected officials and bureaucrats. Since it attained its independence from British colonial rule in 1957, Ghana has been ruled by elected officials and military leaders, each influencing public policy, including those relating to education. Human society has created the institution of education to secure its survival and perpetuation. The education system equips, trains, and orients people for personal growth, development, and involvement in broader society. Consequently, education is a significant and strategic development, primarily creating a useful, read, knowledgeable, and productive population. When these capacities materialize, they take the form of abilities demonstrated by the educated to produce goods and services essential to a nation's development and to be gainful members of society. Since gaining independence in 1957, Ghana has made great progress in reforming its educational system. The current educational landscape in Ghana is the result of significant policy measures introduced by succeeding administrations.

Every nation's well-being depends greatly on education, official or informal, because it is essential to the nation's ability to develop sustainably. However, as Dunn (Walker, 2018) writes, "Education, at its core, is inherently political.... Everything in education—from the textbooks to the curriculum to the policies that govern teachers' work and students' learning—is political and ideologically informed" (para 6). The phenomenon of politicization of education has had an impact on education reforms in Ghana and across Africa.

To enhance Ghana's education sector and improve learning outcomes for the country's population, an in-depth understanding of the nature and justifications for educational reforms, which have been articulated by the country's successive administrations, is necessary. Such an understanding is particularly vital if the objective is to adequately capitalize on past accomplishments and learn from past blunders when endeavoring to bring Ghana's education up to contemporary standards (Pierson, 2000). This is because policy actors are sometimes motivated by their interests (such as a government prioritizing its power and influence) or the need to respond to a specific policy issue (such as class size, funding, whether education is compulsory or free, etc.). Whether a policy meets its intended goal or fails, the impact is often felt across the (education) sector. In constitutional democracies, policy alterations often align with shifts in the government or ruling system, in accordance with partisan theory, which posits that parties act in an ideologically driven manner with notable implications (Hibbs, 1992). Moreover, substantial deviations in public policy are influenced by the party makeup of governing bodies (Schmidt, 1996), which itself is shaped by cyclic election cycles (Przeworski 2011).

### **A Brief Overview of the History of Education in Ghana**

The record of Ghana's educational heritage dates back to 1592 (Atuahene & Owusu-Ansah, 2013). During this era, the educational system was predominantly traditional in nature, emphasizing social values (such as interpersonal relations and obedience) and apprenticeship skills. Within the traditional community, the elderly instructed the younger generation to undertake traditional roles and responsibilities. Children frequently accompanied their parents to the marketplace, farms, and other workplaces, where they received direct instruction. Parents bore the responsibility of ensuring that their offspring acquired essential moral behaviors that

aligned with societal norms and acquired practical skills through observation and experiential learning (Schultz, 1961). Parental and social norms, taboos, and regulations provided the framework for child rearing and socialization (Schultz, 1961). The primary emphasis of education was centred on the development and maintenance of society through domestic, character-building, and practical training. The home was established as the principal and immediate institution accountable for the education of individuals.

The sixteenth century (pre-independent Ghana) ushered in the arrival of a Western style of education, instigated by European merchants who established schools to advance their economic interests. Scholars note that the preeminent form of this educational system, known as Castle Schools, was situated within the forts and castles erected along the coastal towns by these merchants (Winter, 2019). The European traders were eventually replaced by Christian missionaries as the main providers of education based on the Christian faith. In addition, Christian missionaries benefitted from having locally trained personnel to help them with their everyday tasks. The British Administrators took over the management of education in the nineteenth century. Among the key policies then included the founding of the first university in Ghana, the University of Ghana, in 1948 – nine years before the country attained its political independence from British colonial rule (Ampiah & Asabere-Ameyaw, 2015). To modernize the system of preschool, primary, middle (junior secondary), senior secondary, and teacher training to tertiary (universities), Ghana's first prime minister assumed power from the British in 1951. It was here that the children of these merchants and those of select Ghanaian chiefs and notable African traders were instructed (Amenumey, 2008; Ampadu & Mohammed, 2006).

The colonial administration developed a formal educational system for the upper classes of society (Adu-Agyem & Osei-Poku, 2012). Following independence, Ghana's educational

system was patterned after the British educational model. Since then, there have been several reforms aimed at modernizing the educational system to better prepare young Ghanaians for the challenges and opportunities of the 21st century. The 1951-launched Accelerated Development Plan for Education, which sought to increase access to primary education, was one of the early programs. Ghana has implemented several key educational policies since becoming independent in 1957 that are intended to enhance education throughout the nation. With the passage of the Education Act in 1961, all children up to 14 years of age were required to receive free and compulsory education. After that came the Education Reforms of 1987, which restructured the curriculum, increased teacher preparation, and expanded opportunities for postsecondary education with the goal of raising educational standards.

While there have been significant educational reforms in post-independent Ghana, certain challenges have persisted. These include access to education, especially for children from low-income homes. One of the most notable developments brought about by the change to the Fourth Republic was the implementation of the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) policy in 1996 (Asante & Owusu, 2016). The goal of FCUBE was to offer free basic education to all children between the ages of six and fifteen. The FCUBE program had a tremendous impact on access to education in Ghana.

To increase access to quality basic education over ten years (1995-2005), the FCUBE program was launched by Ghana's Ministry of Education in September 1995. Enhancing teaching and learning quality, improving management for efficiency within the educational sector, improving access and participation, and decentralizing the educational management system were the four broad strategic goals that provided the foundation for the FCUBE program (GoG, 2003).

Following Ghana's independence in 1957, its economy experienced growth until the onset of a protracted period of decline in the early 1970s. From 1979 to 1983, the country's total economic output decreased by 14%, with real per capita income falling by 23% (World Bank, 1989). During the 1970s and early 1980s, the index of real monthly earnings in the formal sector plummeted from 315 to 62, leading to widespread poverty. By 1983, approximately 40-50% of the urban population and 63-73% of the rural population lived below the poverty line (World Bank, 1989). These unfavourable economic conditions had a detrimental impact on education quality and outcomes, with a significant number of teachers leaving for neighboring Nigeria. Furthermore, educational infrastructure and facilities deteriorated due to inadequate funding (World Bank, 2004). Primary enrollment declined by about 100,000 in a single year and stagnated until 1986/1987 when it began to rebound.

During the period spanning from 1980/1981 to 1987/1988, the growth in primary school enrolment was an average of 1.59% per year; a rate that was considerably lower than the 3% growth rate recorded for the school-age population. The quality of education in schools experienced a decline, resulting in a sharp decrease in demand for schooling, especially among economically disadvantaged individuals (Glewwe, 1996). In the 1980s, the addition of an extra year of schooling only yielded a return of 4% to 6% (Glewwe, 1996). Ghana's educational system suffered a significant decline in the mid-1980s due to prolonged economic instability (Akyeampong, 2007). In 1982, per capita income was 30% lower than in 1970, and the index of real monthly earnings had dropped from 315 to 62. This period also saw a severe shortage of teachers, textbooks, and instructional materials throughout the country's schools (Akyeampong, 2007). By 1983, the education system was in a state of crisis due to a lack of educational resources, dilapidated school structures, low enrollment levels, high drop-out rates, poor

educational administration and management, drastic reductions in government financing for education, and a lack of data and statistics on which to base planning.

According to data from the World Bank (1989), government spending on education dwindled from 6.4% of GDP in 1976 to a mere 1.5% of a much lower GDP by 1984. As a result, the quality of education provided by schools deteriorated and consequently, the demand for schooling among the impoverished declined steeply (Glewwe & Ilias, 1996). In 1983, the route to economic recovery in Ghana was initiated through the implementation of structural adjustment reforms, which were strongly endorsed by the government of Flt. Lt. Rawlings. Rawlings, who had assumed leadership by pledging a more equitable distribution of economic resources, expeditiously restructured the education system, viewing it as a means to attain this goal. The government reallocated educational resources in favor of basic education to actualize the ambition of providing education as a fundamental right to all children (World Bank, 1989).

## **Education reforms during Ghana's Fourth Republic**

Emergence of the Fourth Republic of Ghana followed a period of military rule and represented a notable shift towards democratic governance within the nation. The foundation of this republic (Ghana) was established upon a new constitution, known as the 1992 constitution, which aimed to facilitate political stability, uphold human rights, and establish a multi-party democracy. Ghana's Fourth Republic was inaugurated in January 1993 with the promulgation of a new constitution that declared the country to be a unitary republic with sovereignty residing in the Ghanaian people. This constitutional structure ensured the separation of powers among the executive, legislative, and judicial branches, thereby fostering a system of checks and balances (Boahen, 1995). Additionally, efforts were made to promote socio-economic development and address key challenges facing the country. The Republic of Ghana's 1992 Constitution Article 25 (1) states that all persons shall have the right to equal educational opportunities and facilities, with a view of achieving the full realization of that right: basic education shall be free, compulsory and available to all. This mandates that the government provide access to free education from basic to senior secondary, technical, and higher education as well as life-long learning. Ghanaians have gone to the polls seven times to elect their representatives since the inauguration of the 1992 constitution.

In 2008, the Education Act 778 was passed by the Ghanaian parliament to help facilitate the provision of compulsory and free access to fundamental education, with District Assemblies (DAs) taking responsibility for the provision of infrastructure and other essential facilities to educate children. Furthermore, the Act ensures that each child is afforded quality basic education and provides for parents who refuse to educate their children to be summoned before social welfare committees of DAs for appropriate measures to be taken (Kadingdi, 2006).

Consequently, the Act advocates for and implores assistance in ensuring that education is made available to "all" without discrimination based on gender, physical ability, ethnicity, geographical location, economic status, or political affiliation. Consequently, any parent who disregards the recommendations of a social welfare committee may be prosecuted in a court of law for an offence (Kwaku Amoah, 2017). All school-age children must continue to receive free basic education, which is still mandated under the 1992 Constitution, as part of national programs to eradicate poverty. This idea, which is linked to reducing poverty and advancing broader national development, is still one of the pillars guiding educational advancement in Ghana.

The 2007 National Education Reform Initiative and Ghana's current educational system are supported by the 2008 Education Act 788 (RoG, 2008). The Education Act 778, which was produced via the National Education Reform (2008), has instituted a three-tiered system for the Ghanaian education system. These tiers include basic education, which encompasses a two-year kindergarten education, a six-year primary education, and a three-year junior high school education. Act 778 has established four years for senior high school education as part of second-cycle education (although this was later reduced back to three years in 2009) (Kwaku Amoah, 2017). Additionally, Act 778 emphasizes technical, vocational, business, and agricultural education, or appropriate apprenticeship training that spans no less than one year. Lastly, tertiary education is available at universities, polytechnics, or colleges of education as established by an Act of Parliament or accredited by the National Accreditation Board. Provisions have been implemented under the Act to facilitate non-formal and life-long education, as the Ministry of Education and District Assemblies (DAs) work to establish open colleges throughout the various districts of the country. These open colleges and other life-long educational institutions are



envisioned to provide opportunities for formal education and skill development, as determined by the Minister of Education under a legislative instrument (Kwaku Amoah, 2017).

### **Education Strategic Plan**

The Education Strategic Plan (ESP), 2018-2030 (Ministry of Education, 2018) for Ghana provides an all-encompassing framework for the transformation of the nation's education system. By emphasizing quality, equity, and innovation, the plan's stated goal is to unlock the potential of Ghana's populace, empower future generations, and contribute towards the sustainable development of the country. With the efficient implementation of the plan and a collective commitment from all stakeholders, Ghana can set the stage for an education system that is inclusive, equitable, and globally competitive, thereby nurturing its human capital and driving socio-economic progress (Ministry of Education, 2018). The ESP 2018-2030 presents a comprehensive 12-year roadmap for education in Ghana. To ensure congruity with the ESP, several four-year implementation plans shall be devised, detailing specific delivery priorities and activities. The ESP is reflective of a consensus among both internal and external stakeholders regarding the imperative of improving learning outcomes and standards across all educational institutions and levels and guaranteeing that no child is disenfranchised. The Education Sector Analysis (ESA) 2018 serves as the evidential foundation of the ESP, furnishing an exhaustive situational analysis of the education sector, comprising demographic, macroeconomic, and socio-political contextual information, as well as a meticulous appraisal of education sub-sectors in Ghana (Matthew, 2018).

The Education Strategic Plan 2018-2030, an intentional realignment towards the aim of meeting the Sustainable Development Goals, supersedes the previous ESP 2010-2020 and sets Ghana on a trajectory to achieve this objective (Oduro, 2012). In addition to establishing the long-term

vision, this plan also outlines the medium-term operationalization through the Education Sector Medium Term Development Plan 2018-2021. These documents are the result of an extensive analysis, consisting of the Equity, System Capacity and Cost and Finance Analysis, specially commissioned for the ESP, as well as a diverse range of evidence and research produced by partners and the Ministry. The Education Sector Analysis 2018 amalgamates this comprehensive evidence base and provides a summary of the challenges that the ESP strategies aim to address (Ministry of Education, 2018). The Science, Technology, and Mathematics Education (STEM) policy was created to improve the teaching and learning of these subjects at all levels of the educational system and to create the critical mass of human resources needed to advance Ghana's technological development and capacity (GoG, 2010).

### **The Concept of Political Transition**

Political transition denotes a consequential alteration or transformation in the political topography of a nation, usually entailing the handover of political authority and administration from one government or regime to another. Such a phenomenon can encompass a spectrum of procedures, democratic elections, non-violent transfers of power, constitutional amendments, or even non-democratic modalities like military interventions or coups d'état (Biddle, 2016). When the autocratic military-based system was replaced with a new one based on the 1992 constitution on January 3, 1993, the political transition in Ghana made a significant advancement. A nation might change from an authoritarian rule to "somewhere else," according to Droz-Vincent (2011). Depending on the circumstances, the transition may result in the establishment of political democracy, the resurgence of an authoritarian regime that prevented subsequent governments from institutionalizing political power, or pervasive brutality that gives rise to authoritarian rule with elements of a revolutionary regime (O'Donnell & Schmitter, 1986).

An authoritarian regime is one that is able to fortify the ties between numerous elite groups that hold power and is characterized by a web of shared objectives, patronage, camaraderie, and the resources necessary to exhaust all other options for their system of government. The senior political class and top security officials have a close relationship. The transition paradigm was said to have come to an end when politics became "normal," according to O'Donnell and Schmitter (1986). This suggests that several guidelines and regulations must be followed to access government positions and decision-making processes. Political transition, in its simplest form, refers to the time between the overthrow of an authoritarian system and a democratically elected government succeeding another democratically elected government and the establishment of a new one, whether it be democratic, authoritarian, revolutionary, or hybrid (Stepan & Linz, 2013).

Throughout its history, Ghana's education policy has undergone a series of transformations, largely driven by the actions of successive governing bodies. With the advent of the Fourth Republic in 1992, the political landscape of the country shifted, bringing with it a plethora of debates and policy adjustments aimed at resolving various issues and obstacles. The objective of this thesis is to scrutinize the impact of Ghana's political climate and the policy modifications enacted by subsequent administrations since 1992 on the nation's educational framework, while also identifying the challenges, difficulties, and prospects for Ghana's education system.

## **Statement of the Problem**

Articles 25 and 38 of the 1992 constitution emphasized the value of education in fostering national development. While the new constitution has brought about benefits in the educational system, it also created new problems that must be solved – as discussed in Chapter 2. Since its inception in 1992, the Fourth Republic in Ghana has undergone various transitions of power through democratic elections. The nation's political landscape is characterized by a multi-party system, where different political factions vie for government control. The Constitution of Ghana ensures the regularity of elections, the independence of the different branches of government, and the supremacy of the law. In 1992, the inaugural elections were conducted under the Fourth Republic, and this led to the National Democratic Congress (NDC) emerging victorious, with Jerry John Rawlings being elected as President. Rawlings served two terms from 1993 to 2001, thus becoming the first President under the Fourth Republic. The NDC held sway until the 2000 elections when the New Patriotic Party (NPP) emerged victorious, and John Agyekum Kufuor was elected President, serving two terms until 2009.

In the 2008 elections, the NDC, helmed by John Atta Mills, regained governance and he served as the President until his unfortunate demise in 2012. Subsequently, John Dramani Mahama, his Vice-President, assumed the mantle of leadership and fulfilled Mills' tenure. In 2012, Mahama emerged victorious in the presidential elections and held the position of President until 2017. The 2016 elections denoted a shift in power as the NPP, spearheaded by Nana Akufo-Addo, triumphed, and Akufo-Addo was inaugurated as the President in January 2017. He remains in power until today. According to the Global Education Monitoring (GEM) Report from UNESCO and the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA), Ghana has made significant strides in providing affordable, high-quality education. Greater than three

quarters of children are finishing primary school now, up from 57% two decades ago (2000 to 2020). The nation has been pursuing ambitious reforms since 2017, including the introduction of free senior high schools for all students and the ground-breaking "one teacher, one laptop" program intended to lessen the load of the COVID-19 pandemic on the educational system (Holden, 2020). Ghana's pedagogy has recently undergone a paradigm shift, placing student-centred, collaborative learning at the centre of the curriculum (UNESCO, 2022). Despite these developments, the UNESCO report identifies persistent, serious issues with educational quality. By the time they finish primary school, the vast majority of children (almost 80%) still lack fundamental literacy and numeracy abilities.

The FSHS (Free Senior High School) policy was introduced by the Government of Ghana in 2017 with the primary aim of eliminating financial barriers, and consequently enhancing access to quality education for secondary school students (Kwaku Amoah, 2017). The policy endeavors to provide free tuition, eliminate fees for libraries, boarding, science laboratories, examinations, utilities, and Parent and Teacher Association (PTA). In addition, the policy aims to provide free meals for boarders, one hot meal for day students, and free textbooks for all SHS (Senior High School) students. During a presentation to the council by the Ghana Education Service (GES), Hon. Matthew Opoku Prempeh, the Minister of Education, revealed that there was a notable percentage of Junior High School (JHS) students, who were unable to enroll in various Senior High Schools due to inadequate infrastructure. In 2013 specifically, the percentage of such students was 25.7%, while in 2014 and 2015, it rose to 29.3% and 27.8%, respectively. In 2016, this percentage was recorded at 26.5%, but in 2017, the implementation of the FSHS policy resulted in a significant reduction in enrollment to 14.7%. The country's Senior High Schools are expected to accommodate the subsequent growth in enrollment (Education

Strategic Plan 2018-2030, page 45), the Ministry of Education (MoE) implemented a double-track school calendar, just one year after the FSHS was implemented. The aims of this initiative were multifold, including the creation of additional space to accommodate the increase in enrolment, the reduction of class sizes, the increase of contact hours, as well as the increase in number of holidays (Education Strategic Plan 2018–2030, p.40-45). Despite higher enrollment rates thanks to the FCUBE initiative, many children still lacked access to education because of poverty, geographic barriers, and cultural perceptions about education (Akyeampong, 2010). The standard of instruction is also an issue, with many schools lacking even the most basic amenities and supplies and inadequate support and training for teachers. Furthermore, there is a disconnect between the skills taught in schools and those needed for the nation's development, indicating that Ghana's education system is not in line with the nation's needs (Boahen, 2011).

The goal of this study is to investigate how Ghana's political change and policy changes implemented by successive governments since 1992 to date have affected the country's educational system and to identify the difficulties, challenges, and opportunities for Ghana's education.

## **Purpose of Study**

This study, "The Effect of Political Transition on the Education System in Ghana: An Analysis of the Fourth Republic," aims to investigate how political changes in Ghana have affected the country's educational system during the Fourth Republic. Ghana's Fourth Republic was inaugurated in January 1992 with the promulgation of a new constitution that declared the country to be a unitary republic with sovereignty residing in the Ghanaian people. Since then, Ghanaians have gone to the polls seven times to elect their representatives. The study attempts to shed light on the positive and negative aspects of Ghana's educational system as well as how political changes have shaped it. The study's findings will add to the body of knowledge and guide the development of new policies aimed at enhancing educational outcomes in Ghana. As asserted by Ball (1998), education is intrinsically political and subject to the sway of more overarching societal, economic, and political dynamics. Hence, comprehending the repercussions of political alterations on Ghana's educational system is imperative for policymakers, educators, and researchers who aspire to elevate educational results in the nation. The findings will also have personal, scholarly, and professional importance to me as I reflect on the changes that continue to take place in my native country of Ghana.

## **Research Questions**

This study is guided by the following research questions:

1. To what extent have the changes in governments during the Fourth Republic (1992-Present) affected the accessibility of Ghana's education system?
2. What are the main challenges and opportunities that have arisen as a result of the policy changes implemented by successive governments during the Fourth Republic, and how have they influenced Ghana's education system?

3. Which specific education policies have been retained or updated by successive governments in Ghana during the Fourth Republic, and what are the underlying rationales and justifications provided by the government for maintaining or revising these policies?
4. What are the significant impacts, both positive and negative, of educational policies implemented by successive governments during the Fourth Republic on Ghana's education system?

### **Significance of the Study**

One cannot overstate the importance of researching how Ghana's education system has changed because of political transitions (change of governments) within the country. Since the Fourth Republic of Ghana's founding in 1992, there have been five different political transitions, each of which has resulted in many considerable alterations to the education system. The investigation into how Ghana's educational system has been affected by the change of government is important for a number of reasons. Political changes can have a substantial effect on the educational system because shifting governments frequently result in shifting agendas and programs. Researchers can learn more about how political transitions might/can impact educational policy and reform by looking at the educational system in Ghana under the Fourth Republic.

Identification of how policies of successive governments have impacted educational reform can be aided by an analysis of Ghana's education system. This can be done by recognizing programs or policies that have been effective in raising educational standards or by identifying areas where the system is still having trouble meeting the requirements of pupils. Understanding how political transitions affect education and identifying the strengths and weaknesses of the Ghanaian educational system can help policymakers make better-informed



choices concerning the country's future educational initiatives. This research may advance knowledge of how political changes impact educational systems across other African countries. By examining the case of Ghana, scholars can make parallels to other nations and find recurring trends or elements that support smooth educational transitions. This study may also offer insightful information on past successful policies, current successful policies, and areas that require additional study or improvement.

    Policymakers can create policies that address difficulties and take advantage of opportunities by understanding the problems and opportunities that result from this research. For example, legislators might create regulations that enhance teacher preparation programs and offer financial incentives to lower absenteeism among teachers. Aside from that, politicians might boost educational spending and create laws that encourage community involvement in school administration, based on the outcomes of this work.

## **Locating Myself**

It is important to recognize your positionality and the potential effects it may have on the research process (Creswell, 2018). I will show openness and self-awareness about my own viewpoints and biases by situating myself within the research.

This study's focus is on Ghana's education system under the Fourth Republic, but I, the researcher, am currently living in Canada as a foreign student enrolled in a Master of Education program at the University of Windsor, Ontario. My comprehension and interpretation of the data collected may be influenced by my cultural background, academic training, and personal experiences as a researcher in Canada. As a Ghanaian, I have experienced and been affected by the policies of numerous post-1992 regimes. In my research of the effects of political change on educational policy, I will draw on my experience as a leader and voter who backed certain parties that either won or lost elections. Recognizing my positionality and potential biases, I will actively participate in critical reflexivity throughout the study process to address these potential limitations.

## **Organization of the Study**

There will be five chapters in the study. The first chapter aims to examine, among other things, the significance of the study, the problem statement, the research objectives, and the research questions. A review of related literature is included in Chapter Two and is divided into the following themes: Historical context of political transitions in Ghana, Education policies and reforms, educational infrastructure and resources, Curriculum development and pedagogy, Access to education, educational outcomes and achievement, Teacher recruitment, training, and retention and Comparative analysis. In Chapter Three, the research methodology—which

includes the research approach, research design, study area, and targeted research population—is covered. Also covered are the methods and tools used for data collection, as well as the study's ethical issues. The analysis of the data gathered from the field will be presented in Chapter Four, and the summary, conclusions, and recommendations of the study will be covered in Chapter Five.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

This literature review will concentrate on the ideas of the historical context of political transitions in Ghana's educational system, the structure of Ghana's educational system, and reforms to teacher education in Ghana. The chapter includes a brief discussion of the study's theoretical framework, namely, the theory of political economy analysis (PEA). The chapter concludes with a critique of current literature and the gaps that the research is meant to address.

#### **Political Transitions and Ghana's Education System: A Historical Overview**

Ghana's early interactions with European merchants and missionaries had a significant impact on the development of formal education in that nation (Schultz, 1961). In parallel with a progressive expansion of formal colonial administration outside of the trading forts and castles, education moved from the coast to the inland regions using these forts and castles as a base (Schultz, 1961). Such expansion of formal educational opportunities continued in postcolonial Ghana under both democratic and military regimes. These contextual variations within the governmental systems (democratic versus military) have influenced the country's educational policy changes and outcomes.

Educational reform has taken place throughout the governmental spectrum of both military regimes (1966 – 1992) and democratically elected civilian governments (Fourth Republic, 1992 – to date) in Ghana. In the case of democratic governments, reforms have been subject to formal legislative procedures that require parliamentary approval. On the other hand, reforms under military regimes have frequently been initiated through decrees at the discretion of autocratic leaders (Hopkin, 2001). In essence, democratic governments are established by the

people either directly or through representation, and they adhere to national constitutions and uphold the rule of law. In contrast, military governments are typically governed by military forces, whether legally or not, within the laws of the jurisdiction in question, and they govern primarily through decrees. Therefore, changes to the education system must be considered within these contexts. As multiparty democracy is presently the norm in Ghana, the role of political parties is very significant in the policymaking process. However, the same cannot be said of military regimes where no legislatures exist, and national constitutions are suppressed temporarily (Okujagu, 2013).

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of Ghana, introduced an educational plan, namely the Accelerated Development Plan (ADP), in 1951, which had a significant impact on education. The plan's most notable feature was the Universal Primary Education (UPE) concept, which aimed to expand access to primary and middle school education (Osei et. al., 2009). The plan also proposed a comprehensive framework for general education, consisting of six years of primary education, four years of middle school, five years of secondary education, and two years of sixth-form education, to be introduced gradually. By 1960, secondary education in Ghana had been firmly established based on a British model of seven years, comprising five years of 'O' level and two years of sixth-form studies, leading to an 'A' level certificate (Little, 2010; McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, 1975).

Quist (1999) identified three main traditions of secondary education that prevailed during this period (1960). The first was the 'Mfantsipim tradition,' which was predominantly single-sex secondary schools that were church-established, blending Western and Ghanaian cultural elements. The second was the 'Achimota tradition,' which was co-educational, state-funded, and sought to blend a British elite school model with an American type intended for the training of

African Americans in manual work following the American Civil War. During the establishment of Achimota School (1927), Ghana, which was then known as the Gold Coast, was under the British colonial Rule. The educational terrain in the country was heavily influenced by the British education system, which was perceived by Ghanaians as providing a sturdy foundation for academic and professional success.

The pioneers and instructors at Achimota School were influenced by the African American educational tradition that emerged in the United States after the Civil War (Quist, 1999). After the abolition of slavery in America, endeavors were made to provide educational opportunities for the newly freed population. Institutions such as historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) emphasized vocational training and skill development alongside academic education. The objective of this approach was to endow African Americans with pragmatic expertise, enabling them to enhance their economic opportunities. The Achimota School's originators acknowledged the significance of practical skills and vocational training for Ghana's development. They endeavored to amalgamate the British elite education paradigm with the American approach to satisfy the requisites of Ghanaian society. By integrating vocational training, the Achimota School aimed to endow students with expertise in fields such as agriculture, manual trades, and industrial work, consistent with the developmental priorities of the era (Quist, 1999). It emphasized African arts, language, customs, and a stronger technical and agricultural orientation. The Ghana Education Trust (GET) established the third model of secondary education, the 'national school,' after independence (Quist, 1999; Williams, 1964). Before the establishment of the national school, Ghana had two primary models of secondary education. The first was the traditional elite model, exemplified by institutions such as Achimota School, that prioritized the provision of education to the country's elite. The second model was

the middle school, which sought to mitigate the gap between primary and secondary education. The national school model introduced a novel approach that aimed to deliver high-calibre education to a wider cross-section of the populace (Aheto-Tsegah, 2011).

The re-establishment of multi-party democracy in 1992 marked the beginning of Ghana's Fourth Republic, a period during which eight consecutive presidential and parliamentary elections (1992, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012, 2016, 2020) have been held, making it the longest stretch of democratically elected civilian rule in the country's history. Despite Ghana's status as a multiparty democracy, many have characterized its system of government as neo-presidential (Crawford, 2004; Ayeni, 1993), and only two political parties have been voted in to govern during the Fourth Republic. Table 1 and Table 2 summarize key political transitions in Ghana.

Table 1: Political transition under military rule

<b>Transition under military rule</b>	<b>Year</b>
Dr. Kwame Nkrumah (civil rule)	1957 - 1966
Major-General Joseph Arthur Ankrah	1966 - 1969
Brigadier General Akwasi Amankwa Afrifa	1969 - 1970
Edward Akufo-Addo	1970 - 1972
Colonel Ignatius Kutu Acheampong	1972 - 1978
Lieutenant-General Frederick Fred William Kwasi Akuffo	1978 - 1979
Hilla Limann	1979 - 1981

Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings	1981 - 1992
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Historical transitions under the military rule (Table 1) led to the establishment of Ghana's First Republic (1957 - 1966), Second Republic (1966 - 1979), and the Third Republic (1979 - 1992).

Table 2: Political transitions during the Fourth Republic

<b>Transition under civil rule (Fourth Republic)</b>	<b>Political parties</b>	<b>Year in office</b>
Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings	National Democratic Congress (NDC)	1992 - 2001
John Agyekum Kufuor	New Patriotic Party (NPP)	2001 - 2009
John Evans Atta Mills	National Democratic Congress (NDC)	2009 - 2012
John Dramani Mahama	National Democratic Congress (NDC)	2012 - 2016
Nana Akuffo-Addo	New Patriotic Party (NPP)	2017 - present

**Note:** From 1957 to 1966 there was only one civil rule which was under President Kwame Nkrumah. Between the years 1979 and 1981, Ghana underwent significant political transformations and transitions. The Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) Coup, which occurred on June 4, 1979, was successfully executed by Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings and a group of junior military officers against the government of General Fred Akuffo. Following the AFRC's takeover of the country, a purge of corrupt officials was initiated to improve Ghana's governance. In September 1979, Rawlings and the AFRC relinquished power to a civilian government led by Hilla Limann. However, due to mounting economic challenges and perceived



corruption, Rawlings staged another coup on December 31, 1981, establishing the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) and assuming control as the head of state (Osei et. al., 2009).

The Education Act of 1961 (Act 87), under the leadership of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, represented the first comprehensive and principal legislation regarding the right to education in Ghana, thus signifying a significant reform to the education system inherited from the colonial government. The Education Act of 1961 established the policy of free and compulsory primary and basic education for all school-age children. The Education Act also made provision for the establishment of private schools to supplement the government's efforts, in order to dispose of enough schools to cater to the ever-growing demand for education, especially at the basic level (UNESCO-IBE, (2006). As reported by McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh (1975), an act of parliament which generated half a million primary school places, resulted in a substantial pool of graduates for secondary school.

The Anfom Reforms of 1987 were implemented after the takeover of another military government, known as the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC). This marked the second major endeavor to reform Ghana's education system following its independence. By 1983, the quality of Ghana's education system had significantly declined. Enrolment rates had reached a plateau and government expenditure on education as a proportion of GDP had plummeted from 6.4% in 1976 to a mere 1.7% in 1983 (Kadingdi, 2004, p. 6). Under the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) rule, the government's revenue as a percentage of GDP had dropped from 20% in 1987 to less than 5% (World Bank, 2005), thereby rendering it nearly impossible for the state to fulfill its social services obligations (Fosu & Aryeetey, 2008). Nearly half of the primary and middle school teachers in the country were untrained, learning materials were scarce, a majority of primary school graduates lacked basic literacy skills, and the

primary school dropout rate had soared to an unprecedented 60% (USAID, 2000). The objective of the reforms, therefore, was to ameliorate these structural malfunctions, democratize education for social transformation, and achieve a diversified curriculum (Apusigah, 2003).

The 1987 reforms, which are largely regarded as a modified version of the 1975 (unimplemented) reforms, had a profound impact on the educational sector, spanning from primary to tertiary levels. According to the World Bank (1989), the reforms affected four crucial areas, namely, education structure, curriculum, progression pathways for basic education graduates, and education financing. With the implementation of the new structure, the length of pre-university schooling was reduced from 17 years to 12 years. This structure replaced the former 6-3-2-2-3 format of primary-junior, secondary-senior, secondary lower-senior, secondary upper-sixth form school, with a new format of primary-junior, secondary-senior, secondary of 6-3-3. The revised 3-3 structure of secondary education was consistent with the systems in the United States, Japan, and Nigeria, deviating from the colonial British model of 5-2.

As a result, secondary education became accessible to all primary school graduates for the first time in the educational and political history of Ghana (Quist, 1999). This was the most radical change to the Ghanaian education system post-independence. The senior secondary school curriculum was designed to be above the ‘O’ level standard that was in place in the previous system. Still, it preserved some crucial elements of the old system, including course designations, examination preparation and management, and certification. Junior secondary education emphasized courses such as cultural studies, environmental studies, Ghanaian languages, life skills, and agricultural science, with a strong emphasis on Ghanaian contexts. Although the curriculum was highly vocational, funding for facilities, infrastructure, and equipment was limited (GoG, 1999, 2002).

After gaining independence in 1957, Ghana's history has been marked by many military coups and severe violations of human rights (Gyimah-Boadi, 2004). Except for the First Republic under Nkrumah (1960–1966), the civilian rule during the Second (1969–1972) and Third (1979–1981) Republics was brief, with regimes only able to last for up to three years before being deposed in a coup d'état. According to the CIA World Fact Book Ghana (2022), the country's main worry as it prepared to transition to constitutional governance was how to secure a largely peaceful and orderly democratic transition. The opposition, the activists who were being closely watched by the national security agencies, and the ruling PNDC, which was under pressure to offer a solid, clear timetable and plan for the establishment of a constitutional government, all shared these concerns and feelings (CIA World Fact Book Ghana, 2022).

The main preoccupation of the nation as it prepared to transition to constitutional rule, according to the CIA World Fact Book Ghana (2022), was how to secure a reasonably seamless and peaceful democratic transition. The fiscal situation of the country bordered on bankruptcy, the economy went into freefall, there was a severe shortage of foreign currency, the public infrastructure was deteriorating, there was a dearth of consumable goods and spare parts, and large numbers of skilled workers left the country in search of better opportunities abroad in important industries like education and health (Agyeman-Duah, 2008, p.23).

A new structure for examination was introduced to Ghana, resulting in the creation of the Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE) in 1990 and the Senior Secondary School Certificate Examination (SSSCE) in 1993. The former is taken at the culmination of three years of junior secondary school, while the latter is taken after the three-year course (Quist, 1999). The primary objective of this new system was to cultivate in students a positive attitude toward hard work and national development. This attitude was intended to directly address the unsatisfactory

conditions that prevailed in the Ghanaian economy immediately preceding the implementation of the reforms (Quist, 1999).

When the centre-right New Patriotic Party (NPP) was elected to office in 2001, after nearly thirty years in opposition, it marked a reintroduction of the educational reform policies that its progenitor, the Progress Party (PP) government, had planned but failed to implement due to the military coup of 1972 (Boahen, 1995). During periods of military rule, reform efforts were a response to popular demands and an attempt by the military to maintain legitimacy (Thomas, 1993). However, educational reforms under democratic governments are influenced by partisan pressures from political parties in government. Therefore, following the return to democracy in 1992 and the subsequent election in 2000 of the NPP, the government launched a policy initiative to reform the education system. The NPP had already outlined its intention to reform the education system in its 2000 manifesto, even before winning the general elections (NPP Manifesto, 2000). In 2001, a committee headed by Jophus Anamuah Mensah was commissioned by President Kuffour to review the entire education system and the reforms implemented thus far in the country, and to provide recommendations for improvement. The committee submitted its report to the government in December 2002 (Gyimah-Boadi, 2001).

However, the ascension of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) to power in 2009, a political party with social democratic principles, resulted in a brief trial of four years in the three-year senior high school (SHS) system (Anaman, 2016). In 2007, based on the recommendation of the Anamuah-Mensah Committee report, the 2007 educational reforms were targeted by the NDC during their campaign for the 2008 elections, and they promised to reverse certain policy measures such as the structure of the school system. Upon winning the general elections, the

party assumed governance and promptly began implementing measures to fulfill their manifesto pledges (Quashiga, 2010).

The committee was under the leadership of the esteemed Professor Jophus Anamuah-Mensah. On the 13th of December in the year 2002, the committee formally presented its report to the President. Within the report, a philosophy was proposed to guide the educational system of Ghana, in which the focus was on creating individuals who are well-balanced in terms of their intellectual, spiritual, emotional, and physical aspects, with the necessary knowledge, skills, values, and aptitudes for self-actualization. A second focus was on the socio-economic and political transformation of the nation (Anamuah-Mensah, Effah, & Sarkodie, 2002). The recommendations put forward by the committee did not appear to differ significantly from those that were previously presented in the 1987 Evans-Anfom report (Education Commission, 1986). The existing structure of basic education was maintained, with the inclusion of a 2-year preschool, while the recommended 3-year secondary education was extended to four years by the government. These two changes ultimately led to an increase in pre-tertiary education from 12 to 15 years.

Despite the government's (President Kuffour's) acknowledgment of the recommendations put forth in the report, the actualization of said recommendations was not initiated until 2007, a delay of five years after the report's submission. In anticipation of the 2007 reform's execution, the NPP administration implemented two programs aimed at tackling some of the challenges highlighted by the implementation of the FCUBE policy that was introduced in 1995. These programs were also indicative of the NPP administration's commitment towards achieving United Nations MDG 2, which seeks to ensure universal primary education by 2015. In 2004, the government initiated the "capitation grant" to eliminate financial obstacles in basic education.

The purpose of this grant was to eradicate additional expenses and surcharges (such as examination, facilities management, security charges, games, and sports) that were traditionally referred to as "school fees" in public schools. Nevertheless, several studies have demonstrated that this program did not significantly enhance the quality of education or the enrollment rate (see Osei-Fosu, 2011; Osei et al., 2009). This is attributed to the fact that numerous public schools continued to impose levies (primarily in the form of PTA dues) as a means of funding school projects and extra classes.

In 2009, an educational forum was organized by the government which saw the majority of stakeholders favoring a reversal of the SHS duration from four years back to the original three years (Little, 2010). Consequently, in 2010, the SHS duration was reverted to three years, thus making it the shortest-lived experiment, with only two academic years of existence at the secondary level. Although there have been debates about the quality of performance of the two batches of SHS students who participated in the four-year experiment, it remains that this novel system was not allowed to run its full course, thereby hindering the country from better comprehending and learning from the potential changes it could have brought about (Kadingdi, 2011).

### **Education Policy under the Fourth Republic (1992-present)**

In response to persistent domestic demonstrations and escalating international pressure, the PNDC administration in 1990 intensified efforts to restore democratic governance in the country. The establishment of the National Commission for Democracy (NCD) in 1982 enabled the organization of regional seminars, culminating in a report issued on March 25th, 1991, which called for the adoption of a multi-party democratic system for the nation (Republic of Ghana, 1991; Ayee, 1996; Gyimah-Boadi, 1991). Subsequently, a Committee of Experts, led by Dr. S. K.

B. Asante, was established to develop proposals for a draft constitution in accordance with the recommendations outlined in the report. In July of 1991, a Consultative Assembly was established to draft a constitution that would facilitate the return to democratic governance. The Interim National Electoral Commission (INEC) was responsible for organizing a referendum on the draft constitution in April of 1992, and the majority of Ghanaian citizens voted in favour of the draft constitution (Ayee, 1996; Gyimah-Boadi, 1991). Consequently, on May 18th, 1992, the ban on political party activities was lifted.

In the lead-up to the scheduled 1992 presidential and parliamentary elections on November 3rd and December 8th respectively, a multitude of political parties arose (Oquaye, 1995; Jeffries & Thomas, 1993). The NDC, headed by Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings was formed by members of the PNDC, while the NPP, led by Prof. Albert Adu Boahen, emerged as the most significant opposition movement. Ultimately, the NDC secured a victory in the presidential race with 58.3% of the valid votes cast, while the NPP obtained 30.4% (Ayee, 1996; Boahen, 1995; Jeffries & Thomas, 1993). President-elect Jerry John Rawlings assumed the mantle of leadership as the President of the Republic of Ghana on 7<sup>th</sup> January 1993. President Rawlings, elected to maintain continuity in the socio-economic policies that were initiated under the previous PNDC regime, with the able guidance and support of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB). As such, the administration of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) remained steadfast in the implementation of the National Education Reform Program (NERP) (Ministry of Education, 1994). Furthermore, the 1992 constitution of Ghana made explicit provisions about education, which served as a guiding principle for both the NDC and subsequent governments under the fourth republic. This is exemplified in Article 38 of the Constitution, which 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 following the coming into force of this Constitution, draw up a program for implementation within 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 program, and free vocational training, rehabilitation and resettlement of disabled persons; and

c) life-long education (Republic of Ghana, 1992).

Nevertheless, section 38 subsection (2) underscores the duty of the state to furnish free and mandatory elementary education to all citizens of Ghana within a decade. This action was taken in light of the worldwide categorization of fundamental education as a fundamental right concern that necessitated governmental intervention (Little, 2010; Lake & Pendlebury, 2009; Quashiga, 2001). The provision was not fulfilled until the year 1995 when the government introduced the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) policy. The aim of the government under the FCUBE policy was to make primary education up to Junior Secondary School (JSS) 3 free and mandatory for all children of school age in the country, by the year 2005 (Kadingdi, 2006).



Despite the constitutional provisions and efforts made by the NDC governments, the economy witnessed a continuous decline (Cobbe, 1991). This, in turn, resulted in the failure of development partners to coordinate their funding support, ultimately having dire consequences on the FCUBE policy, as stated by the World Bank in 2004. As a result of this, the government was unable to meet the financial needs of basic schools, especially with the increase in enrollment. Consequently, this led to inadequate school buildings, insufficient teaching and learning materials, and a shortage of qualified teachers (see for example, Kadingdi, 2006; World Bank, 2004). The provision of necessary resources by the government was inadequate and hurt the standard of education (White, 2004; Donge et al., 2003; Cobbe, 1991). In response to this issue, certain educational institutions resorted to collecting unapproved fees, which were typically in the form of Parent-Teacher Association (PTA) dues or Development levies (GNECC, 2005; Oduro, 2000; Chao & Alper, 1998). Consequently, while FCUBE was designed to eliminate financial obstacles to basic education, the lack of essential resources by the government and the subsequent introduction of unapproved fees by schools resulted in the re-emergence of this financial barrier. The government was aware of the unauthorized fees charged by these institutions, but was powerless to prevent them for two reasons.

Firstly, it is notable that the government was unable to furnish the necessary financial resources to meet the schools' requirements. Secondly, the government utilized this opportunity to gauge the disposition of Ghanaians towards cost-sharing in relation to basic education. Consequently, the government lost the political and moral right to enforce the compulsory aspect of the FCUBE policy. This development adversely affected enrolment figures, particularly in rural areas, where indigent parents could not afford unapproved levies (GNECC, 2005; Oduro, 2000; Chao & Alper, 1998). Furthermore, in addition to these challenges, the current pre-tertiary

education system (comprising a 6-year primary school, a 3-year Junior Secondary School, and a 3-year Senior Secondary School) excluded preschool education.

These difficulties presented a political matter regarding the provision of pre-tertiary education during the 2000 general elections, prompting the NPP to pledge a review of the existing educational system and to address the identified challenges in the event of their election victory. After securing the presidential seat in the 2000 elections, John Agyekum Kuffour, the president-elect, commenced his term on the 7th of January 2001. In accordance with the campaign promise, the President established an education committee comprising thirty members on the 17th of January 2002 to conduct a comprehensive review of Ghana's educational system and to facilitate its adaptation to the current challenges (GNECC, 2005; Oduro, 2000; Chao & Alper, 1998).

The implementation of the Ghana School Feeding Program (GSFP) in 2005 was the second program introduced by the government. This policy was developed in the context of the Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Program (CAADP) Pillar III<sup>107</sup> and was a response to the first and second MDGs, which aimed to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger and achieve universal primary education (Bentum, 2005). The GSFP was intended to provide disadvantaged school children with nutritionally adequate, locally produced food, thereby contributing to poverty reduction through improved household incomes and effective internal economic development (Republic of Ghana, 2015). The program was designed to be well-organized and decentralized, with the goal of serving one hot nutritious meal (daily) made from home-grown food crops to pupils in selected schools. Initially, the GSFP was piloted in 10 basic schools and was expanded to cover 200 schools in 138 districts across the country in 2006 (Yendaw & Dayour, 2015).

The implementation of the Ghana School Feeding Program (GSFP) had a significant impact on the enrollment figures in basic schools throughout the nation (Osei-Fosu, 2011). As a result of the program's positive impact on enrollment, it has expanded progressively to cater to over 1.6 million children in 4,000 public schools across all districts in Ghana (Republic of Ghana, 2015). The two programs mentioned previously, Ghana School Feeding Program (GSFP) and Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Program (CAADP), aimed to eliminate financial barriers to basic education. Only the implementation of the 2007 Anamuah-Mensah report led to the reformation of the pre-tertiary educational system's structure and syllabus.

As a result of its educational policy reforms in 2007, the NPP suffered defeat in the 2008 presidential and parliamentary elections to the NDC. Prof. John Evans Atta-Mills, the NDC candidate, was inaugurated into office on the 7th of January 2009. Nonetheless, the Atta-Mills-led administration revised the 4-year secondary education program, which was established in 2007, to be a 3-year program in 2010. Furthermore, Atta-Mills introduced the "Free School Uniform" (FSU) project in the same year. Similar to the initiatives that were implemented by President Kuffour in 2004 and 2005, the FSU project sought to reduce the financial burden of education on parents, increase the enrolment rate in schools, and uplift the domestic manufacturing industry (Seidu, 2014).

By the end of 2012, a total of one million uniforms had been disseminated throughout the nation (NDC Green Book, 2012). Regrettably, President Mills passed away while in office on the Fourth of July in 2012, and as stipulated by Article 66 of the 1992 Constitution, the Vice-President, John Dramani Mahama, was inaugurated as the President. Subsequently, Mahama entered and emerged victorious in the general elections of December 2012. During his tenure, President Mahama made significant efforts to enhance education, with a specific emphasis on

infrastructure development and teacher training. Notable among his policies was the completion of Community Day Senior High Schools, which had been initiated by the Rawlings government, and aimed to make secondary education accessible to students in underserved areas.

Additionally, his administration prioritized the improvement of teacher training and professional development programs, to enhance the quality of teaching in schools. The government also made substantial investments in the construction and rehabilitation of school infrastructure such as classrooms, libraries, and science laboratories, with the objective of providing conducive learning environments for students. Mahama did not institute any alterations to the pre-existing educational system, but to persist with the sequential attempts to eradicate financial hindrances to basic education, Mahama launched the Free School Sandals initiative in July 2015. This endeavor waned organically with the defeat of the NDC in the presidential elections of December 2016.

The 2016 presidential election resulted in the victory of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, the presidential candidate of the NPP. Following his election, Mr. Akufo-Addo was sworn in as President on 7th January 2017. Upon assuming office, the Akufo-Addo-led administration continued the initiatives that began under the leadership of Presidents Kuffour and Atta-Mills. Nonetheless, the administration abandoned the Free School Sandals project. Moreover, the government launched the Free SHS program in September 2017 as an addition to the pre-existing programs. To accommodate the surge in enrollment that resulted from the implementation of the Free SHS policy, the government of Ghana proposed the introduction of the Double-Track System. This innovative system effectively divides the academic year into two separate tracks, allowing schools to better accommodate the influx of students by rotating their attendance schedules. In addition, the government has also launched the National Digital Literacy Program,

which is more commonly known as the "One Teacher, One Laptop" initiative. The primary objective of this program is to provide educators with the necessary digital tools and skills that are essential for enhancing the overall teaching and learning experiences in the digital age. Under the leadership of President Akufo-Addo, the Ghanaian government has also initiated a series of curriculum reforms that are designed to update and align the educational curriculum with the latest global standards. This new curriculum is focused on competency-based education and includes a range of innovative subjects such as coding, entrepreneurship, and creative arts (Ministry of Education, 2022)

### **Education Policies and Reforms**

The process of educational reform is a complex and multidimensional undertaking that encompasses both social production and state regulation, thus constituting a central theme in educational policy discussions (Ghana Ministry of Education, 2010). Although it is often assumed that a certain level of consensus among stakeholders is necessary for successful educational reform, achieving such consensus is an ideal scenario that rarely materializes, except when there is a shared national or regional vision (Jones & Green, 2019). The existence of a common vision is crucial for aligning diverse stakeholders and facilitating the implementation of effective reforms (Fullan, 2016).

According to Popkewitz (2002), educational reforms involve issues regarding social production and state regulation, which are in turn "constructed". These reforms rely on a discourse that is often concealed or implicit, and this discourse shapes our perception of the realm of education. These visions generate social values and power relationships that are not impartial. Reforms inevitably emerge within a historical, social, economic, and political context.

Therefore, it is crucial to take this into account when developing, implementing, assessing, or examining reforms.

These reforms occupy a prominent position on the country's political agenda and frequently entail cooperation with international organizations, including development partners (UNESCO, 2019). In the Ghanaian context, reaching a consensus among stakeholders (opposition political parties) involved in educational reform, can be a challenging undertaking. The diversity of perspectives and interests within the Ghanaian educational landscape necessitates a shared vision to implement reforms effectively (Ampiah & Oduro, 2019).

These educational reforms should align with the government's long-term development plans and address the specific needs and challenges of the Ghanaian education system (Ghana Ministry of Education, 2010). Additionally, international frameworks and initiatives have influenced educational reform in Ghana. For example, the Education Strategic Plan (ESP) for 2010-2020 in Ghana aligned with the global Education for All (EFA) goals and the United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 4 (UNESCO, 2019; Ghana Ministry of Education, 2010). This incorporation into international agendas demonstrates the country's commitment to utilizing education as a means of advancing social and economic progress. The policy direction of Ghana towards basic education has largely been driven by a rights-based approach, which is informed by the principles of universality and inclusion (Nudzor, 2013). The idea of a rights-based approach proposed by the Department for International Development (DFID) in 2000 is based on the principle of empowering individuals to make their own decisions, rather than being passive recipients of choices made on their behalf. The principles of universality and inclusion, undergirded by this idea, suggest that education should be accessible and available to all, without any form of exclusion. Gender or poverty should not disenfranchise individuals from accessing

education (Gyimah-Boadi, 1993). The Government of Ghana has established a national policy for Free and Compulsory Universal Basic Education, reflecting its commitment to providing fee-free compulsory universal basic education to all school-going children (Ministry of Education, 2010).

The Government of Ghana under President Nana Akufo Addo has initiated several significant education reforms aimed at transforming teaching and learning processes and improving educational outcomes. These reforms fall under the Education Strategic Plan (ESP 2018-2030), which received cabinet approval in November 2018. The anticipated outcomes of these reforms are expected to contribute to the goals of the ESP and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG 4), leading to improved learning outcomes, particularly at the pre-tertiary levels. The education reforms are primarily focused on three main priorities: enhanced accountability, improved learning outcomes, and equity at all levels of the education sector. The key objective of these reforms is to align the educational system with evolving national development priorities and renewed goals and aspirations. Additionally, the reforms aim to ensure that the educational system remains adaptable to changing contexts, times, and advancements in technologies, industry, creativity, and knowledge economy.

The new reform initiatives aim to provide clear performance standards to guide the teaching, learning, assessment, and grading of students (Ministry of Education Ghana, 2018). The reforms will also professionalize teaching and ensure standards. The Ministry of Education is coordinating the implementation of these reform initiatives through the National Education Reform Secretariat to ensure alignment and coordination of reforms within the framework of the Education Strategic Plan. The secretariat's mandate includes ensuring accountability for each reform, building the capacity of reform administration, and identifying and resolving any

blockages, obstacles, or bottlenecks to the implementation of the reforms (Ministry of Education Ghana, 2018).

### 1. Pre-tertiary Educational Reforms in Ghana

In 1965, the educational system of Ghana was among the most advanced in Africa, as noted by Palmer (2005), with enrollment rates as high as 75% for children aged 6-14 years (Ahadzie, 2000). However, despite these achievements, the expansion of primary and middle-school education led to a dilution of the teaching force, which hurt the quality of education, as Foster (1965) has indicated. As a result, emergency measures were taken to train teachers, which provided some relief to the system. In addition, the limited expansion of secondary education created immense pressure on the academic faculty of the secondary system. Furthermore, the mass educational expansion resulted in unemployment among school leavers, a problem which the government was unable to solve before being overthrown in 1966.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, Ghana underwent a significant economic downturn that had a profound impact on the country's entire economy, including its educational sector. According to Nti (1997), Ghana's GNP per capita experienced a 23% decline between 1975 and 1983. The military regime's harsh revolutionary fervor in 1981, along with severe economic hardships, led many highly qualified and trained teachers in primary and secondary schools to leave the country for other nations, particularly Nigeria (SAPRI Ghana, 2001). The current education and training structure in Ghana was largely shaped by the 1986/87 Education reforms, which were instituted by Palmer (2005). In essence, reforming education in Ghana entails a re-conceptualization of educational issues that necessitates an examination of process, content, objective, practice, and critical interrogation of the structures established for educational delivery (Dei, 2005). Dei argues that education that is responsive to the concerns, aspirations, and



interests of a diverse body politic, and that draws on the accumulated knowledge, creativity, and resourcefulness of local people, represents the most promising alternative approach to educational change. To effect new structure and content in education, the Government implemented the FCUBE in 1987, based on the 1973 Dzobo committee report.

In January 2002, President John Agyekum Kufuor inaugurated a Committee of Review of Educational Reforms in Ghana. The resulting report underwent review by the government, leading to the production of a White Paper entitled "The White Paper on Educational Reforms" (Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, 2004). The implementation of the proposed Educational Reform took place during the 2007-2008 academic year, specifically in September of 2007 (Acheampong, 2008). The new educational reforms placed significant emphasis on post-basic education and training, recognizing their importance in reducing poverty. Additionally, the senior secondary education period was extended from three to four years to address concerns regarding the quality of education. There is also a renewed focus on restructuring pre-tertiary education provision, to prepare all secondary students for either entry into tertiary institutions or the job market through apprenticeship training in the private sector (Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, 2007).

## 2. Tertiary Educational Reforms in Ghana

Tertiary education may be defined as the form of instruction proffered subsequently to the secondary level at an institution such as a university, polytechnic, specialized institution, open university, or any other institution that provides training culminating in the conferral of diploma and degree qualifications (The Republic of Ghana, 2002; Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, 2004). Thompson & Casely-Hayford (2008) posit that, even though reforms in the tertiary sector have been underway for as long as those in the pre-tertiary sector, they have not

received the same level of attention as the latter. Thus, the focus on primary education at the international level, and the consequent influence of donor preferences within the educational policy discourse in Ghana, have served to diminish the importance of the reforms in the tertiary sector. The authors agree with Girdwood (1999) that during the period between 1986 and 1988, which coincided with the launch of the JSS reforms, a University Rationalization Committee proposed a series of reforms to address the prolonged under-funding and decline that was being experienced in the tertiary sector.

Before 1992, the primary public universities in Ghana were the University of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, and University of Cape Coast. In accordance with the educational reforms, the Ghanaian government established the University College of Education, Winneba in 1992 (University College of Education, Winneba, 2002; Manuh et al., 2006). The University College of Education was created to cultivate professional educators for elementary, secondary, and teacher training institutions (Republic of Ghana, 2002; University College of Education, Winneba, 2002; Manuh et al., 2006).

Of the reforms in the tertiary education system that took place in 1991 (Acheampong, 2008; University of Development Studies, 2002; The Republic of Ghana, 2002), the University for Development Studies was established in 1992. This institution was designed to operate on a multicampus basis, with its headquarters located in Tamale (Republic of Ghana, 2002). Despite the original plan to establish campuses in the four administrative regions of the northern section of Ghana consisting of the Brong Ahafo Region, Northern Region, Upper East Region, and Upper West Region, not all of the campuses are presently functioning (University of Development Studies, 2002). As of now, the list of public universities in Ghana has expanded to

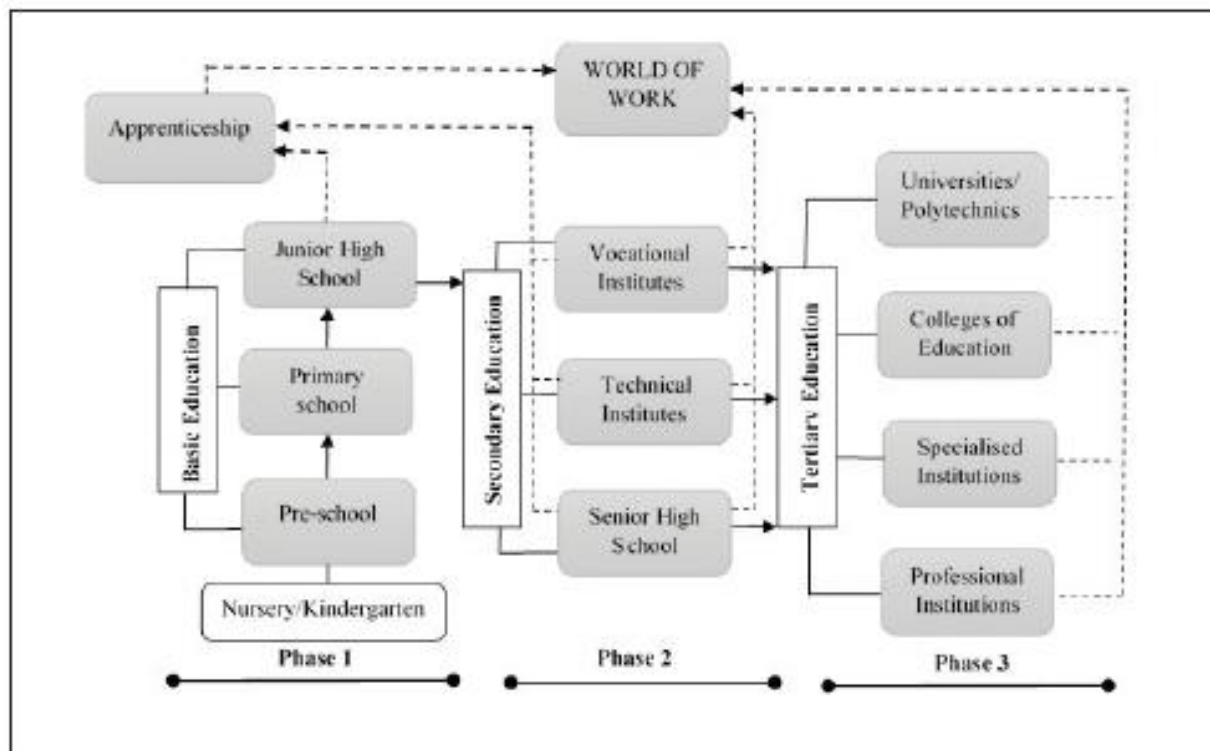
include the University of Mines and Technology, University of Health and Allied Sciences, and the University of Energy and Natural Resources, resulting in a total of nine universities.

In 1991, as part of the reforms in the tertiary system, Ghana's polytechnics, previously considered second-cycle institutions, were upgraded to the status of tertiary institutions in 1993 by the Polytechnic Law 1992 PNDCL 321 (Ghana Government Gazette, 1993). Presently, the Polytechnic Act (745) of 2007 has authorized the polytechnics to operate autonomously and offer various degrees. With this upgrade, the polytechnics were mandated to provide tertiary career-focused education and skills training to the highest level attainable for the development of the industrial and technological base of the economy. The polytechnics award Higher National Diplomas (HND) and various technical degree programs, with a pressing call upon the government to convert them to technology universities to render them more relevant.

### **Structure of Ghana's Education System**

Ghana's system of education is comprised of three main levels: Basic, Secondary, and Tertiary, and is organized according to a 2-6-3-3-4 model, as illustrated in Figure 1. Basic education is intended for children aged 4 to 15 years and is the minimum period of schooling necessary to ensure that children acquire fundamental literacy and numeracy skills, as well as problem-solving skills, creativity, and knowledge of healthy living (Anamuah-Mensah Report, 2002, p.2). Basic education is further divided into two years of kindergarten for children aged 4 to 5 years, 6 years of primary school for children aged 6 to 11 years, and 3 years of Junior High School for children aged 12 to 15 years, which concludes with the successful completion of the Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE) (a standardized test administered by the West African Examination Council for students completing a 3-year Junior High School education and seeking admission to Senior High School). Following the successful completion of basic

education, students may enroll in a 3-year Secondary education program, commonly known as Senior High School, which is intended for students aged 16 to 18 years and leads to tertiary education (i.e., education beyond the secondary level) or technical/vocational education, which can lead to polytechnic/technical university or a career in the workforce.



**Figure 1: Structure of education in Ghana**

Upon completion of Senior High School, students may progress to tertiary education upon completing and passing the West African Secondary School Certificate Examinations (WASSCE) (a standardized examination used to evaluate students' readiness for post-secondary education). All post-secondary education, including training colleges, polytechnics, and university education, is classified as tertiary education and typically lasts between three and four years, with the duration determined by an Act of Parliament or the National Accreditation Board.

The management of the education sector in Ghana follows specific guidelines. The Ministry of Education (MOE) is entrusted with the responsibility of formulating educational policies that align with the country's overall national development policies and goals. The MOE ensures that the implementation of policies aligns with the aims and objectives of education. At the helm of the Ministry is a Minister of State of Cabinet Status. Following the MOE in the management structure is the Ghana Education Service (GES), which serves as the primary agency for implementing approved pre-tertiary education policies and programs under the GES Council, by the GES Act 1995 (ACT 506). The GES is responsible for providing and overseeing basic education, senior secondary education, technical education, and special education. Additionally, it registers, supervises, and inspects private pre-tertiary educational institutions. The GES also submits recommendations for educational policies and programs to the Minister. (Republic of Ghana, 2002).

Furthermore, it should be noted that all higher education institutions possess governing councils by their respective Acts, as prescribed by the Republic of Ghana (2002). These councils are comprised of both lay and professional individuals. Additionally, all tertiary institutions maintain internal administrative structures, which include departmental, faculty, academic boards, and committee systems. Moreover, there exists an advisory body known as the National Council for Tertiary Education (NCTE). The NCTE serves as a mediator between the government and tertiary institutions, advising the Minister of Education on matters about tertiary education and promoting a central vision and direction for the development of tertiary education in Ghana (NCTE, 454 ACT, 1993; Republic of Ghana, 2002). Lastly, it should be noted that the National Accreditation Board assumes responsibility for ensuring that tertiary institutions and programs are adequately regulated and supervised.

## **Teacher Education Reforms in Ghana**

Teacher education reform initiatives in Ghana have been significantly influenced by socio-political changes. Virtually every political party that has governed the country since independence has implemented some form of teacher education reform to prepare qualified teachers to meet the educational demands of the nation. These reforms have resulted in the creation of various categories of teachers possessing distinct certificates (Anamuah-Mensah, 2006). Initially, Teacher Training Colleges (TTC), which are now known as Colleges of Education, offered 2-year Post-Middle Certificate “B” programs, as well as 4-year Post-Middle Certificate “A” and 2-year Post-Secondary Certificate “A” programs. In the 1980s, the 2-year Post-Secondary program was expanded to a 3-year program but continued to run alongside the 4-year certificate “A” programs until it was discontinued (Newman, n.d.). However, despite these reforms, there has been little impact on students’ learning outcomes (MoE, 2012), including achievement and the development of critical values such as problem-solving.

In recent times, two significant pieces of legislation relating to teacher education have been enacted to transform the country’s educational system. The first legislation is the 2008 Education Act (Act 778). Section 9 of the Act mandated the creation of a National Teacher Council (NTC), which has since been established. The NTC is responsible for establishing professional practices and ethical standards for teachers and teaching, as well as for the registration and licensing of individuals seeking to enter the teaching profession. The Act also empowers the NTC to revoke the license of any teacher who engages in misconduct and fails to adhere to the professional code of ethics governing the teaching profession in Ghana. Consequently, the focus of ACT 778 is to establish teaching in Ghana as a profession with clear

codes of ethics and minimum acceptable competencies for those who teach at pre-tertiary institutions in the country.

The second legislation is the Colleges of Education Act 847, which upgraded Colleges of Education (CoE) into tertiary institutions. Following this legislation, the CoE was upgraded to a 4-year degree-awarding institution in October 2018 and is no longer a 3-year diploma-awarding College. Before the enactment and passage of Act 847, the CoE was designated as TTC and was supervised by the Ghana Education Service, the body responsible for pre-tertiary teacher education. The upgrade of Colleges of Education (CoE) into tertiary institutions and the enactment of the Colleges of Education Act 847 occurred under the government of President Nana Akufo-Addo. The passage of Act 847 has provided legal backing to their new elevated status. The colleges have been under the National Council for Tertiary Education (NCTE) since then. The NCTE is a government body responsible for the regulation of tertiary education institutions in Ghana.

## **Theoretical Framework**

This study examines the effects of policy changes by successive governments on Ghana's education since 1992 (the Fourth Republic). The study employs Political Economy Analysis (PEA) as the theoretical framework. The conventional economics of education gives prominence to the function of education in modifying individual traits, altering the status of individuals in the labour market, and enhancing the economy's capability to produce (White, 2006). These viewpoints focus on assessing the 'universal' associations between wage rates determined through competition, individual choices concerning education, and the impacts of these choices on the economy. In contrast, the political economy of education perceives education as an element influenced by power dynamics among various economic, political, and

social groups. The degree of education obtained by an individual, the type of education received, and the role of education in economic growth and income distribution, are all part of these power dynamics (Carnoy, 1976). Carnoy (1976) contends that any examination of the educational system cannot be separated from an explicit or implicit evaluation of the purpose and functioning of the Ghana educational system. Given that power is, to some extent, manifested through a society's political framework, any political economy model of educational transformation necessitates a meticulously crafted theory of government operations, which we shall henceforth refer to as a "theory of the state" (Carnoy, 1976).

Education systems, along with the content and outcomes of policy interventions, are not operating in isolation from wider social issues, structures, and processes (Munro, 2011). As with development processes more generally, education policies and interventions have an impact on, and are influenced by, the relationships between political and economic structures, institutions, agents, and associated sets of interests. Policy environments in contexts affected by conflict are particularly dynamic and necessitate specific attention to the interactions between development interventions and their contexts. Political Economy Analysis affords a means of unpacking the political and economic interests and relationships that underpin and intersect with educational policies and interventions, from setting policy agendas to policy formulation and implementation (Novelli et al., 2014). Consequently, PEA has emerged as an increasingly critical component of national and international education policy-making processes in conflict-affected contexts.

The application of political economy theory provides an analytical framework that enables us to comprehend the intricate interplay between politics, economics, and social dynamics in shaping education policies. It acknowledges that educational determinations are not made in isolation but are significantly influenced by the political context and economic realities



of society. When scrutinizing Ghana's Fourth Republic, the adoption of a political economy perspective allows us to explore the effects of governmental changes on the quality and accessibility of the education system. Distinct political parties bring their unique ideologies and viewpoints on education, which can result in policy priorities and approaches being altered. By scrutinizing education policies through a political economy lens, we acquire a more profound comprehension of the motivations and decision-making processes behind these policies. We can unearth the power dynamics, vested interests, and political ideologies that shape the formulation and implementation of education policies.

Moreover, the theory of political economy acknowledges the intricate interplay between the state, the market, and society in shaping education outcomes. It recognizes that economic elements, such as budgetary constraints and resource allocation, as well as societal factors such as cultural norms and social inequalities, interact with political forces to form policies in education. The application of a political economy perspective also permits us to scrutinize the tensions and negotiations among the various stakeholders involved in education, including government officials, educational administrators, teachers, students, parents, and interest groups. By comprehending the diverse perspectives and interests of these entities, we acquire insights into the complexities of education policy development and implementation. Essentially, embracing a political economy lens enables us to move beyond regarding education as a purely technical or academic domain. It recognizes that education policies are embedded within larger political and economic systems, and their effectiveness is influenced by the broader socio-political context.

Consequently, the political economics lens of education analyzes the relationship between education and the economy in the context of competing power relations and how these

conflicts are resolved in the state. Hence, it is not surprising that political economists have similar concerns about the issue of education's contribution to economic and social inequality (Carnoy, 1976). We focus on political economic works on education, social mobility, income distribution, and discrimination in our survey of specific issues. However, before moving on to these specific subjects, we may better explain the political economy perspectives on education by analyzing the several broad models that have lately surfaced in the field's literature.

According to Duncan and Williams (2010), the emergence and expansion of tools and frameworks for PEA since the late 1990s is indicative of a shift toward a more "political" understanding of development. This shift involves viewing development as a fundamentally and inherently political process, rather than a merely technical one, and it also involves moving away from normative approaches to development in favour of grounding it in "local" realities. This shift reflects a recognition of the unintended consequences and failures of many technically sound policies when they are implemented "on the ground." This failure is often due to a lack of attention to the distinctive political, economic, and social contexts that shape the implementation of policies. Though there are varied definitions of PEA, it typically refers to the interactions of political and economic processes, the distribution of power and resources among groups and individuals, and the underlying systems and processes that generate, sustain, and transform these dynamics over time.

The phenomenon of development processes and outcomes is analyzed by PEA, which also highlights the potential for change (Haider and Rao, 2010). The central focus of this analysis is on the explicit attention given to the forms, structures, relations, and dynamics of power that exist between governmental and non-governmental actors, as well as local and international entities. This is essential to understanding development politics, processes, and outcomes

(Acosta & Pettit, 2013). When viewed from a political economy of education standpoint, education is situated within the framework of economic power relations that are expressed through the economy and the state. In a capitalist economy, the struggle for dominance between capital and labour plays a determining role in how jobs are structured (McLoughlin, 2014).

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **Introduction**

The section on methodology and procedures furnishes a structure for the way the research was be executed, encompassing the techniques, procedures for data collection, and analysis approaches. For the examination concerning the influence of political transition on the educational system in Ghana during the Fourth Republic, a combination of semi-structured interviews and document analysis were implemented to assemble and scrutinize data. This section offers an overview of the methodology and procedures that were adopted in the study, emphasizing the reasoning behind selecting these methodologies and alluding to pertinent literature.

#### **Research Design**

The process of conducting research is a systematic approach that encompasses various plans and procedures. These plans and procedures span from broad assumptions to the detailed methodology of data collection, analysis, and interpretation (Creswell & Creswell, 2018 p.1). The research design refers to the approach that a researcher adopts to integrate the various components of a study coherently and logically to effectively address the research problem and questions posed. The design outlines the methods for collecting and analyzing data in an attempt to describe or explain a given phenomenon. Quantitative and qualitative research designs have been the two main types of research designs over the years, and a combination of the two, known as mixed methods, has emerged more recently. However, these research designs are based on the same logic of inference (scientific research), and the choice of which design to use depends on the specific phenomenon a researcher seeks to study. Social science research is designed to make

either descriptive or explanatory inferences based on empirical evidence about the world.

Mahoney (2010) states that systematic descriptions of specific phenomena are often indispensable to scientific research, but the accumulation of facts alone is not enough.

Facts can be collected systematically, but the 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). A phenomenon may involve 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). The objective of qualitative research is to comprehend experience as closely as feasible to how participants feel or live it. This denotes a direct preoccupation with experience as it is "lived", "felt", or "undergone", devoid of any intention to sanction or censure the conduct being scrutinized (Sherman & Webb, 1988, p. 7). It instead embraces the capacity to assess and evaluate, as stated in the notions of Scott and Garner (2013, p. 11), that qualitative research is not solely about documenting the opinions and behavior of research participants but encompasses the analysis of the outlooks and experiences of participants to enhance comprehension of the phenomenon being assessed (Bouma, Ling & Wilkinson, 2016).

Given these considerations, this investigation employed a case study methodology utilizing qualitative approaches to address the research questions. The preference for utilizing qualitative techniques was predicated on the study's focus, which centres on scrutinizing the impact of political transitions in Ghana. Specifically, this inquiry comprehends and explicates how the confluence of political transition and institutions engenders reforms in a Sub-Saharan nation such as Ghana. Consequently, this study investigates how influential actors shape policy

ideas in Ghana, particularly regarding education reforms. Therefore, qualitative research can be viewed as a contextually dependent undertaking that situates the observer within the world (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

Qualitative research endeavors to comprehend a particular research problem or topic through the perspectives of the local population it engages. As stated by Kaplan and Maxwell (2005, p. 35), qualitative research is employed to understand the perceptions of information systems by its users, the context in which the system is implemented or developed, and the processes by which changes occur or outcomes are generated. Given that the study focuses on comprehending and elucidating the impact of political transition in Ghana, the qualitative approach proves to be more advantageous as it enables a critical exploration of the perceptions of the diverse actors, the contextual factors (including institutional and ideational factors), and how these factors shape policy reform processes. As expressed by George and Bennett (2005, p. 2), when a study aims to understand context or process or is consultative or strategic in nature, qualitative evidence alone may suffice. Therefore, the qualitative method of inquiry (research interviews) allows for a less formal relationship between the researcher and the participant (respondent) than a quantitative method of inquiry. This is because participants can provide more elaborate and detailed responses than is typical with quantitative methods. The researcher can then respond promptly to the participant's comments by tailoring subsequent questions to the information the participant has already provided (Mack et al., 2005).

### **Case Study Approach**

A case study approach within the social sciences derives its foundations from the subject disciplines of law, psychology, and medicine. A case study entails an extensive examination of a single case (bounded system), or multiple cases (multiple bounded systems) aimed at

comprehending complex social phenomena (Creswell, 2013, pp. 97-102; Yin, 2009; Gerring, 2004, pp. 341-354). Hence, it is widely accepted to imply an intensive study of a specific individual or context. According to Simons (2009, p. 21), a case study is a profound exploration from diverse perspectives of the intricacy and uniqueness of a particular project, policy, institution, program, or system in a natural setting. Thomas and Kevin (2015, p. 2) emphasize that a case study should not be perceived as a method in itself. Instead, it is a design framework comprising various methods and analytical frames – hermeneutic, organic, or cultural (Stake, 2005, p. 443). Thomas and Kevin (2015, p. 3-4) opine that “case studies are analyses of persons, events, decisions, periods, projects, policies, institutions or other systems which are studied holistically by one or more methods.”

In the view of Thomas and Kevin (2015), a case study is primarily concerned with how and enables the researcher to have an in-depth understanding of a case, and in so doing, researchers can get close to reality (Flyvbjerg, 2001). Case studies prove to be of utmost significance in instances where contextual circumstances are fundamental in comprehending the occurrence and potential interpretations that may arise due to the nature of the phenomenon being scrutinized. Therefore, as aptly highlighted by Creswell (2013, p. 97), the researcher investigates a real-life, contemporary restricted system (a case) or various bounded systems (cases) over a specific period, via comprehensive, in-depth data collection utilizing multiple sources of information (e.g., observations, interviews, audiovisual material, documents, and reports), and subsequently presents a detailed case description and case themes.

## **Data Collection**

After the efficacious enlistment of research participants, their encounters were disseminated, utilizing colloquial techniques or interviews as dialogues utilized. In the process of

addressing the research questions, this thesis employed a singular primary source of data, namely the semi-structured interview, and a secondary source of data in the form of document analysis. Creswell (2018) expounds that data collection encompasses a methodical course of action aimed at accumulating information or data to conduct research or analysis. It comprises the gathering, arrangement, and documentation of pertinent data from diverse sources including surveys, interviews, observations, experiments, or pre-existing databases. Semi-structured individual interviews constituted the primary modality employed for data collection. The interview, an art of questioning and listening, is a well-established method of data collection with numerous advantages (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). Kvale (1996) defines an interview as an interplay of opinions between two individuals discussing a topic of mutual interest. Stephens (2010) posits that semi-structured interviews present an opportunity to obtain an account of the values and experiences of the interviewee expressed in terms that are meaningful to them.

According to Given (2008), interviewing is a conversational practice that produces knowledge through the interaction between the interviewer and interviewee or a group of interviewees. Cypress (2018) contends that qualitative interviewing aims to elicit information that is useful to a study, with the interviewer immersing themselves in the participant's perspectives and the respondents sharing their internal states and narratives. While standardized questions are typically used in survey research interviews, with responses given in formats conducive to quantitative procedures, most qualitative research interviews are semi-structured, with the researcher setting the agenda while allowing for more unscripted responses from the respondent (Given, 2008).

Microsoft Teams was used for interviews, utilizing a guide that has been meticulously crafted to elicit precise and authentic perspectives from the participants (Creswell & Creswell,



2018). To ensure accuracy in the transcription process, the interviews were recorded with the explicit consent of the participants. Additionally, as recommended by Creswell & Creswell (2018), written notes were taken alongside the digital recordings. This methodology provided a comprehensive understanding of the study participants' views, explanations, and the effects of political change on education in Ghana (Yin, 2011).

The present study was conducted in strict accordance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement (TCPS2) (2022), which mandates a responsibility of honest and reflective inquiry, thorough analysis, dedication to the dissemination of research findings, and adherence to professional standards. To forestall any inappropriate conduct that may mar the integrity of this study (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Yin, 2011), the qualitative research ethics as stipulated by the Research Ethics Board (REB) (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Yin, 2011) of the University of Windsor, as well as the Tri-Council Policy Statement 2 2022, were strictly adhered to. This research was conducted with utmost regard to the fundamental principles of (1) respect for persons; (2) consideration for the welfare of the participants; and (3) justice (Tri-Council Policy Statement, 2022).

Accordingly, written consent and approval of study participants (six) were obtained before they participated in the study (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Tri-Council Policy Statement 2, 2022; Yin, 2011). Furthermore, the study's objectives and nature, were explicitly communicated to the participants to enhance their understanding of the study. Confidentiality was of utmost importance. Therefore, the identities and opinions of the participants were kept confidential, and the confidentiality of the research site was upheld (Tri-Council Policy Statement 2, 2022; Yin, 2011).

## **Research Participants**

The investigation regarding impact of political transition on the education system in Ghana brought together a varied group of individuals, each contributing a distinct viewpoint shaped by their experiences and expertise. As we delve into the personal stories of these individuals, valuable insights arise regarding the complex relationship between political changes and the educational environment. This research, developed to comprehend the impact of political transitions on Ghana's education system, explores the knowledge of an education researcher with ten years of experience. This participant provides a perspective on the intersection of technology and education, with a focus on curriculum development and the consequences of technological advancements. Their insights establish them as a pivotal voice in comprehending how political transitions may affect the integration of technology in classrooms.

The dedication to creating inclusive learning environments adds an element of social awareness, emphasizing the necessity for policies that cater to the diverse needs of students. An experienced high school mathematics teacher is also included in this research, aiming to bridge the gap between educational policies and their practical implications. With more than fifteen years of experience in the classroom, this participant's interest lies in understanding how recent policy changes affect classroom dynamics and student learning outcomes. Their insights promise to illuminate the challenges and opportunities faced by teachers on the frontlines of education during times of political transition. The research also encompasses a highly respected educational analyst, providing a comprehensive viewpoint shaped by theoretical expertise and practical experience. This participant's significant contributions to the development of educational policies in Ghana position them as a key source of information on how political transitions impact the broader educational environment.

Their insights promise to shed light on the nuanced relationship between policy changes and the day-to-day realities faced by educators and students. Additionally, the research incorporates a dynamic education consultant, bringing innovation to the forefront. With a focus on curriculum design and exploration of technology's intersection with education, this participant offers insights into how political transitions may influence the adoption of innovative teaching methods. Their perspective adds a forward-thinking dimension, emphasizing the importance of adapting education to the evolving technological landscape. A dedicated high school history teacher is part of this research, providing a crucial perspective on the social impact of political transitions. With fifteen years of classroom experience, this participant offers insights into how changes in government may impact efforts to create inclusive learning environments. Their narrative emphasizes the need for policies that address the diverse needs of students, ensuring equal opportunities for all.

An accomplished academic and educational psychologist is also contributing to this research, offering a profound understanding of the psychological aspects of education. With a career focused on learning methodologies and student motivation, this participant's insights promise to unravel the intricate connections between political transitions and the psychological well-being of students and educators.

Their perspective adds depth to the research, highlighting the importance of considering the human element in educational policy-making. By synthesizing the narratives of these diverse participants, this research gains a multifaceted perspective.

## **Data Analysis**

The process of analyzing data is a vital aspect of the research process, as it allows researchers to extract significant insights and formulate conclusions from the data collected. In this particular study, a meticulous approach to data analysis was utilized. This section delineates the various steps involved in the data analysis process, which comprises transcription, thematic analysis, document analysis, data integration, and data interpretation. The selected techniques have been informed by pertinent literature and are consistent with established guidelines for qualitative data analysis. Analyzing texts derived from multiple forms of data has long been acknowledged as a difficult task for qualitative researchers (Creswell & Poth, 2018), particularly for those who are new to the field, such as doctoral students (Cypress, 2018). According to Creswell and Poth (2018), the challenge lies in determining how best to present the data in tables, matrices, and narrative form. The process of data analysis entails the preparation and organization of the data, as well as the reduction of the data into themes through coding, condensing the codes, and representing the data in figures, tables, or discussions (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

All semi-structured interviews were transcribed verbatim to ensure an accurate representation of participants' responses, a crucial step in the analysis process that allowed for a detailed examination of participants' perspectives and experiences. The transcribed interviews served as the primary data source for analysis. To identify patterns, themes, and concepts within the interview data, thematic analysis, as proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006), was employed. This approach permitted a systematic exploration of participants' views on the effect of political transition on the education system. A systematic and transparent manner was employed to conduct the analysis, involving several iterative steps, such as familiarization with the data,

generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing and refining themes, and finally, defining and naming themes, to ensure reliability and validity.

To complement the interview data, a comprehensive analysis of collected documents, including policy papers, educational reports, and academic publications, was conducted through document analysis and all these documents are in the public domain. Document analysis entails a careful review of the documents to identify relevant information, policy shifts, and key themes related to the education system during political transitions. The interview data and document analysis findings were integrated through a process of triangulation, as discussed by Denzin (1978), involving combining multiple sources of data to enhance the credibility and validity of the findings. The examination of converging or diverging themes and patterns in the interview data and document analysis findings provided a comprehensive analysis of the effect of political transition on the education system. NVivo software was used to determine the themes from all six participants who were interviewed in the study.

Once the themes and patterns were identified, they were carefully interpreted to address the research questions and objectives. Interpretation involved analyzing the relationships and connections between the identified themes, exploring their implications for the education system, and drawing conclusions based on the analysis. The interpretations were grounded in the data and supported by relevant literature to ensure credibility and rigour. The data analysis process in this study aligns with the recommendations of Braun and Clarke (2006) for conducting thematic analysis and Denzin's (1978) guidance on data triangulation. The research approach employed in this study ensures a comprehensive analysis of the effect of political transition on the education system in Ghana during the Fourth Republic.

## **The Research Site – Ghana**

The present study's research site was West African country, Ghana, which was formerly referred to as the Gold Coast. Ghana is comprised of 16 regions (Figure 2) with Accra serving as its capital and the location of the seat of government, as well as many public and private organization headquarters. Ghana shares a 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 estimated total land surface area of Ghana is 238,540 square kilometers. The Northern Region, with a land surface area of 70,384 square kilometers, is the largest, while the smallest is Greater Accra, with a land surface area of 3,245 square kilometers. Ghana, formerly colonized by the British, accomplished the distinction of becoming the first Sub-Saharan country to attain independence on March 6, 1957, under Kwame Nkrumah's leadership. Following independence, Ghana has had four republics (1960-66, 1969-72, 1979-81, and 1993-present). There have been four military rules (1966-1969, 1972-1979, 1979-1979, and 1981-1993) in between these republics, with the longest being the rule of the Provisional National Defense Council<sup>22</sup> (PNDC).

Several factors influenced the decision to choose Ghana as the focus of this study. Firstly, my familiarity with the country was a key consideration. Conducting a qualitative study within a time constraint requires a deep understanding of the socio-cultural, economic, and political climate of the study area. As a Ghanaian native who has lived and worked in the country, I possess a comprehensive understanding of the environment in which educational reforms and other social policies function.

## Map of Ghana



Figure 2: Map of Ghana (Ghana Map & Facts, World Atlas)

## **Ethical Considerations**

Ethical considerations occupy a pivotal position in guaranteeing the safeguarding and welfare of participants implicated in research investigations. This study steadfastly adhered to ethical tenets throughout the course of the research endeavor. All participants provided informed consent prior to their involvement in the study. They were given a comprehensive explanation of the research objectives, potential risks, benefits, procedures, and their rights as participants. Participants were reminded of their voluntary participation and right to withdraw at any time without penalty. The study adhered to the ethical guidelines outlined by Fisher, Byrne, and Edwards (2017), emphasizing the importance of informed consent in maintaining ethical standards and respecting participants' autonomy.

To maintain participants' confidentiality, the study assigned a unique pseudonym to each participant, ensuring the confidentiality of personal information and preventing the linkage of data collected to their identity. Only the researcher and supervisor (Dr. James Oloo) have access to the data, and any information shared will be used solely for research purposes. The study followed the principles of confidentiality and anonymity as outlined by Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2017) to protect participants' privacy in the research process.

The study prioritized the physical and emotional well-being of participants, taking measures to minimize potential harm or discomfort that may have occurred during interviews or while reflecting on experiences within the education system during political transitions. Participants were informed about available support services and were handled with respect and sensitivity.



To ensure the highest ethical standards, the research study underwent ethical review and approval by the University of Windsor Research Ethics Board. This process comprehensively evaluated the study's design, procedures, participant protection measures, and adherence to ethical guidelines. Incorporating these ethical considerations into the research process demonstrated a commitment to upholding ethical standards and ensuring the well-being and rights of participants in the study on the effect of political transition on the education system in Ghana during the Fourth Republic. References to Fisher, Byrne, and Edwards (2017), Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2017), APA (2017), and Emanuel et al. (2004) inform and support the ethical approach adopted in this study.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS**

#### **Introduction**

The previous chapter discussed the data collection process for this thesis. Specifically, data were gathered through in-depth, semi-structured interviews and document analysis, and featured insights from six study participants who were key stakeholders deeply involved in the educational landscape of Ghana. Participants were high-ranking officials in Ghana's education sector, both current and past, as well as experts in the fields of Political Science, and technocrats renowned for their expertise in educational matters. The interviews were audio-recorded and meticulously transcribed to ensure data accuracy and precision. To examine the qualitative information obtained from the interviews, the research employed a thematic analysis approach (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Lochmiller, 2021).

#### **Research Question 1**

*To what extent have the changes in governments during the Fourth Republic affected the accessibility of Ghana's education system?*

#### **Introduction**

This question was intended to find out the significant influence that changes in government during the Fourth Republic (1992-present) had on the accessibility of Ghana's education system. The participants had a diverse spectrum of expertise: individuals who held senior positions within Ghana's education sector, including both present and former officials. Additionally, the participants included scholars in the discipline of Political Science, as well as highly skilled professionals recognized for their exceptional knowledge and experience in

educational affairs, who served as beacons that guided us through this intricate landscape. They painted a vivid picture of the transformative impact of political transitions on education in Ghana. A diverse range of viewpoints was shown by the participants' answers to Question One, but five main themes that conveyed the subtleties of the educational environment were determined. These major themes, which emerged from the participants' responses, include shifts in educational policy, resource allocation, regional disparities, educational infrastructure, and educational outcomes. The five themes are presented below.

### **Shifts in Education Policies**

Four of the six participants highlighted that significant transformations occur in Ghana's education system with every change in government. The research (Education Strategic Plan, 2018) and expert interviews consistently brought to the forefront the recurring theme of frequent alterations in educational policies corresponding to transitions in political leadership. The findings suggest that these policy shifts wield considerable influence over Ghana's educational environment. In a conversation with Participant C, it became apparent that the country's education system has undergone a series of dynamic changes, predominantly steered by the continuously evolving political climate.

The interviewee (Participant C) underscored a critical point, emphasizing that Ghana's educational planning often lacks a comprehensive, long-term vision. We seem to navigate from one policy to another without a clear roadmap for sustained development.” Rather than adhering to a meticulously outlined educational plan, governments in Ghana tend to initiate policies ad hoc, responding to immediate needs and political considerations. Other participants made similar comments. This approach has contributed to the nature of the country's education policies, which can significantly change with each transition in government.

As Participant A in our study noted, "There hasn't been a concrete, long-term educational plan in place to guide Ghana's education systems. Governments tend to initiate policies ad hoc, as they see fit."

Participant A further elaborated that each new government brings its unique vision and priorities into education, often resulting in significant policy shifts. These shifts touch on various aspects of education, including curriculum development, teacher training, and the allocation of resources, often aligning with the ruling party's ideology. Notably, this sentiment was echoed by several other participants. One illustrative example of these policy shifts was the extension of the secondary cycle school from three to four years by the National Democratic Congress government in 2009. The interviewee explained that this change was motivated, in part, by the need for teachers to have more time to cover their course syllabus thoroughly.

Additionally, it was the government's position that the extension would reduce stress on students and improve their performance in the West African Senior Secondary Certificate Examination (WASSCE) (Ministry of Education, 2018). However, some interviewees expressed skepticism about the justification, as they questioned whether an additional year would significantly alleviate student stress or boost academic performance. Some even opined that the extension was primarily a means for the government to channel funds into the education sector.

Furthermore, other educational implementations included the school feeding program and the track-wise system (double track system) of schooling. The track-wise system aimed to alleviate issues related to overcrowding and congestion in schools by staggering the commencement of the school year for different groups of students (Adutwum, 2022). It was evident that this shift in policy direction extends beyond a single area and encompasses a wide array of educational policies. This dynamic policy landscape underscores the absence of a rigid,

fixed framework within Ghana's education system, indicating that it is subject to frequent changes driven by the country's political dynamics.

Participant F highlighted the educational objectives of President Jerry John Rawlings (NDC, 1992-2001), emphasizing his primary goal to enhance the quality of education, institute free and mandatory basic education, and reduce the unnecessarily protracted duration of pre-university education from 17 years to 12 years. These changes, still evident in the current Ghanaian education system, provided a foundation for broader access to basic education. However, it is essential to note that subsequent governments did not uniformly continue these specific policies, despite their foundational role in increasing educational accessibility.

For instance, President John Agyekum Kufuor (NPP, 2001-2009) persisted with the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) policy and even expanded its reach. His administration also introduced the School Feeding Program to enhance school attendance (GhanaWeb, 2007). However, while the FCUBE policy remained a consistent focus during, President Kufuor's tenure, the subsequent government did not maintain the same level of emphasis on the School Feeding Program. President John Dramani Mahama's (NDC, 2012-2016) government introduced the progressively free Senior High School (SHS) policy, initially targeting first-year students and gradually expanding its coverage (Ministry of Education, 2015).

The construction of E-block secondary schools was another significant initiative whereby secondary schools in Ghana refer to a specific type of educational infrastructure initiative introduced by the government to address challenges related to inadequate secondary school facilities. The term "E-block" originates from the design of these schools, characterized by a modular block structure. The purpose of this initiative was to expand access to secondary education and improve the overall quality of education across the country. (Ministry of

Education, 2016). However, the continuity of these policies was not guaranteed, as subsequent governments retained the option to introduce changes. In contrast, President Nana Akufo-Addo (NPP, 2017-present) introduced the Free SHS (senior high school) policy, which provided free textbooks and abolished all fees for SHS students.

President Mahama's "progressively free SHS" involved gradually reducing fees over time to make SHS more affordable for parents. In contrast, President Akufo-Addo's "free SHS policy," implemented since 2017, aimed to make SHS education completely free immediately by eliminating tuition and mandatory fees for students in public schools. While both initiatives share the goal of improving access to secondary education, they differ in speed, the extent of financial relief, and how quickly the changes are implemented. Mahama's approach is a gradual fee reduction, while Akufo-Addo's is an immediate and comprehensive elimination of fees.

Additionally, President Akufo-Addo's administration prioritized curriculum reform to enhance the quality of education and align it with the demands of the job market. It was realized that the previous government before the New Patriotic Party under President John Mahama wanted to start the free SHS policy but they wanted to make it progressive. Under the new administration, President Akufo-Addo opted to substitute the policy prior to its complete implementation. In lieu of the original policy, the free SHS policy was introduced. This highlights that educational policies are often developed and introduced according to the preferences and priorities of the incumbent government, with no fixed or standardized processes governing how education should be approached or made accessible over time.

## **Resource Allocation**

During discussions with the research participants concerning the influence of new political parties on education, a consistent theme surfaced - a notable alteration in resource distribution. Five participants concluded that resource allocation within Ghana's education system undergoes transformations when different political parties assume leadership.

Participant A, who has closely observed the evolution of education in Ghana, commented,

“Resource allocation for education is not a static process. It's largely influenced by the priorities of the ruling government. For instance, the emphasis on infrastructure development, teacher training, and curriculum materials can vary significantly based on the political leadership in place”.

Participant D, added to this perspective, stating,

‘The allocation of resources for education can be influenced by the political party's stance on investment in the sector. For instance, a government that places a high premium on education may allocate a larger budget share to the sector, while others may focus more on other sectors of the economy’.

These observations underscore the dynamic nature of resource allocation in Ghana's education system. Government spending on education serves as a crucial metric for determining a nation's dedication to promoting the development of human capital and attaining sustainable economic growth. This research study delves into the patterns of education expenditure in Ghana between 2015 and 2023, with a specific emphasis on the proportion of funds allocated in relation

to international standards. From 2015 to 2018, Ghana experienced a gradual decline in the percentage of government spending dedicated to education. In 2015, the allocation for education stood at 23.81% of the total government budget, signifying a positive trajectory with a 2.82% increase from the preceding year. However, subsequent years witnessed a continuous reduction, with 2018 registering a significant decline of 1.5% from 2017, resulting in a cumulative value of 18.60% (Ministry of Finance, 2023).

The aforementioned patterns imply a potential strain on the education sector, which gives rise to concerns regarding the sufficiency of funding to address the increasing demands and standards of education.

The budget statement for 2022 revealed a stark contrast when compared to previous years, as only GHC24.7 billion, equating to 12% of the total budget of GHC205 billion, was designated for the education sector. This represents a significant departure from the upward trajectory witnessed in 2015. Additionally, the 2023 education budget, comprising 3.09% of the GDP and a mere 12.97% of the total government expenditure, falls short of international benchmarks (Ministry of Finance, 2023). The declining trend in Ghana's government expenditure on education, combined with budgetary allocations, gives rise to concerns regarding the nation's commitment to sustainable human capital development.

This means that, the amount to be invested in education largely depends on the sitting government and their interest in educational matters. Evidently, the administration of President John Agyekum Kufuor introduced the Capitation Grant, a policy aimed at enhancing access to primary education by providing financial support for each enrolled pupil (Adedze, 2005). Subsequently, the government led by President John Evans Atta Mills continued to prioritize



educational resource allocation by increasing the budget share for education in their annual budgets.

## **Regional Disparities**

Regional inequalities in educational access have become a prominent concern in the context of Ghana's ever-evolving political landscape. When the study participants were questioned regarding the impact of regional disparities in an educational context within a political regime, the majority concurred, emphasizing the significance of this issue.

Participant A's keen observations further underscored the presence of these regional disparities. they noted, "Significant variations exist in access to quality education across different regions. Disparities are driven by factors such as infrastructure, teacher availability, and the allocation of resources. It is essential to address these discrepancies to ensure equitable educational access." They further highlighted that:

Resource distribution in education, encompassing aspects like the allocation of teachers and infrastructure, has not always been equitable. Some regions have benefitted from better resource allocation, while others have faced shortages, thereby affecting the accessibility and quality of education in these areas.

Example: In the Eastern Region of Ghana, the rural area known as Pokrom suffers from a dearth of sound infrastructure and facilities within its schools. Moreover, these educational institutions grapple with low rates of student enrollment, a scarcity of qualified teachers, and a paucity of textbooks and other materials that facilitate the teaching and learning process. On the other hand, there is a contrasting reality within the schools of the urban area of East Legon situated in the

capital city. Here, one finds an abundance of qualified teachers, a surplus of enrolled students, ample funding, and a robust system of monitoring.

Urban areas in Ghana possess a notable advantage in terms of educational amenities and financial support. Public schools situated in urban centres typically possess superior infrastructure, well-equipped classrooms, modern teaching aids, and a wider array of extracurricular activities. Adequate funding aids in the maintenance of these facilities, fostering an environment conducive to enriched educational experiences. Conversely, the educational landscape in rural areas presents a markedly contrasting scenario. Public schools in these regions frequently encounter difficulties associated with insufficient funding, resulting in inadequate infrastructure, limited teaching resources, and a shortage of qualified instructors (Afful-Broni & Sekyi, 2014).

The absence of essential facilities obstructs the overall learning experience for students, impeding their academic growth. This educational disparity extends beyond the rural-urban dichotomy to encompass variations among different regions within Ghana. Certain regions enjoy greater educational opportunities and resources, whereas others confront more significant challenges. Factors such as economic development, investment in infrastructure, and government prioritization contribute to these regional disparities (Lewin, 2009).

During the tenure of President John Dramani Mahama, there was a notable focus on various endeavors, exemplified by the creation of Community Day Senior High Schools (commonly referred to as E-blocks), primarily centered in the northern regions. The overarching objective behind this undertaking was to ameliorate the disparity in educational opportunities, a contrast to the educational reforms implemented in the southern regions. Nonetheless, despite this endeavour, regional disparities in educational accessibility and quality persist. An example

of such regional differences is the varying access to educational infrastructure. As pointed out by a school headmaster in the Northern Region, "In some regions, students enjoy superior access to well-equipped schools with modern facilities, while others grapple with inadequate infrastructure, which ultimately impacts the learning environment."

### **Educational Infrastructure**

Another common point that was raised by the study participants was that condition of educational infrastructure within Ghana's education system concerning, with a notable impact resulting from changes in government administrations. Educational infrastructure holds a pivotal role in shaping the accessibility and quality of education. Elements such as school construction, the presence of libraries, and the integration of technology all constitute essential components of a well-rounded education system.

Participant F pointed out, "Different governments have exhibited distinct priorities regarding infrastructure development within the education sector." A district education director offered an additional perspective, stating, "The establishment of new schools, the renovation of existing ones, and the provision of educational materials and technology have been notably influenced by the policies and financial commitments of each government."

However, despite these well-intentioned initiatives, disparities in infrastructure persist. Concerns regarding these disparities were raised by a parent and community leader in the Upper West Region, who expressed worries about issues such as overcrowded classrooms and insufficient facilities. The sentiments voiced by this individual were echoed by a majority (four) of the participants in the study.

## **Educational Outcomes**

Evaluating the accessibility and quality of education in Ghana relies significantly on key metrics such as literacy rates and standardized test scores. Participant E and Participant B emphasized the critical role of educational outcomes in assessing the effectiveness of an education system. They emphasized that government policies and priorities have the power to notably influence these outcomes. Furthermore, they pointed out that changes in government can have a profound and wide-reaching impact on literacy rates, standardized test scores, and the overall achievements of the education system.

The research findings brought to light substantial variations in educational outcomes across different government administrations. For example, during President John Agyekum Kufuor's term, the introduction of the Ghana School Feeding Program made a positive difference, boosting enrollment and attendance rates, which, in turn, improved literacy rates in specific regions. The current literacy rate in Ghana stands at 69.8 percent, as reported in the 2021 Population and Housing Census. This represents a notable improvement compared to the 2010 census, where the literacy rate was recorded at 67.1 percent (Graphic Online, 2022). However, the research also highlighted the persistence of challenges in educational outcomes. These challenges were articulated by a community leader from an underdeveloped district who expressed concerns about differences in standardized test scores.

They pointed out that, “even though there have been noticeable improvements, disparities in test scores between urban and rural areas persist, reflecting inequalities in access to quality education. These concerns were echoed by a significant portion (five) of the study's participants. These observations shed light on the intricate relationship between changes in government and the educational outcomes of the system.”

## **Research Question 2**

*What are the main challenges and opportunities that have arisen as a result of the policy changes implemented by successive governments during the Fourth Republic, and how have they influenced Ghana's education system?*

### **Introduction**

The second research question delves into the examination of the main challenges and opportunities stemming from policy changes initiated by successive governments during the Fourth Republic of Ghana. Ghana's education landscape, like any other sector, is subject to the ever-changing priorities and policies of the governments that take the helm. These changes can bring both challenges and opportunities, significantly impacting the accessibility and quality of education.

The participants' responses to Question Two exhibited a wide range of perspectives, ultimately culminating in the formation of four primary themes that effectively conveyed the nuances of the educational setting. These principal themes, which organically emerged from the data and symbolize crucial factors impacting the participants' encounters and viewpoints, encompass policy changes and educational landscape, challenges in policy implementation, opportunities for educational advancement and equity and inclusivity. The subsequent section presents these four themes.

### **Policy Changes and Educational Landscape and Challenges in Policy Implementation**

In the participants' responses, a recurring theme emerged, underscoring the significance of Policy Changes and Educational Landscape. The transformation of Ghana's education system has been significantly molded by the policy changes implemented by various governments

throughout the Fourth Republic. These changes have wielded a substantial impact on the accessibility, quality, and general educational landscape of the country. Participant C contemplated the profound influence of these policy changes.

They stated,

"Through the years, we have witnessed a wide spectrum of shifts in educational policies. These alterations encompass changes in the curriculum, expansions of educational programs, and adjustments in the allocation of resources."

They also remarked,

During my time in school, education consisted of only three years, (referring to secondary education) after which students could decide whether to take O Level and A Level exams for university entrance or seek employment with their existing certification. However, the educational landscape has evolved significantly, and a high school diploma no longer holds the same status it once did.

Additionally, Participant B offered insights into the consequences of these policy shifts, underscoring that the introduction of new policies often mirrors the priorities and ideologies of the governing party. They pointed out that various administrations have given distinct emphasis to areas such as teacher training, infrastructure development, and curriculum content. They highlighted the contrasting approaches of leaders like Kufuor and Mills, noting that Mills focused on increasing compensation for the educational sector, including research allowances, while Kufuor's emphasis was on making education free and expanding student enrolment.

While policy changes in Ghana's education system hold the potential for positive transformation, they often encounter a spectrum of challenges during the implementation phase.

These hurdles, ranging from funding constraints to infrastructure limitations, are essential to understand when evaluating the real-world impact of these policies. One of the primary hurdles have encountered is funding constraints. Many ambitious policies require substantial financial resources, and sometimes the allocated budgets fall short of the envisioned targets. Despite the well-intended goals of various education policies in Ghana, the actualization of these policies has often encountered significant obstacles because of insufficient execution and financial limitations. An exemplary illustration of this is that the allocation of resources was hindered by a deficit in the designated budget and inadequate resources.

This particular instance (funding constraints) highlights the crucial significance of not only devising resilient policies but also guaranteeing their efficacious execution through adequate financial backing. During our interviews, an educational administrator offered insights into the practical challenges of policy implementation and resource allocation. The educational administrator pointed out, "The equitable distribution of resources for policy implementation remains a complex challenge. While policies may aim for balanced resource allocation, disparities still persist across regions, affecting the accessibility and quality of education."

### **Opportunities for Educational Advancement and Equity and Inclusivity**

Amidst the complexities and challenges brought about by policy changes in Ghana's education system, there exist opportunities that hold the potential for significant educational advancement. These opportunities encompass initiatives aimed at enhancing access and quality, and fostering innovation within the education sector.

Participant E, shared insights into these opportunities, stating, "Each change in government brings a window of opportunity to address existing gaps and chart a path for

educational advancement. New administrations often introduce initiatives that aim to improve access to education, enhance its quality, and stimulate innovation."

For instance, during an interview with Participant D, they pointed out,

"The introduction of initiatives like the Capitation Grant and the Ghana School Feeding Program, free SHS, has substantially improved access to education, particularly in underserved areas. These programs have been instrumental in reducing financial barriers and enhancing enrollment rates."

The concept of equity and inclusivity in education is pivotal for ensuring that all students in Ghana, regardless of their background, have equal access to quality education. Policy changes within the education sector can either address or exacerbate disparities based on factors like geography, socioeconomic status, gender, and ethnicity. From the data collection processes, Participant C, offered insights into this critical issue, stating, "Educational policies play a central role in promoting equity and inclusivity. They can bridge gaps and ensure that marginalized groups have equal access to educational opportunities."

However, disparities continue to exist. During the interviews, Participant F pointed out, "While significant strides have been made to promote gender equity in education, challenges remain. In some regions, girls' access to quality education is still hindered by cultural norms and practices."

Ethnicity-based disparities were also highlighted by Participant C.

They noted, "In regions with ethnically diverse populations, variations in access to education can occur based on the availability of instruction in local languages. Policies in this regard have evolved over the years but still face challenges."



### **Research Question 3**

*Which specific education policies have been retained or updated by successive governments in Ghana during the Fourth Republic, and what are the underlying rationales and justifications provided by the government for maintaining or revising these policies?*

#### **Introduction**

This research question sought to unravel the specific education policies that have endured or evolved under successive governments and the underlying rationales and justifications presented by these administrations for their retention or revision. Throughout the Fourth Republic, Ghana's education landscape has witnessed a spectrum of policy shifts, reflecting the ever-evolving priorities and ideologies of different governments. However, nestled within this dynamic environment are policies that have endured over time, serving as a foundation upon which educational strategies are built. Furthermore, there are policies that have undergone transformation, responding to the shifting needs and challenges of Ghana's education system.

The range of perspectives displayed by the participants' reactions to Question Three was extensive, ultimately resulting in the creation of One main theme that effectively conveyed the intricacies of the educational environment. This primary theme, which naturally arose from the data and represents significant elements affecting the participants' experiences and opinions, includes policy continuity. This section provided the views of the participants when questioned on the educational policies that have stood the test of time and the rationales behind them. The subsequent section presents the theme.

## **Policy Continuity**

Policy continuity within Ghana's education system is a vital dimension that deserves meticulous examination. It involves the identification and analysis of specific education policies that have been retained and carried forward by successive governments. Through interviews with education experts and policymakers, a nuanced exploration of policy continuity provided insights into the rationale behind preserving particular policies and the implications of such continuity for educational accessibility and quality.

For instance, the Capitation Grant, initiated during President John Agyekum Kufuor's tenure in the year 2005, remains a critical policy that has persisted through successive governments. This policy has implications for improving access to primary education by providing financial support for each enrolled pupil. In the words of a former Minister of Education and advocate for inclusive education, the Capitation Grant has been retained for several reasons. It aligns with the broader goal of universal basic education and is recognized as an effective strategy to enhance enrollment and attendance rates, particularly in underserved regions (Owusu-Ankomah, 2006).

In addition to the Capitation Grant which is still intact and active, the FCUBE educational policy continues to roll. FCUBE was initially introduced during President John Agyekum Kufuor's administration (NPP, 2001-2009). This policy aimed at making basic education free and compulsory for all children. A substantial number of participants supported this policy as a critical foundation for improved access to quality education. The rationale for its retention across successive governments is to ensure equal educational opportunities and address disparities in access to basic education.

Added to the continuity list of educational policies since the Fourth Republic was the Free SHS program. Ideally, remarked Participant A,

The NDC government preplan and made everything possible for the free progressive SHS policy to roll but unfortunately, they were out of power and succeeded by the NPP government; instead of them to continue with the plan, they instead drafted a new scheme altogether and made the SHS level, completely free.

In this context, it's important to highlight a significant policy that underwent revision while being retained: the transition from progressively free SHS to the Free SHS policy under the administration of Nana Akufo-Addo (NPP, 2017-present). This policy shift received substantial support from the participants in this study, with a notable proportion (four) expressing their endorsement. The rationale behind this policy transformation was to broaden access to senior high education by abolishing fees, supplying free textbooks, and aligning the educational system with the demands of the job market. It's worth noting that a significant portion (five) of the participants also emphasized the perspective that not all individuals should necessarily benefit from free education, especially those who are financially capable of supporting themselves and their families. Instead, they suggested that the resources allocated for this group could be redirected to other critical areas.

Furthermore, the development of educational infrastructure emerged as another pivotal point of discussion. Participants acknowledged the paramount importance of infrastructure in the realm of education. Governments have consistently emphasized the construction and renovation of schools, the provision of educational materials, and the integration of technology into the educational process. The underlying rationale behind this enduring focus is to create a conducive learning environment, elevate the overall quality of education, and ensure that educational

resources are accessible in an equitable manner. Regarding curriculum alterations, successive governments have introduced both additions and eliminations to the educational sector.

Notably, former President Agyekum Kuffour reduced the duration of the second cycle school education to three years, whereas President Mills revised it to four years. Furthermore, President Akufo Addo introduced the teaching of a bilingual language to the curriculum. The rationale for these changes is rooted in the need to adapt the curriculum to evolving educational requirements, align it with the demands of the job market, and enhance the overall quality of education. These considerations underscore the ever-evolving nature of educational policy in Ghana.

#### **Research Question 4**

*What are the significant impacts, both positive and negative, of educational policies implemented by successive governments during the Fourth Republic on Ghana's education system?*

#### **Introduction**

Within the dynamic landscape of the education system in Ghana during the Fourth Republic, a profound exploration arises, guided by the fundamental question: "What are the primary challenges and opportunities that have emerged as a consequence of the policy changes implemented by successive governments, and how have they influenced the education system of Ghana?" This inquiry functions as a lens through which we navigate the multifaceted impacts of educational policies, unravelling a narrative that intricately intertwines challenges and opportunities within the realm of education. In this comprehensive exploration, our attention converges on the positive impacts generated by key educational policies, revealing the

transformative potential that these initiatives possess for students, educators, and communities alike.

We embark on a journey through the policy landscape, where each governmental intervention serves as a pivot, influencing access, quality, and inclusivity in education. One such policy that stands out amidst this complex tapestry is the Capitation Grant, an initiative designed to provide financial support for enrolled pupils in primary schools. As we delve into the narratives of government officials, educators, and education experts, the Capitation Grant emerges as a powerful instrument addressing financial barriers to education. The policy not only aims to revolutionize access to education but also endeavours to mitigate economic challenges, particularly in regions marked by disparities.

Furthermore, the exploration extends to the Free SHS Policy a groundbreaking endeavour aimed at eliminating financial obstacles to senior high school education. This policy not only tackles financial barriers but also seeks to promote gender equity and inclusivity, offering equal opportunities for male and female students. Through conversations with gender and education specialists, we gain insights into how the Free SHS Policy has become a milestone in promoting gender parity, significantly increasing female enrollment, and fostering inclusivity.

### **Impacts of Educational Policies**

The fourth research question seeks to delve into the significant impacts, both positive and negative, of the educational policies implemented by successive governments during the Fourth Republic on Ghana's education system. Educational policies serve as the fulcrum upon which a nation's education system balances. Each policy introduced by a government carries the potential to reshape the educational landscape and chart new trajectories for students and educators alike.

Through interviews with government officials, educators, and education experts insights centred on the implementation of the Capitation Grant. This policy aimed to provide financial support for each enrolled pupil in primary schools, thereby reducing financial barriers to education. This initiative had a significant impact on access and enrollment, especially in regions with economic disparities.

Per the remarks of one of the interviewees,

"The Capitation Grant was a game-changer. It directly addressed financial barriers to education and significantly increased enrollment rates in primary schools, particularly in regions where access to education was a challenge."

An overwhelming number of sampled participants bought into this thought.

Also, the government under President Kufuor emphasized curriculum reforms and led to updated and more relevant educational content.

Participant A noted,

"Curriculum reforms have played a pivotal role in ensuring that education in Ghana remains up-to-date and relevant. They have been instrumental in equipping students with skills and knowledge that align with the demands of the modern world."

Furthermore, policies that prioritize teacher training and development, including continuous professional development programs, have contributed to improved teaching quality.

Participant C explained,

"Investing in teacher training and development policies has led to more competent and motivated educators. This, in turn, enhances the overall quality of education, as teachers are better equipped to facilitate meaningful learning experiences."

This has already led to the awarding of teachers during the labors day (which happens on 1<sup>st</sup> May every year) which boosts the morale of other teachers and encourages them to strive for the best. Technology integration policies, such as the provision of educational materials and tools, have also had a positive impact on educational quality. The Free SHS Policy, introduced to eliminate financial barriers to senior high school education, has aimed to promote gender equity and inclusivity by providing equal opportunities for both male and female students. This policy has been instrumental in improving gender parity in senior high school enrollment.

Participant D explained,

"The Free SHS Policy has been a milestone in promoting gender equity. It has increased female enrollment in senior high schools, making education more accessible and inclusive for girls across the country."

The government under President Akufo-Addo has focused on technology integration in the classroom and has resulted in the provision of digital resources and tools to enhance the learning experience.

Participant F noted,

"Policies that prioritize technology integration have transformed classrooms into interactive and engaging environments. They have enabled students to access a wealth of resources and introduced innovative teaching methods."

Furthermore, the introduction of policies such as the Stem policy and Technical and vocational education and training (TVET) that support novel pedagogical approaches, such as project-based learning or competency-based education, has encouraged educators to explore creative ways of delivering content.

Despite well-intentioned policies, funding constraints can limit the government's ability to fully execute its initiatives. A former education minister stated, “Lack of adequate funding has been a persistent challenge in the implementation of various educational policies. This has often hindered the government's ability to provide necessary resources for policy execution” (Matthew, 2020).

Infrastructure limitations can also pose significant challenges, especially in regions with inadequate educational facilities.

Participant E explained, “Infrastructure limitations have impacted the effective delivery of educational policies. Inadequate school buildings, insufficient classrooms, and lack of basic amenities can disrupt policy implementation and negatively affect the learning environment.”

Additionally, resource allocation issues can create disparities in the distribution of resources, affecting the equitable implementation of policies. While the Capitation Grant aimed to improve access to primary education, it inadvertently highlighted disparities in resource allocation between regions.

Participant C pointed out,



"While the Capitation Grant has been beneficial in some areas, it has also exposed the disparities in infrastructure and resources between regions. Underserved regions often receive fewer resources, hindering the quality of education."

Participant B noted,

"Even with policies in place, we continue to see gender disparities in access to quality education, particularly in some regions where cultural and societal factors play a significant role."

Additionally, policies related to language of instruction and the availability of educational materials can perpetuate disparities for marginalized ethnic groups. Policies that prioritize continuous professional development and training for educators have had a positive impact on the quality of teaching.

Participant A explained,

"Investing in teacher training and development policies has resulted in a more competent and motivated teaching workforce. This, in turn, enhances the overall quality of education as teachers are better equipped to facilitate meaningful learning experiences."

However, challenges can arise from policies that have introduced variations in teacher qualifications and standards.

Participant E and Participant B noted,

"While the intention may be to address shortages of teachers in underserved regions, it can inadvertently lead to differences in the qualifications and preparedness of educators, affecting the quality of instruction."

Policies that have prioritized the allocation of resources for learning materials and technology integration have positively impacted the availability of these resources.

Participant D stated,

"Policies emphasizing technology integration have led to improved access to digital resources and tools in schools, enriching the learning experience."

Infrastructure development policies can also enhance the availability of modern and well-equipped school facilities.

Participant A explained,

"Investing in infrastructure development policies has contributed to the construction of new schools and the improvement of existing facilities, creating a more conducive learning environment."

However, resource allocation disparities between regions and schools can persist, despite policy efforts. Policies emphasizing improved literacy programs have resulted in increased literacy rates among students.

Participant A noted,

"Policies focused on literacy development have positively impacted literacy rates, particularly among primary school students. These policies have equipped students with essential reading and writing skills."

However, variations in standardized test scores can occur due to different administrations' policies and strategies.

Participant C explained,

"Standardized test scores may vary under different administrations based on changes in curriculum, teaching methodologies, and assessment practices. These variations reflect the evolving nature of educational policies."

## **Conclusion**

In conclusion, the comprehensive exploration of participant responses across Questions One, Two, Three, and Four has unveiled a rich tapestry of perspectives, giving rise to four pivotal themes that illuminate the multifaceted landscape of education in Ghana. These overarching themes, Policy Changes and Educational Landscape, Challenges in Policy Implementation, Opportunities for Educational Advancement, and Equity and Inclusivity stand as testament to the diversity of encounters and viewpoints within the dataset. The organic emergence of these principal themes underscores their authenticity, symbolizing critical factors that shape the participants' educational experiences. As we delve into the intricacies of Policy Continuity, Educational Outcomes, Educational Infrastructure, Regional Disparities, Resource Allocation, and Shifts in Education Policies, a nuanced understanding of the complex dynamics influencing education becomes apparent.

This synthesis not only encapsulates the richness of participant contributions but also serves as a valuable resource for deeper insights into the multifaceted nature of education. By recognizing and exploring these themes, we gain a holistic perspective on the challenges, opportunities, and disparities inherent in the educational landscape, fostering a foundation for informed discussions and strategic considerations in the ongoing discourse surrounding educational policies and practices.

## **Documents Analysis**

Document analysis is a research methodology that entails a systematic review and interpretation of written, visual, or audio materials to derive significant insights and understandings. This approach holds great significance in the realm of social science research as it allows for an examination of existing records, policies, reports, and other artifacts in a non-intrusive manner (Bowen, 2009). Within my research, I employ document analysis as a means to gain historical context, evaluate the impacts of policies, and comprehend societal dynamics. The importance of this methodology lies in its capacity to provide a rich and abundant source of data, often offering a longitudinal perspective and enabling researchers to corroborate findings through multiple sources. In the current study, document analysis served as a foundational approach to comprehensively investigate the consequences of educational policies in Ghana during the Fourth Republic. The analyzed documents encompassed official policy documents, government reports, educational frameworks, and scholarly articles.

These materials were selected based on their relevance to the research question, as they offered a wealth of information regarding the policy changes implemented by successive governments and their effects on Ghana's education system. By meticulously examining these documents, we aimed to extract nuanced insights and corroborate them with perspectives obtained through interviews with government officials, educators, and experts. Such documents were related to the Ghana Education Trust Fund (GETFund), Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE), Double-Track System, Capitation Grant, and Progressive Free Senior High School. This approach facilitated the development of a comprehensive understanding of the challenges and opportunities that arise from educational policy changes in Ghana.

## **Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE)**

The initiation of the FCUBE program in Ghana took place in 1996 and gained further reinforcement with the implementation of the Capitation Grant Scheme in the 2004/05 academic year (Ekundayo, 2018). The Ministry of Education, Science, and Sports (MoESS) was tasked with the responsibility of policy development. The primary objective of the MoESS was to ensure that all Ghanaian school-age children received quality formal education and training. This mission is achieved by managing resources effectively to align educational delivery with the country's workforce and societal requirements (Kwapong, 2010).

The FCUBE initiative, introduced in October 1996, was designed to be implemented over ten years, in compliance with the Fourth Republican Constitution's directive, which mandated the government to establish a program providing Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education within a decade (Nudzor, 2017). Unlike its predecessor, the Universal Primary Education (UPE) policy, which only covered primary education, FCUBE extended its coverage to the first nine years of basic education, making it both free and mandatory (Bown, 2009). With respect to how the 1996 FCUBE reform policy differed from earlier education policies.

Nudzor (2012) indicated that, while FCUBE shared common themes and ideas with previous policies, it distinguished itself by placing a stronger emphasis on implementation. The government's primary goal was to ensure that all Ghanaian children received nine years of free education, equipping them for further education and skill training.

The 1996 FCUBE policy sought to enhance access to quality basic education, with a particular focus on improving the quality of educational services offered (Darkwa and Acquah, 2022). The "compulsory" element of FCUBE signified the government's commitment to exerting pressure on parents to ensure their children completed the entire basic education cycle. Parents

who failed to comply could potentially face fines, although the effectiveness of enforcement mechanisms was limited, rendering this threat largely ineffective. Despite the policy of fee-free tuition in primary schools introduced in 1996, as outlined by FCUBE, many districts continued to impose levies on students to cover school-related costs.

Although no child should theoretically be denied access to education due to non-payment, the practical implementation often fell short. This deterred many families, particularly the most economically disadvantaged, from sending their children, especially girls, to school. Ambiguity persisted regarding the definition of "free education." The Ghana Education Service clarified that FCUBE entailed the government providing free tuition, textbooks, teaching and learning materials, and subsidizing the cost of exercise books. Additionally, it covered Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE) fees for both public and private candidates. Parents were expected to ensure that all school-age children attended school, providing them with food, school uniforms, school bags, stationery, and transportation if necessary.

In 2004, Ghana introduced the Capitation Grant Scheme as a nationwide initiative to realize universal basic education (Ampratwum and Armah-Attoh, 2010). Consequently, all school fees were completely abolished in 2005. This move was aimed at aligning with the constitutional requirement of providing free, compulsory, and universal primary education and supporting the educational policies established under FCUBE. To meet the education-related Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the government eliminated all school fees, from pre-primary to junior secondary levels, and provided schools with a per-pupil grant known as the Capitation Grant Scheme (CGS).

## **Capitation Grant**

Under this arrangement, each public pre-primary, primary, and junior secondary school in Ghana received an annual grant of approximately \$3.30 per student (Wal, 2006). This policy explicitly prohibited educational institutions from imposing fees on parents (Eric, 2020). The determination of this grant amount was based on an analysis of the average fees previously charged for basic education across the country. The introduction of the Capitation Grant Scheme in 2004-2005 aimed to provide financial and administrative support for the FCUBE policy, whose objective was to deliver free and universal basic education (Kuunyangna, 2010). This initiative not only eliminated the financial barrier to school enrollment but also compensated schools for the revenue they lost due to the removal of student levies.

The allocation of funds through the Capitation Grant Scheme is carefully managed and used in accordance with the School Performance Improvement Plan (SPIP). Key individuals involved in the administration of the Capitation Grant include the District Director of Education (DDE), Assistant Director of Supervision, Circuit Supervisors, District Accountants, School Management Committee (SMC), and Head-Teacher.

The grant disbursement process unfolds as follows: The central government deposits funds into the primary account of the Ghana Education Sector (GES) for the purpose of disbursing the Capitation Grant. Individual checks are issued to each district based on their student enrollment and are subsequently deposited into specially designated bank accounts for Capitation Grants. To facilitate the smooth execution of school programs, distinct bank accounts are set up for each school, and funds are transferred from the district account to the school account. To request funds, the individual responsible for an activity within the SPIP submits a request form to the Head-Teacher. The necessary funds are then withdrawn from the bank in

cash, and an Advance Form is filled out. The cash is then handed over to the executor for the specific purpose outlined in the request form. Once the activity is completed, the executor provides pertinent documentation, including receipts, certificates of honour, and activity reports, to the Head-Teacher.

An accounting for advances form is subsequently completed to conclude the process.

In the case of each school, requests for funds necessitate endorsement by both the SMC Chairman and the Head-Teacher, as they jointly bear the responsibility for utilizing the funds to achieve SPIP objectives. The district education office establishes a dedicated account to house capitation grant funds, with the District Director of Education (DDE) and the District Accountant serving as signatories. Drawing inspiration from a similar practice in Kenya, it is suggested that Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs) could also be designated as grant signatories to enhance transparency and accountability outside the official school management structure. To ensure accountability and transparency, each school maintains financial records that meticulously document all disbursed and received capitation grants, along with relevant receipts and documentation.

These records are accessible for review by the Schools Management Committee (SMC), the district education office, and the internal audit office. Monthly and quarterly reports, outlining both completed and ongoing activities along with expenditure details, are submitted to the district education office by the Head-Teacher and the SMC Chairman. In turn, the district education office provides quarterly reports on capitation grant operations to the Director General. Monitoring and reporting on the disbursement and utilization of funds occur at the district and school levels on a term-by-term basis. This practice significantly contributes to transparency and accountability, both of which are essential for the successful implementation of the Capitation



Grant Scheme (CGS). This emphasis on accountability is vital to ensure the sustainability of the CGS.

The CGS was designed to promote effective decentralization by empowering schools to plan and execute activities aimed at enhancing school quality using accountability guidelines and forms. The impact of Capitation Grants is evident in school enrollment figures, with gross enrollment increasing by nearly 10% during the 2005/06 school year, resulting in primary enrollment reaching 92.4% nationwide (Osei et al., 2009). Net enrollment also increased from 62% to 69%. This success led to the nationwide adoption of the Capitation Grant system in 2005. The Government of Ghana now allocates a significant portion of its recurrent national budget, approximately 40%, to education, with around 65% of that allocation specifically dedicated to primary and junior secondary education. These figures rank among the highest reported by African nations.

### **Ghana Education Trust Fund (GETFund)**

The Ghana Education Trust Fund, created under Act 581 on August 25, 2000, has the primary purpose of enhancing the nation's educational system at all educational levels (Kuyini, 2013). It directs its efforts towards several key areas, including the improvement of infrastructure and academic facilities in educational institutions, providing financial aid in the form of scholarships and grants to deserving yet financially challenged students, supporting the student loan scheme for accredited institutions, and extending funding to higher education through the National Council for Tertiary Education. Funding for the Ghana Education Trust Fund is derived from various sources, including a 2.5% share of Value Added Tax (VAT) collected from products and income, parliamentary allocations for educational purposes, returns from fund

investments, grants, donations, contributions from various organizations, and support from external donors (Atuahene, 2009).

The efficient management of the fund falls under the oversight of a 17-member Board of Trustees, composed of representatives from various sectors. This board is responsible for shaping fund policies, supervising fund collection, maintaining sound accounting practices, and making judicious investments that benefit the fund. However, the board operates within a framework that receives policy directives from the Minister of Education. The legislative branch also plays a vital role in overseeing fund activities, with the board mandated to submit an annual report of its activities and financial statements to the Minister, who subsequently presents the report to parliament for review. This system of checks and balances ensures transparency in the policy implementation process.

Accessing GETFund resources is subject to specific policies and procedures that function as monitoring mechanisms to prevent corruption in resource allocation. The GETFund has established a set of well-structured policies and procedures that institutions must adhere to in order to access the fund. Officially approved projects are communicated to the respective institutions or beneficiaries before funds are disbursed. Funds are allocated exclusively to officially approved projects, except in critical cases authorized by the Minister of Education under a certificate of emergency. Contract awards for GETFund projects are the responsibility of competent tender boards within the respective institutions, with copies sent to GETFund. Payments for construction projects are made upon submission of duly signed certificates indicating the contracting company's name.

The total cost of construction, including appropriate consultancy fees, is considered for GETFund purposes. Consultancy fees for construction projects should not exceed 6%. Payments

for vehicles and equipment (excluding computers) are made directly to suppliers or dealers. Requests for payments related to projects and programs at the pre-tertiary level are made by the Minister of Education or a designated representative. Payments for projects in tertiary institutions are routed through the National Council for Tertiary Education (NCTE). Projects linked to agencies under the Ministry of Education require payment requests from the Minister of Education. Emergency projects in public schools, approved by Parliamentarians, necessitate requests through respective District Education Offices.

Requests for scholarship grants for the Scholarship Secretariat are made by the Registrar of the Scholarship Secretariat. Payments for certificates in tertiary-level projects are processed through Vice Chancellors or Principals, with details provided to the NCTE. Projects from semi-autonomous institutes/colleges and distant university campuses are treated separately, but payments for approved projects go through Vice Chancellors/Principals. Payments for certificates in pre-tertiary projects and agencies under the Ministry are sent through the Minister of Education. Payments for vehicles, computers, and equipment are made directly to dealers or suppliers.

Information regarding payments, upon request, is disclosed only to the Minister of Education, the Chief Director of the Ministry of Education, NCTE officials, and heads of tertiary institutions. Contractors are not allowed to personally follow up on checks at the GETFund office. Consultants and Suppliers/Dealers may visit the GETFund office by invitation. GETFund aims to process payments within five days of receiving properly issued and authenticated certificates and consultancy claims. Further payments for certificates or claims are subject to submission of receipts and payment vouchers from previous payments, and all payments are

subject to the prevailing withholding tax, which GETFund remits directly to the IRS on behalf of the payee. Receipts from the IRS are forwarded to the payee once received.

Over the years, there has been a significant increase in the allocation and disbursement of funds to the GETFund. In some cases, these allocations have exceeded the anticipated budgetary figures. For example, in 2001, the Minister of Finance presented a financial statement to the Ghanaian Parliament, where he projected that an amount of 358.3 billion cedis would be realized for the year 2001 (Budget Statement, March 2001, line 253). The majority of these funds have been channeled toward infrastructural development in universities and schools. In total, 497 billion cedis were allocated in 2001, and 390 billion cedis in 2002. By 2003, the amount had grown to 400 billion cedis and 700 billion cedis in 2004, followed by 1.1 trillion cedis in 2005. Allocation of GETFund proceeds is determined by the Board of Trustees in consultation with the fund's administrator, and the final decision is subject to legislative approval by members of parliament, as mandated by Section 8(2) of Act 581.

This legislative requirement compels the Board of Trustees to annually submit a formula for the distribution of funds to various aspects of education, such as tertiary education, secondary education, basic education, investment, and other related areas like distance education, schools, public libraries, and special education. The Board is also obligated by law to consider certain factors in their disbursements, including promoting the study of Mathematics, Science, and Technology; advancing female education; reducing illiteracy in historically disadvantaged areas; and promoting computer, vocational, and technical education and training. Based on the available funds for a given year, the Board determines the percentage allocation to each of these categories, with a focus on infrastructure development.

For example, in 2001, 74.86% of the total fund approved by parliament was allocated to tertiary and secondary education, as donor support for basic education was substantial. The distribution formula takes into account various factors, including the cost of training a student at the tertiary level, infrastructure costs in tertiary institutions, government support for the student loan scheme, and teaching and facility support for tertiary students.

The trend in allocation keeps evolving to meet the needs and resources of each year. In 2004, the estimated income was 700 billion cedis, with the majority allocated to infrastructure development for all institutions. Scholarships received a substantial portion, with a focus on female students, faculty development and research were also considered. In 2005, the base fund for GETFund projects increased, with a total of 1.1 trillion cedis approved. The allocation was detailed, with 47% going to tertiary education, 23% to secondary education, and 23% to basic education.

A small percentage was designated for investment and other areas. Specific allocations to universities, polytechnics, and institutes were also determined based on the needs and projects of each institution. The focus on infrastructure development and academic facilities is critical, considering the historical lack of progress in these areas. Rehabilitation, renovation, and construction of classrooms, laboratories, dormitories, and other facilities have been emphasized, aiming to address the deterioration in the standards of education in Ghana. This commitment to infrastructure development extends to both public tertiary institutions and second-cycle institutions across the country.

## **Progressive Free Senior High School (SHS) Policy**

The Progressive Free Senior High School (SHS) Policy stands as a landmark educational initiative in Ghana, with the primary objective of providing tuition-free senior high school education to all eligible students (Education Strategic Plan, 2018). This policy is an evolution of the Free Senior High School Policy (FSHSP), replacing the earlier Progressively Free Senior High School Policy initiated in 2015 by the National Democratic Congress government. The PFSHSP, launched in September 2015, aimed to gradually absorb the costs associated with secondary education, offering students a seamless transition from JHS to SHS without financial barriers. Its core mission was to enhance access, improve educational quality, and equip Ghanaian students with the necessary skills to excel and take on proactive roles in the nation.

To efficiently implement the FSHSP, the Government of Ghana allocated GH¢ 12,178,544 to the Ministry of Education for the first term of the 2015/16 academic year (Education Strategic Plan, 2018). This funding was intended to cover expenses such as examination fees, entertainment, library resources, and Student Representative Council (SRC) dues. It also extended to costs associated with sports, cultural activities, science development, mathematics quizzes, information and communication technology, as well as co-curricular activities. However, with the change in government, the Progressive Free SHS Policy was replaced by the Free Senior High School Policy under the New Patriotic Party administration (Education Strategic Plan, 2018). This policy was meticulously crafted to remove financial barriers that might hinder students from pursuing higher education, ultimately promoting inclusivity and equal educational opportunities for all.

The implementation of the Progressive Free SHS Policy followed a well-structured plan aimed at enhancing accessibility to senior high school education. This comprehensive strategy

was initiated in phases, commencing in 2017. Key components of the plan included the elimination of tuition fees, examination fees, and related charges for students. Furthermore, several incentives were introduced to alleviate the financial burden on parents and guardians, including the provision of free textbooks, meals, and accommodation.

To ensure the effective execution of the policy, the government substantially increased the annual budget allocation to the education sector. The government currently allocates 3.8% of GDP to the education sector per the 2022 budget (Unicef,2022) This additional funding was strategically invested in the expansion and enhancement of the infrastructure of existing senior high schools and the construction of new institutions to accommodate the growing number of students. The policy also introduced a double-track system in select schools to manage the surge in enrollment. This system effectively divided students into two groups, allowing one group to attend school while the other was on vacation, optimizing the use of available resources and facilities.

The Progressive Free SHS Policy has left a profound impact on the landscape of education in Ghana. It has led to a substantial increase in senior high school enrollment, offering students who may have been financially constrained the opportunity to access quality education at this level. Additionally, the policy has spurred considerable growth in educational infrastructure, resulting in the expansion of existing schools and the construction of new ones. This has not only enhanced the learning environment but also generated job opportunities within the construction and education sectors.

Furthermore, the initiative has significantly contributed to the development of a more educated and skilled workforce, which is pivotal for the economic advancement of the nation. It

has also broadened horizons for students, allowing them to explore a wider range of career possibilities, thereby fostering the development of human capital.

### **Double-Track System**

The introduction of the Double-Track System in Ghana's educational landscape stemmed from a need to address several critical challenges in the country's secondary education system. Historically, issues such as the inability to afford school fees, insufficient infrastructure, inability to meet minimum entry requirements, and the absence of alternative educational pathways for students with varying interests and abilities have posed significant barriers to junior high school graduates seeking access to second cycle education, as highlighted by reports from the Presidential Commission on Education Reforms in Ghana (Annon, 2004).

In line with Ghana's constitutional commitment to making secondary education, including technical and vocational education, accessible to all through the progressive introduction of free education, the government embarked on a transformative journey. In January 2017, the government launched the SHS policy. The primary aim of this policy was to eliminate the financial impediments that were preventing students from pursuing second-cycle education. The impact of the free SHS policy was immediate and substantial, with a 33.2% increase in enrollment reported (Partey, 2018). Students who had been constrained by financial limitations suddenly found the doors to SHS education wide open.

However, this surge in enrollment exerted immense pressure on the already inadequate educational infrastructure. To sustain and manage the increasing demand created by the free SHS policy, the government devised a creative solution, leading to the birth of the Double-Track System. This educational model was officially rolled out in September 2018. The essence of the



Double-Track System is the division of both students and staff into two tracks, ensuring that while one track is actively engaged in schooling, the other enjoys scheduled vacation periods.

The Double-Track System thus serves as an innovative approach to manage the escalating enrollment without compromising the quality of education. By cleverly staggering the academic calendar for different tracks, this system allows schools to effectively utilize their existing resources and infrastructure, reducing overcrowding and enhancing the overall learning experience. While the double-track system was introduced as a response to challenges brought about by the free SHS policy, it represents a pragmatic solution to ensure that the goals of expanded access to education are achieved while maintaining educational standards.

The implementation of the Double-Track System in Ghana's educational landscape has had both positive and challenging consequences. One of the most significant impacts of the Double-Track System is its role in further increasing access to senior high school education. This innovative approach has allowed a substantial surge in enrollment, with many students who previously faced financial constraints now able to pursue their SHS education. Also, the Double-Track System has enabled schools to efficiently manage their limited resources and infrastructure. By dividing students and staff into two tracks, schools can better accommodate the growing number of students without straining their existing facilities. This method of resource optimization helps alleviate issues related to overcrowding, inadequate classrooms, and other infrastructure challenges. Smaller class sizes often lead to more personalized attention and improved student-teacher interactions. The double-track approach effectively reduces class sizes during each track session, enhancing the overall quality of education and providing students with a more conducive learning environment. This can be traced back to the increase in pupil who passed their West African Senior High School Certificate Examination.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, the examination of key educational documents in Ghana's Fourth Republic, which include the Ghana Education Trust Fund (GETFund), Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE), Double-Track System, Capitation Grant, and Progressive Free Senior High School, has yielded a comprehensive and nuanced comprehension of the challenges and opportunities inherent in the nation's education system. Through meticulous analysis of these documents, valuable insights have been made regarding the evolving landscape of education, the objectives of the policies, and their real-world implications. The Ghana Education Trust Fund (GETFund) has emerged as a crucial financial pillar, reflecting the government's commitment to enhancing educational resources. The Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) policy emphasizes the country's dedication to achieving universal access, although its implementation has encountered obstacles.

The Double-Track System, Capitation Grant, and Progressive Free Senior High School policies exemplify innovative approaches to addressing issues related to overcrowding, financial barriers, and gender equity, respectively. This examination of documents has not only revealed diverse policy strategies but has also illuminated the interconnected challenges and opportunities. The interplay among these policies uncovers a complex tapestry that necessitates a holistic comprehension for the effective formulation of educational policies. As Ghana continues its pursuit of educational improvement, the insights gleaned from this document analysis provide a valuable foundation, presenting a roadmap for informed decision-making and strategic interventions to further fortify the educational landscape in the Fourth Republic.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

#### Introduction

In this chapter, the findings are discussed in detail, with a focus on their implications and conclusions drawn from them. This discussion involves a comparison and contrast with the existing body of literature, aligning with the research objectives that have guided the study. As a quick reminder, this research, titled "The Effect of Political Transition on the Education System in Ghana: An Analysis of the Fourth Republic," aimed to investigate how political changes in Ghana have affected the country's educational system during the Fourth Republic.

The Fourth Republic of Ghana began in January 1992 with the introduction of a new constitution, declaring Ghana as a unitary republic with sovereignty residing in its people. Throughout this chapter, a comprehensive discussion of how political transitions have influenced Ghana's educational landscape during this period is provided. The effects of these transitions are explored in depth, and their implications are considered in the context of our research objectives. This discussion contributes to a richer comprehension of the relationship between political transitions and education in Ghana.

#### Research Objective 1

*To assess the impact of government changes during the Fourth Republic on the accessibility of Ghana's education system, including enrollment, infrastructure, and resource availability.*

Ghana's education system goes through many changes whenever a new government takes charge. This impacts how students can access education. These changes affect many things like how many students can go to school, the quality of school buildings, and the availability of

things students need for learning. One important thing we found is that Ghana does not have a long-term plan for its education system.

Bawakyillenuo et al, (2013) scrutinized educational policies which were put in place for the various educational cycle schools in Ghana. It was found that the government lacked comprehension of national development plans linked towards education. This forces education policies to change considerably with every new government. This rapid fluctuation in policies often presents challenges in sustaining and nurturing good ideas, which is a point emphasized by (Kadingdi, 2013). This research underscores the significance of policy stability and continuity in fostering innovation and progress.

When policies continually shift, it becomes challenging for individuals, organizations, and even entire societies to pursue and invest in long-term, innovative initiatives. Even if one government starts a good educational initiatives, the next government might stop it when they come to power (Abdulai & Hickey, 2016). Each time a new government takes over, they have their own ideas about how to run the education system (Friedman, 1955). This means that, what students learn in school, how teachers are trained, and how much money goes into education can change a lot (Buabeng et al, 2020). Sometimes these changes can be good, but other times they can be confusing or make things harder for students and teachers.

New policies may challenge the system because they might not always make sense or help students learn better (McMillan, 2011). One big change occurred when the school year lengthened from 3 to 4 years (Akyeampong, 2010). The shift in education policies aimed at giving teachers more time to teach and improving students' performance in exams, as highlighted by Kwofie et al. (2018), was a well-intentioned effort. The idea was to create an environment that fosters quality education by allowing educators to focus on instruction and students to excel

academically. However, like many policy changes, it didn't escape skepticism. Some critics argued that the real motive behind these changes was primarily financial, with the intention of channeling more funds into schools. This debate echoes the concerns raised by Tawiah and Addai-Mensah (2019) in their exploration of education policy from a moral development perspective.

From their standpoint, the motivations behind policy decisions play a crucial role in shaping their impact. While it is essential to recognize the financial constraints of educational institutions, it is equally important to maintain transparency in policy formulation. The research findings underscore the dynamic nature of education policies in Ghana, which are heavily influenced by transitions in political leadership. The introduction of the school feeding program and the track-wise system of schooling illustrates this dynamic policy landscape. This flexible approach to education policymaking can impact multiple aspects of the education system, from curriculum development to resource allocation (Viennet & Pont, 2017). It's essential to also acknowledge that different governments bring unique visions and priorities to education, resulting in substantial policy shifts (Ball, 2012). These shifts align with the ideologies of the ruling parties (Ayee, 2011). It's also evident that participants voiced skepticism about certain policy justifications, indicating a need for greater transparency in policy decision-making.

This research on Ghana's education system not only sheds light on the impact of policy changes but also underscores the intricate relationship between resource allocation and shifts in political leadership. As revealed herein, the allocation of resources within Ghana's educational framework can undergo significant transformation in response to changes in government leadership. This dynamic process is reminiscent of the observations made by Manuh et al. (2007) in their article, "Change and transformation in Ghana's publicly funded universities." Manuh and

colleagues examined the broader landscape of publicly funded universities in Ghana and discovered that the evolution and transformation of these institutions were profoundly influenced by shifts in political administrations. This influence extended to resource allocation, curriculum development, and the overall direction of these universities.

This research underscores the interconnectedness of the political landscape and higher education in Ghana and highlights the need for stability in resource allocation to support the consistent advancement of the education system. These changes can be attributed to the priorities of the ruling government, which can impact various aspects of education, including infrastructure development, teacher training, and curriculum materials (Carnoy et al, 1999). Resource allocation is closely tied to the political party's investment stance in the education sector. The allocation of government funds to education is a critical policy decision that varies widely across countries.

Some governments prioritize education by allocating a larger share of their budget to this sector, viewing it as an investment in human capital and a driver of long-term economic growth. On the other hand, some governments may choose to allocate their resources to other sectors of the economy, such as infrastructure, healthcare, or defence. This diversity in budget allocation strategies aligns with the findings of Nketiah-Amponsah (2009) on 'Public spending and economic growth.' In this work, highlight the intricate relationship between public spending patterns and a nation's economic growth.

While it is true that investing in education can have a positive impact on a country's economic development, the allocation of funds to other critical sectors should not be overlooked. Nketiah-Amponsah (2019) emphasizes the importance of a balanced approach to public spending. Governments need to consider the unique needs and priorities of their nation and make

informed decisions about resource allocation. This dynamic nature of resource allocation showcases the potential impact of the government's interests on the availability of resources for education. The introduction of initiatives such as the Capitation Grant and increased budget allocations for education during President John Evans Atta Mills' term are examples of resource allocation changes made by different governments (Resnick, 2016). These initiatives aimed to enhance access and the overall quality of education.

Regional disparities in educational access are a significant concern in Ghana, and participants emphasized the importance of addressing these inequalities. Factors such as infrastructure, teacher availability, and resource allocation contribute to these disparities. While various governments have implemented policies to bridge regional gaps, such as the establishment of Community Day Senior High Schools (E-blocks) in the northern regions, regional disparities continue to persist. The access to educational infrastructure significantly varies between regions, with students in some areas enjoying better-equipped schools and facilities, while others struggle with inadequate resources.

Based on the findings reported here, there is a need for equitable resource distribution within the realm of education. Ensuring that all regions, regardless of their geographical location, have access to quality education is a fundamental tenet of promoting social and economic development. This principle resonates with the valuable insights provided by Shabaya and Konadu-Agyemang (2004) in their paper, "Unequal access, unequal participation: some spatial and socio-economic dimensions of the gender gap in education in Africa with special reference to Ghana, Zimbabwe, and Kenya." In their extensive study, Shabaya and Konadu-Agyemang delved into the complex issue of gender disparity in education across African countries, shedding light on the multifaceted challenges that hinder equal access and participation. While their work

primarily focuses on gender inequality, it draws attention to the broader issue of unequal access to education, which can be influenced by regional disparities as well.

The current research is consistent with Shabaya and Konadu-Agyemang (2018) in that it highlights the interconnectedness of resource distribution and access to education. It is not enough to allocate resources; they must be allocated equitably, addressing the unique challenges and needs of different regions and populations. This approach is pivotal not only for bridging gender gaps in education but also for promoting overall educational equity and, in turn, fostering social and economic development on a broader scale.

The state of educational infrastructure in Ghana's education system is a significant concern. The findings emphasize that infrastructure plays a crucial role in shaping the accessibility and quality of education. Elements like school construction, libraries, and technology integration are integral to a well-rounded education system. Different governments have exhibited varying priorities regarding infrastructure development. Despite well-intentioned initiatives, disparities in infrastructure persist, leading to overcrowded classrooms and insufficient facilities in some regions. These disparities can hinder the quality of education and the learning environment.

This study also recognizes the importance of assessing educational outcomes, such as literacy rates and standardized test scores, to evaluate the effectiveness of the education system. Government policies and priorities have a significant influence on these outcomes. Considerable variations in educational outcomes under different government administrations were observed. For instance, the Ghana School Feeding Program under President John Agyekum Kufuor's administration positively impacted enrollment, attendance, and literacy rates in specific regions. However, disparities in standardized test scores persist, particularly between urban and rural areas, reflecting inequalities in access to quality education. These findings highlight the complex



relationship between changes in government and the educational outcomes of the system. They also emphasize the need for educational policies that prioritize both access and quality to reduce regional disparities and improve educational outcomes for all Ghanaian students.

## **Research Objective 2**

*To examine the challenges and opportunities arising from policy changes by successive governments during the Fourth Republic and their effects on education, with a focus on equity, quality, and inclusivity.*

As indicated by the participants and through the document analysis, policy changes by successive governments during the Fourth Republic have significantly shaped Ghana's education system. These changes span various aspects, including curriculum adjustments, program expansions, and resource allocation. There has been a notable shift in the duration and value of high school certifications and the introduction of new policies often aligns with the governing party's ideologies and priorities (Lee, 2015). This reflects the dynamic nature of education policymaking and underscores the need for policies to adapt to the evolving needs of the education system. While policy changes have the potential for positive transformation, they often face significant challenges during implementation.

The idea of responsive and inclusive governance in the education sector, which is crucial for accommodating the diverse needs of the population, is reiterated in the findings of Thompson and Casely-Hayford (2008). In their research, Thompson and Casely-Hayford explore the intricate relationship between education financing and its subsequent outcomes. Their study underlines the vital role of financial resources in shaping the quality and accessibility of education in Ghana. Financial resources can hinder the effective execution of these policies and may lead to gaps between the envisioned targets and actual outcomes.

Infrastructure limitations also pose challenges, as policy changes frequently demand adjustments to educational infrastructure. In regions with physical infrastructure limitations, the effective implementation of policies may be delayed or impeded. Resource allocation disparities further compound the challenges, affecting the accessibility and quality of education across different regions. These challenges underscore the importance of realistic budgeting, infrastructure development, and equitable resource distribution for successful policy implementation.

Despite the complexities and challenges brought about by policy changes, opportunities for educational advancement exist. Each change in government brings the potential to address existing gaps and introduce initiatives aimed at improving access, quality, and innovation within the education sector (Ndou, 2004). Initiatives such as the Capitation Grant, the Ghana School Feeding Program, and the Free SHS policy have been instrumental in reducing financial barriers, enhancing enrollment rates, and improving access to education, particularly in underserved areas. These opportunities allow policymakers to respond to specific needs and drive positive change in the education sector. The concept of equity and inclusivity in education is crucial to ensure that all students in Ghana have equal access to quality education, regardless of their background. Policy changes can either contribute to reducing disparities or exacerbate them based on factors like geography, socioeconomic status, gender, and ethnicity.

### **Research Objective 3**

*To explore the retention and revision of specific education policies by successive governments in Ghana during the Fourth Republic and the underlying reasons for these decisions.*

Policy continuity was found to be very important related to Ghana's education system, where specific education policies have been retained by successive governments. One key example is the Capitation Grant, initiated during President John Agyekum Kufuor's tenure. This policy has been preserved through multiple governments due to its effectiveness in enhancing enrollment and attendance rates, particularly in underserved regions. The policy aligns with the broader goal of universal basic education. The Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) policy, introduced during Kufuor's administration, remains in place as a critical foundation for improved access to quality education. The rationale for its retention across successive governments is to ensure equal educational opportunities and address disparities in access to basic education.

The transition from progressively free SHS to the Free SHS policy under the administration of Nana Akufo-Addo represents a significant policy shift (Adarkwah, 2020). This policy change received substantial support from the study participants. The rationale behind this transformation was to broaden access to senior high school education by eliminating fees, providing free textbooks, and aligning the educational system with the demands of the job market. However, it's crucial to acknowledge that the concept of universally free education does not enjoy unanimous support. Gyimah (2021) delved deeper into the perspectives of the citizenry regarding the implementation of the SHS program. Within this study, some individuals articulated reservations about extending free education to everyone, regardless of their financial

means. These skeptics contended that individuals who are financially capable should not necessarily benefit from free education.

Concerns were also raised that resources allocated to this group could be more effectively utilized in addressing other critical areas such as infrastructure development, healthcare, or even enhancing the quality of education itself. This perspective punctuates the ongoing debate about the allocation of limited resources and how to best achieve educational equity. The contention between those who advocate for universally free education and those who emphasize targeted assistance for disadvantaged groups encapsulates a broader discourse about the most effective way to advance education and social development. On one hand, proponents of universally free education argue that it simplifies access and minimizes disparities. On the other hand, those advocating for targeted assistance assert that it optimizes resource allocation and ensures that the most vulnerable individuals receive the support they require.

The development of educational infrastructure has been a consistent focus of successive governments. This includes the construction and renovation of schools, the provision of educational materials, and the integration of technology into the educational process. The underlying rationale for this sustained emphasis is to create a conducive learning environment, elevate the overall quality of education, and ensure that educational resources are accessible in an equitable manner. Curriculum alterations have also been a part of the evolving educational landscape in Ghana. Different governments have introduced both additions and eliminations to the educational sector. These changes are driven by the need to adapt the curriculum to evolving educational requirements, align it with the demands of the job market, and enhance the overall quality of education. For instance, the reduction in the duration of second-cycle school education

from 3 years to 4 years and the introduction of a bilingual language to the curriculum reflect the changing educational priorities of successive governments.

#### **Research Objective 4**

*To evaluate the positive and negative effects of educational policies implemented by successive governments during the Fourth Republic on Ghana's education system, particularly in terms of access, quality, equity, and inclusivity, and their implications for educational outcomes and stakeholders.*

The Capitation Grant was a significant policy that directly addressed financial barriers to education, resulting in increased enrollment rates in primary schools, particularly in regions where access to education was a challenge. This policy had a positive impact on access and equity in education. Curriculum reforms have played a crucial role in keeping education in Ghana up-to-date and relevant. These reforms have equipped students with skills and knowledge aligned with the demands of the modern world, enhancing the overall quality of education.

Policies that prioritize teacher training and development have led to more competent and motivated educators. This has positively impacted the quality of education, as teachers are better equipped to provide meaningful learning experiences. Policies promoting technology integration have transformed classrooms into interactive and engaging environments, allowing students to access a wealth of resources and introducing innovative teaching methods. The Free Senior High School (SHS) Policy has had a notable impact on promoting gender equity and inclusivity by increasing female enrollment in senior high schools and making education more accessible for girls. Policies supporting novel pedagogical approaches, such as project-based learning and

competency-based education, have encouraged educators to experiment with new teaching methods, fostering innovation in the classroom.

Funding constraints have been a persistent challenge in the implementation of various educational policies. Limited budgets can hinder the government's ability to provide necessary resources for policy execution. Inadequate school buildings, insufficient classrooms, and lack of basic amenities in some regions have disrupted policy implementation and negatively affected the learning environment. Policies, such as the Capitation Grant, while beneficial in some areas, have exposed disparities in infrastructure and resource allocation between regions. Underserved regions often receive fewer resources, affecting the quality of education. Gender disparities in access to quality education still persist in some regions, particularly where cultural and societal factors play a significant role.

Policies related to the language of instruction and the availability of educational materials can perpetuate disparities for marginalized ethnic groups. Policies introducing variations in teacher qualifications and standards, intended to address teacher shortages in underserved regions, can affect the quality of instruction. Policies and strategies of different administrations can lead to variations in standardized test scores based on changes in curriculum, teaching methodologies, and assessment practices.

## **Conclusion**

In conclusion, the pursuit of these research objectives has resulted in the creation of a comprehensive tapestry that sheds light on the intricate dynamics within Ghana's educational system during the Fourth Republic. The analysis of government changes has yielded valuable insights into the accessibility of education, encompassing enrollment, infrastructure, and the

availability of resources. The examination of challenges and opportunities arising from policy changes has enhanced our comprehension of the intricate aspects of equity, quality, and inclusivity in education. By delving into the retention and modification of specific policies, we have uncovered the evolving landscape of educational governance, revealing the underlying motives behind governmental decisions.

The evaluation of both positive and negative effects of educational policies has provided a nuanced perspective on the multifaceted impacts, emphasizing their implications for access, quality, equity, inclusivity, and overall educational outcomes. As we conclude this study, the synthesis of findings not only offers a retrospective analysis of the journey but also establishes the groundwork for informed discussions and strategic considerations in the ongoing discourse surrounding Ghana's educational policies. The insights obtained from these objectives not only contribute to scholarly understanding but also have practical implications for policymakers, educators, and stakeholders, thereby paving the way for a more robust, inclusive, and responsive educational system in Ghana's Fourth Republic.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **Introduction**

The overall objective of the study was to investigate how Ghana's political change and policy changes implemented by successive governments since 1992 have affected the country's educational system and to identify the difficulties, challenges, and opportunities for Ghana's related to education. The study employed qualitative research design and thus interviews were used to elicit opinions from key experts to meet the general objective stated above. Furthermore, document analysis furnished a thorough comprehension of the historical and policy circumstances that exerted influence on the educational environment in Ghana. This chapter summarizes the findings of the study as generated from the research questions. A general conclusion and recommendations are also provided.

#### **Summary of Findings**

The study found that successive governments in Ghana during the Fourth Republic have introduced frequent policy changes in the education system, reflecting evolving political priorities and ideologies. The absence of a comprehensive, long-term educational plan has resulted in ad hoc policymaking. Such policy shifts have touched upon various aspects of education, including curriculum development, teacher training, and resource allocation, often in alignment with the ruling party's ideology. Notable policy changes included the extension of the secondary cycle school from 3 to 4 years and the introduction of the school feeding program and track-wise schooling. The absence of a fixed framework within Ghana's education system underscores its susceptibility to frequent changes driven by the country's political dynamics.



The study also revealed that while policy changes offer the potential for positive transformation, they often face challenges during implementation. Funding constraints emerged as a primary challenge, as ambitious policies sometimes require substantial financial resources. Infrastructure limitations also posed significant hurdles, particularly in regions with inadequate educational facilities. Resource allocation issues affected the equitable distribution of resources, creating disparities. Opportunities for educational advancement were also identified through policies aiming to enhance access, and quality, and stimulate innovation within the education sector.

Furthermore, the study explored the retention and revision of specific education policies by successive governments during the Fourth Republic. Notable policies retained included the Capitation Grant and the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE), which aimed to make basic education free and compulsory. The transition from progressively free Senior High School (SHS) to the Free SHS policy was a key revision. The rationale behind these changes often aligned with the preferences and priorities of the incumbent government, highlighting the absence of standardized processes governing education accessibility. Additionally, the development of educational infrastructure and curriculum alterations were observed, illustrating the ever-evolving nature of educational policies in Ghana.

Positive and negative effects of educational policies on Ghana's education system were highlighted. Positive outcomes included the Capitation Grant's impact on reducing financial barriers and improving access to primary education. Curriculum reforms provided updated and relevant educational content, and policies focusing on teacher training and development led to improved teaching quality. Technology integration policies transformed classrooms into

interactive and engaging environments. The Free Senior High School (SHS) Policy promoted gender equity and inclusivity, resulting in increased female enrollment.

Funding constraints were identified as a persistent challenge in policy implementation, which can hinder the effective execution of initiatives. Infrastructure limitations and disparities in resource allocation between regions affected the quality of education. Gender disparities, driven by cultural and societal factors, were found to persist in some regions. Policies related to language of instruction and the availability of educational materials can perpetuate disparities for marginalized ethnic groups. Variations in teacher qualifications introduced by policies addressing teacher shortages in underserved regions can affect the quality of instruction. Standardized test scores showed variations under different administrations, reflecting evolving educational policies.

## **Recommendations**

The following recommendations are proposed to address the challenges and opportunities identified in Ghana's education system:

### **1. Establishing Educational Blueprint:**

- Develop a comprehensive, long-term educational blueprint.
- Provide a clear pathway for the advancement of education over multiple years.
- Focus on national educational requirements and avoid case-by-case policy implementation.

### **2. Addressing Financial Limitations:**

- Prioritize sufficient financial resources for educational policies.

- Monitor budgetary allocations to bridge funding gaps.
  - Ensure full execution of educational policies through financial support.
3. Rectifying Regional Disparities:
- Equalize infrastructure and resource distribution among different regions.
  - Give precedence to equitable access to high-quality educational resources.
4. Tackling Gender Disparities:
- Implement gender-sensitive policies to address disparities in regions with cultural norms.
  - Conduct awareness campaigns to promote equal access to quality education for all genders.
5. Emphasizing Quality Education:
- Advocate for a standardized curriculum.
  - Prioritize continuous teacher professional development.
  - Encourage innovative teaching methods and pedagogical approaches

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## APPENDIX A

### Consent to Participate in Research

Title of Study: *The Effects of Political Transition on the Education System in Ghana: An Analysis of the Fourth Republic.*

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Lovinger Yamoah and supervised by Dr. James Oloo at the Faculty of Education, University of Windsor. The results of this research will contribute to Lovinger Yamoah's thesis and completion of his Master of Education program. If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact Lovinger Yamoah at [yamoahl@uwindsor.ca](mailto:yamoahl@uwindsor.ca) or Dr. James Oloo at [james.oloo@uwindsor.ca](mailto:james.oloo@uwindsor.ca)

### Purpose of the Study

The study, "The Effects of Political Transition on the Education System in Ghana: An Analysis of the Fourth Republic," aims to investigate how political changes in Ghana have affected the country's educational system during the Fourth Republic. Ghana's Fourth Republic was inaugurated in January 1993 with the promulgation of a new constitution that declared the country to be a unitary republic with sovereignty residing in the Ghanaian people. Since then, Ghanaians have gone to the polls seven times to elect their representatives. The goal of this study is to examine how changes in the Ghanaian government resulting from the polls have impacted the country's educational system and policy.

The study attempts to shed light on the positive and negative aspects of Ghana's educational system as well as the moulding influence of political changes. The study's findings will add to the body of knowledge already available on the effects of political transitions on

educational systems and guide the development of new policies aimed at enhancing educational outcomes in Ghana. The findings will also have a personal, scholarly, and professional importance to me as I reflect on the changes that continues to take place in my native country of Ghana.

## **Procedures**

Participants in this study, you will be asked to follow several steps:

Step 1: Read the consent form before the interview.

Step 2: Informed consent will be obtained verbally.

Step 3: Each interview will be audio-recorded, approximately 30 minutes.

Step 4: Agree on a date for the interview. Except in a case of emergency, at least 24 hours notice should be given to cancel an interview.

Step 5: Interviews will be semi-structured and conducted virtually.

## **Potential Risks and Discomforts**

There is a low emotional risk due to data expenses and I am committed to adhering to ethical guidelines throughout the research process. I will obtain informed consent from participants, allowing them to ask questions, seek clarification, and make an independent decision about their participation. If any concerns or adverse effects arise, I will promptly address them, providing appropriate support or referrals as needed. The well-being and safety of the participants will remain my utmost priority throughout the study.

## **Potential Benefits to Participants and/or to Society**

Participants in the study on the effect of political transition on the education system in Ghana during the 4th Republic can expect several direct potential benefits. First, they will gain enhanced knowledge and awareness about the relationship between political transitions and the education system in Ghana, empowering them to be more informed and engaged in educational matters. Second, their engagement in the research will promote personal reflection and self-awareness as they delve into their own experiences within the education system during political transitions. This can contribute to personal growth and a deeper understanding of their roles and challenges within the broader context of political change.

Additionally, participants will have the opportunity to voice their perspectives and have a meaningful impact on future research, policy discussions, and decision-making processes. By actively contributing their firsthand experiences, they can feel empowered and recognized for their valuable insights. Lastly, their involvement will benefit the scientific and scholarly community by enriching the knowledge base and enhancing the understanding of the complex dynamics between political transitions and the education system.

While participants can anticipate these direct benefits, it is important to note that immediate or tangible rewards or incentives may not be provided. The value lies in the potential impact of their involvement on their own understanding, the research community's knowledge, and the broader society's understanding of the topic.

### **Compensation for Participation**

Participants would get remuneration in the amount of CA\$ 20, which, at the current exchange rate, is comparable to GH 170.

### **Confidentiality**



In order to protect the study participant's confidentiality, the interview discussions will be audio-recorded. The researcher's computer will be used to record the audio of the interviews, which may take place in a digital, online, or internet-based setting. Video recording will be optional, and the participants will have the option to turn off their camera during the interview if they do not wish to be video recorded. The choice to turn off the camera will not affect my participation in the interview or the research. Each participant will send a confirmation email to the researcher, the compensation data will show whether or not the participant has received their compensation. The recordings will be kept/stored on the University OneDrive platform which is secured.

### **Participation and Withdrawal**

Once informed consent is obtained and the interview is conducted, each participant will be assigned a pseudonym by the researcher. The data provided by each participant will then be transcribed and deidentified within 4 days. A key to reidentify participants will be stored in a password-protected computer that will be kept in a locked file cabinet at the Faculty of Education, University of Windsor, under the supervision of the researcher's faculty supervisor. Participation in the study is voluntary, and participants can withdraw up to 7 days after their interview. If a participant withdraws within this timeframe, all data gathered from them will be completely excluded and deleted.

### **Feedback of the Results of this Study to the Participants**

Once the study is completed, the University of Windsor will make available a summary of the research findings by April 2024 on their joint Leddy/Research Ethics Board website

(<https://scholar.uwindsor.ca/research-result-summaries/>). This will be a great resource for anyone interested in learning more about the study's outcomes and conclusions.

### **Subsequent use of Data**

These data may be used in subsequent studies, in publications and in presentations.

### **Rights of Research Participants**

This study has received ethics clearance through the University of Windsor Research Ethics Board. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, contact: The Office of Research Ethics, University of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario, N9B 3P4; Telephone: 519-253-3000, ext. 3948; e mail: [ethics@uwindsor.ca](mailto:ethics@uwindsor.ca)

## **APPENDIX B**

### **Recruitment Letter - Via Email**

**Subject:** Invitation to Participate in a Research Study on the Effects of Political Transition on the Education System in Ghana: An Opportunity to Share Your Perspectives

Dear [Participant's Name],

I hope this email finds you well. My name is Lovinger Yamoah, and I am a researcher conducting a study on the effect of political transition on the education system in Ghana during the Fourth Republic. I am writing to extend a cordial invitation to you to participate in this significant research endeavour.

The aim of this study is to gain insights into the experiences, challenges, and opportunities faced by individuals like yourself who have firsthand knowledge of the education system during political transitions. By understanding these dynamics, we hope to contribute to a deeper understanding of the impact of political change on education and inform future policies and practices. Your participation in this study is invaluable. Your experiences and observations will contribute to enhancing our knowledge and understanding of this important subject.

Participation in this study will involve semi-structured interviews. The process will be conducted in a respectful and supportive manner, ensuring your privacy and confidentiality. Your identity will remain anonymous, and your personal information will be handled with the utmost care and confidentiality.

By participating in this study, you will have the opportunity to deepen your understanding of the topic and reflect on your own experiences within the education system during political

transitions. Your involvement will also empower you to have a voice in shaping future research, policies, and decision-making processes related to education in Ghana.

Should you choose to participate, I would be delighted to arrange a mutually convenient time to discuss the study and arrange for an interview. The estimated time commitment for your participation will be about 30mins.

If you have any questions, or concerns, or would like further information about the study, please do not hesitate to reach out to me at [yamoahl@uwindsor.ca](mailto:yamoahl@uwindsor.ca).

Thank you for considering this invitation to contribute to our study. Your valuable insights and experiences will make a meaningful difference in advancing our understanding of the education system during political transitions in Ghana.

Warm regards,

Lovinger Yamoah

University of Windsor

Faculty of Education

[yamoahl@uwindsor.ca](mailto:yamoahl@uwindsor.ca)

## APPENDIX C

### Interview Questions

#### Section One: General Information

Instruction: This information is for research purposes only. Complete confidentiality of the information provided is assured.

Name of Participant (pseudonym): \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Interview: dd/mm/yy/ \_\_\_\_\_

Gender Identity: \_\_\_\_\_

Position/Role in the Education System: \_\_\_\_\_

Years of Experience in the Education Sector: \_\_\_\_\_

Educational Institution/Organization: \_\_\_\_\_

Contact Information (Optional): \_\_\_\_\_

Language(s) Spoken: \_\_\_\_\_

Area of Expertise: \_\_\_\_\_

Highest Level of Education: \_\_\_\_\_

Professional Certifications (if applicable): \_\_\_\_\_

#### Section Two (Interview Guide One)

1. Can you please provide some background information about yourself, including your role in the education system during the 4th Republic?
2. How long have you been involved in the education sector, and what positions or responsibilities have you held?
3. What is your experience and knowledge regarding the changes in governments and their impact on Ghana's education system?

### **Section Three (Interview Guide Two)**

1. In your opinion, how have the changes in governments during the 4th Republic affected Ghana's education system? Could you elaborate on any specific changes or trends you have observed?
2. From your perspective, what are the main challenges and opportunities that have resulted from the policy changes implemented by the successive governments during the 4th Republic? How have these changes influenced the education system?
3. Could you identify and discuss some of the policies that have been retained or updated by successive governments? What were the rationales behind these decisions, as perceived by the government?
4. Based on your experience, what have been some of the key impacts, including successes and failures, of the educational policies implemented by successive governments during the 4th Republic? How have these policies influenced the overall education landscape in Ghana?

## **VITA AUCTORIS**

NAME: Lovinger Yamoah

PLACE OF BIRTH: Suhum, Ghana

YEAR OF BIRTH: 1996

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