



**Consortium for Research on
Educational Access,
Transitions and Equity**

**50 Years of Educational Progress
and Challenge in Ghana**

Kwame Akyeampong

**CREATE PATHWAYS TO ACCESS
Research Monograph No. 33**

April 2010



**University of Sussex
Centre for International Education**



Consortium for Research on
Educational Access, Transitions & Equity

Funded by DFID

The Consortium for Educational Access, Transitions and Equity (CREATE) is a Research Programme Consortium supported by the UK Department for International Development (DFID). Its purpose is to undertake research designed to improve access to basic education in developing countries. It seeks to achieve this through generating new knowledge and encouraging its application through effective communication and dissemination to national and international development agencies, national governments, education and development professionals, non-government organisations and other interested stakeholders.

Access to basic education lies at the heart of development. Lack of educational access, and securely acquired knowledge and skill, is both a part of the definition of poverty, and a means for its diminution. Sustained access to meaningful learning that has value is critical to long term improvements in productivity, the reduction of inter-generational cycles of poverty, demographic transition, preventive health care, the empowerment of women, and reductions in inequality.

The CREATE partners

CREATE is developing its research collaboratively with partners in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia. The lead partner of CREATE is the Centre for International Education at the University of Sussex. The partners are:

The Centre for International Education, University of Sussex: Professor Keith M Lewin (Director)
The Institute of Education and Development, BRAC University, Dhaka, Bangladesh: Dr Manzoor Ahmed
The National University of Educational Planning and Administration, Delhi, India: Professor R Govinda
The Education Policy Unit, University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa: Dr Shireen Motala
The Universities of Education at Winneba and Cape Coast, Ghana: Professor Jerome Djangmah,
Professor Joseph Ghartey Ampiah
The Institute of Education, University of London: Professor Angela W Little

Disclaimer

The research on which this paper is based was commissioned by the Consortium for Research on Educational Access, Transitions and Equity (CREATE <http://www.create-rpc.org>). CREATE is funded by the UK Department for International Development (DFID) for the benefit of developing countries and is coordinated from the Centre for International Education, University of Sussex. The views expressed are those of the author(s) and not necessarily those of DFID, the University of Sussex, or the CREATE Team. Authors are responsible for ensuring that any content cited is appropriately referenced and acknowledged, and that copyright laws are respected. CREATE papers are peer reviewed and approved according to academic conventions. Permission will be granted to reproduce research monographs on request to the Director of CREATE providing there is no commercial benefit. Responsibility for the content of the final publication remains with authors and the relevant Partner Institutions.

Copyright © CREATE 2010
ISBN: 0-901881-43-0

Address for correspondence:
CREATE,
Centre for International Education, Department of Education
School of Education & Social Work
Essex House, University of Sussex, Falmer BN1 9RH
United Kingdom
Tel: + 44 (0) 1273 877984
Fax: + 44 (0) 1273 877534
Author email: a.akyeampong@sussex.ac.uk
Website: <http://www.create-rpc.org>
Email: create@sussex.ac.uk

Please contact CREATE using the details above if you require a hard copy of this publication.

**Educational Expansion in Ghana:
A Review of 50 Years of
Challenge and Progress**

Kwame Akyeampong

**CREATE PATHWAYS TO ACCESS
Research Monograph No. 33**

April 2010

Contents

Preface vi
Summary vii
1. Education for Accelerated Development 1
 1.1 Introduction 1
 1.2 1961-1966: The vision for education in a newly independent Ghana..... 1
2. Linking growth to high quality and decline in Education 5
 2.1 1987-2007: Socialist ideology, basic education for all and practical skill training 5
 2.2 Progress towards equitable access to quality secondary education..... 8
 2.3 Progress in technical vocational education and polytechnic education 9
 2.4 Progress and developments in University Education 11
3. Reforming education in a competitive market driven global economy..... 14
 3.1 The new vision of education 14
 3.2 Mapping the way forward 15
References 17

List of Tables

Table 1: Ghana: Rapid expansion of access to Education after independence 4
Table 2: Enrolment in Science/Technology and Business and related Programmes in
Polytechnics 10
Table 3: Expenditure by level of education as percentage of total expenditure (2003-2006) 11

List of Acronyms

COTVET	Council for technical and vocational education and training
EFA	Education for All
GDP	Gross domestic product
GETfund	Ghana Education Trust fund
GLSS	Ghana Living Standards Survey
FCUBE	Free compulsory universal basic education
TVET	Technical vocational education and training
UDS	The University of Development Studies
VAT	Value added tax

Acknowledgements

With thanks to the Commonwealth Education Secretariat for the invitation to speak on the subject of this paper at the 50th anniversary of Ghana's independence. Also thanks to the audience for their comments. The findings, interpretations and conclusions are those of the author.

Preface

This paper was originally developed at the invitation of the Council for Education in the Commonwealth to an invited audience in the Parliament Offices, Westminster, London on November 13th 2007 at an event to celebrate 50 years of Ghana's independence in the presence of the Ghana High Commissioner. Subsequently the paper was also presented in Accra as part of the celebrations at the invitation of the Ministry of Education.

In the paper Dr Akyeampong captures key features of educational progress since the 1950s and draws attention to the many successes and some of the problems that still remain. Ghanaian education had a high reputation for its quality at independence and committed itself to provide access to all children. Much progress has been made, however it remains the case some children, especially in the north fail to enrol at all. Although the great majority do complete a cycle of primary education many do not complete junior secondary. There are considerable concerns that quality has been eroded and assessment data repeatedly shows unacceptably low levels of achievement. Regional disparities remain acute despite many attempts to improve access especially in the North. The recent growth of private schools has added new stratifications that mean that progress through the system is strongly associated with household income. The recent expansion of higher education has raised new issues about its costs and impact on development and needs to balance investment between the levels. At secondary and higher levels investment in TVET has also raised new challenges.

There is much to celebrate over 50 years of educational development which the paper highlights. The challenges remain to make a reality of well founded policy which has often proved difficult to implement. The next five years will determine whether Ghana meets its MDG and EFA targets which remain within reach but require new efforts to reach those who remain excluded, to improve quality across the system, and balance investment in ways most beneficial to Ghana's future prosperity.

Keith Lewin
Director of CREATE
Centre for International Education
University of Sussex

Summary

In 2007 Ghana celebrated 50 years of independence from British colonial rule. The golden jubilee offered an opportunity to take stock of how the country had progressed in expanding education and the challenges for the future. This paper offers a critique of the journey, highlighting the challenges and progress.

The goal of education right from independence was to produce an educated workforce capable of propelling Ghana into middle income level. Early education planners placed emphasis on expanding access to education from primary up to university level. More importantly, the goal was to produce high level manpower with tertiary education and to use this manpower to drive economic growth and sustainable expansion at the pre-tertiary level. Education expansion was progressive and holistic so that each sector of the education system expanded steadily as demand increased.

50 years on, Ghana's education system has made significant strides, but has also faced challenges that reflect the strengths and weaknesses of its reform strategies. This review suggests that despite the progress that education has made new investments and strategies are required to address the following shortfalls: improve quality; provide equitable access for the disadvantaged especially poor households and girls; strengthen decentralization of education services; improve teachers' work and living conditions particularly in rural areas; strengthen public-private sector partnerships in education service delivery; reduce overall recurrent spending on tertiary education and increase investment in science and technology related programmes in universities, research institutions and polytechnics.

One area that Ghana has looked to for growth to impact development has been the technical vocational education and training (TVET) sector. However, TVET has focused mainly on pre-employment training for specific skills. Today, global and local economies are much more dynamic and competitive with the informal and private sectors playing important roles. The challenge for the future of TVET in Ghana is how it can respond to markets that are highly competitive and dynamic, and how it can produce graduates with skills that can respond to demands of the local and "global networks of production, (technology) and trade" (World Bank, 2007:1). On the basis of what is now known about TVET and development, creating more opportunities for further formal and informal learning in an environment of sustained economic growth is paramount. The history of education development in Ghana suggests that TVET development plans faces the challenge of ensuring that sustainable capital and recurrent investment is available to improve infrastructural facilities and thereby improve the quality of products.

What reforms in education has taught Ghana is that it is much easier to fix the 'hardware' than the 'software' problems of education. With huge investments from internal and external sources structural and infrastructural problems of education can be fixed. With expanded facilities access can improve. However, completion rates remain the problem, especially at junior and senior secondary where low completion rates deprive the country of much needed educated youth prepared for work and for further education and training. At the basic level certain challenges have persisted. For example, overage entry appears stubbornly resistant to attempts to enrol all children, especially girls, at the age of 6. Regional variations in access and participation are such that as many as 40 percent of school age children appear not to be enrolled in some parts of the country, especially in the North. Besides, levels of achievement are such that further expansion in the future risks increasing numbers who learn little of what

is required to successfully complete basic education at levels that assure sustained literacy and numeracy. Junior secondary education which became a part of basic education after reforms in 1987 has largely been inefficient in preparing the large number of students who complete, to qualify for SSS or actively participate in the labour market.

Also, community secondary schools which were introduced during the 1987 education reforms to make secondary education more affordable and accessible to students in rural populations, lacked adequate infrastructure, trained teachers and equipment to support their practical focus. The lesson from reforms in secondary education suggests that implementing a large scale diversified curriculum under resource constraints creates uneven access to quality. Ensuring that there is wider participation from all groups and not from well-off segments of society is a major challenge for the future.

For tertiary education, the challenge is to ensure that funding is targeted to coincide with government priority areas, and that the mismatch between government priority and practice on the ground is addressed - most of tertiary funding (universities and polytechnics) goes to support students pursuing liberal arts, humanities and business programmes. In state universities, the ratio of current enrolment in humanities and science and technology based programmes is about 65:35.

50 years after independence, although Ghana has made good progress in expanding education provision, it is still faced with the problem of securing an education system that delivers on quality and provides equitable access for all, especially the poor and disadvantaged. Until and unless significant gains are made here, the goal of producing a workforce with the knowledge and skills for development would be hard to achieve. This is a major task for the next 50 years.

50 Years of Educational Progress and Challenge in Ghana

1. Education for Accelerated Development

1.1 Introduction

In this paper I examine the path that education in Ghana has taken in the last 50 years for significant milestones, achievements and challenges in relation to nation building and socio-economic development, but also in respect of how it has improved access for all. I begin by mapping out the vision of education at the time of independence and discuss the new policies and choices that were made. Next, I highlight the changes in the late 60s to the period from the 1970s to the mid 1980s when education went into sharp decline, and the issues which informed its revival. From 2000, a newly elected government initiated a review of education reforms in the country. This review introduced the latest round of educational changes. I shall highlight the content of these reforms and their potential to contribute to Ghana's aspiration to become a middle-level income by 2020. In the paper, I offer a critique of the progress and challenges of educational development and outline the new challenges Ghana faces as it strives to make education a major contributor to its development aspirations. Although, this paper focuses on Ghana, there are obviously some implications and messages for other countries in sub-Saharan Africa since many of them have shared similar aspirations as Ghana.

1.2 1961-1966: The vision for education in a newly independent Ghana

At independence, many countries looked to reform education to accelerate economic and social development. Ghana is no exception, and the newly independent government saw in education the keys to social and economic development. Analysts and commentators of Ghana's development history have often compared her to South Korea and Malaysia and spoken of how both countries, having started on the same economic level as Ghana, have achieved faster economic growth whilst Ghana struggles to break through into middle-level income status. What is worth pointing out is that at the time of independence, Ghana had a carefully articulated plan of how education was going to support the efforts to become a prosperous economy.

On March 5, 1957, Ghana's first president, Dr Kwame Nkrumah addressed the old Legislative Assembly for the last time and outlined his government's vision which had education at the centre. It is instructive to remind ourselves of what Nkrumah said and the policies and strategies his government pursued to fulfil his vision for education. Education for the newly independent Ghana was to achieve three goals: first, it was to be used as a tool for producing a scientifically literate population. Secondly, for tackling mainly the environmental causes of low productivity; and thirdly, for producing knowledge to harness Ghana's economic potential. Investments were channelled into the whole system of education, from primary to tertiary, to fulfil these aspirations and goals. This approach to education development contrasts with what occurred in later years, especially in the 1980s when reforms in education under international influence focused almost exclusively on

primary (basic) education. So what was Nkrumah's vision? When he addressed the Legislative Assembly two days before the declaration of independence he made it clear what the development agenda and challenge was. He said:

We must seek an African view to the problems of Africa. This does not mean that western techniques and methods are not applicable to Africa. It does mean, however, that in Ghana we must look at every problem from the African point of view ... Our whole educational system must be geared to producing a scientifically-technically minded people. Because of the limitations placed on us, we have to produce, of necessity, a higher standard of technical education than is necessary in many of the most advanced countries of the Western world ... I believe that one of the most important services which Ghana can perform for Africa is to devise a system of education based at its university level on concrete studies of the problems of the tropical world. The University will be the co-ordinating body for education research, and we hope that it will eventually be associated with Research Institutes dealing with agriculture, biology, and the physical and chemical sciences which we hope to establish ... today in a country of five million inhabitants nearly half a million children enjoy primary education. We must, however, provide further outlets for these children and give them an opportunity to learn something of engineering, tropical agriculture and of the problems of tropical medicine and hygiene. Only with a population so educated can we hope to face the tremendous problems which confront any country attempting to raise the standard of life in a tropical zone (McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, 1975:94).

There are some important points to note from these statements and how they shaped the choices that were made in the newly independent Ghana. First, there was a determination that education would be used to unblock the restrictions that the environment as well as humanly induced conditions placed on economic growth. Through research and advances in science and technology solutions would be found for the problems of disease, poverty and low-productivity. This signalled the importance attached to advanced knowledge for development and placed universities at the forefront to make available to the country the knowledge and experience gained through research (McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, 1987:112).

Unfortunately, nearly two decades after Nkrumah's overthrow, funding of higher education reduced drastically and hampered universities and research institutions capacity to engage in productive research. In the mid 1970s, universities expenditure on research and development was about 0.7 percent of GDP and fell further to 0.1 - 0.2 percent of GDP during the economic crisis of the 1980s (Effah, 2003). The focus of international development assistance on basic education during this period also meant that higher education received even less attention, and lost out in terms of funding to primary education. Fortunately the situation is changing and today there is more recognition of the important role higher education can play in poverty reduction (World Bank, 2007). But, at the time of independence Ghana's leaders were fully convinced of the benefits that higher education research focused on local development related problems could bring to economic progress.

Secondly, science and technology were seen as instruments for accelerating economic growth. A scientifically literate population capable of contributing to creativity and innovativeness was the answer to poverty and low-productivity.

Thirdly, technical education was to be Ghana's route for accelerating technological and economic growth. The establishment of technical schools and polytechnic institutions was expected to lead to increases in the middle-level technical manpower base of the country. Students in these institutions were going to be required to undertake intensive study of mathematics, science, technical drawing and English as foundation subjects for further learning. Through apprenticeship schemes with industries, technical education was linked to labour market requirements, and outstanding students were encouraged to pursue their education to university level (McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, 1975).

Fourthly, primary education would function as preparation for higher levels of education. In 1960, Ghana introduced fee-free compulsory primary and middle school education, and immediately identified teacher training and teacher welfare issues as areas for investment to promote quality primary education. This stands in contrast to the international imperatives on basic education in the 1990s, which projected universal access to primary education without sufficiently linking this to teacher development and welfare, and also to systematic expansion of post-primary education. The situation is changing somewhat, with international development institutions such as the World Bank now arguing for greater investment into secondary education to accelerate Africa's economic growth (World Bank, 2007). Post-independence education strategists in Ghana were under no illusion about the importance of improving access to further education and training if demand for primary education was to grow to achieve EFA.

Today, Nkrumah's plans for education may seem ambitious, but closer examination shows that they were informed by a realistic assessment of resource constraints and in accordance with the various policies laid down in the decade before independence (see McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, 1975:94-115).

Education's agenda was clear: to reduce poverty through increased economic productivity riding on the back of advances in science and technology. Some of the achievements of the early post-independence era included a well-trained and motivated teaching force that was recognised as fundamental for ensuring quality of educational provision. Teachers enjoyed salaries comparable to people with similar qualifications in other professions with Nkrumah declaring that he wanted the profession to give service that is second to none (McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, 1975:97).

Another achievement was the establishment of a Ghana Education Trust to support the rapid expansion of secondary and technical education. The prognosis was that Ghana would not be self-sufficient in secondary school products, considered key to its economic growth strategy, until about 4 percent of each generation was entering secondary schools. This analysis assumed that "50 percent of each generation entered primary schools, (and) when this had been reached, the next ten years, ... should achieve 100 percent primary and 10 percent secondary education" (McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, 1975:102).

Finally, there was the introduction of a new Education Act in 1961 which articulated the vision of education and the structures for delivering its goals. For example, the Act gave the responsibility for expanding primary education to local education authorities. The result of these policies was the expansion of access at all levels of education (see Table 1), and in just a matter of a few years after independence, Ghana had an education system that could be described as one of the most respected in Africa (World Bank, 2004).

Table 1: Ghana: Rapid expansion of access to Education after independence

Level	1951		1966	
	Schools	Students	Schools	Students
Primary	1,083	153,360	8,144	1,137,495
Middle	539	66,175	2,277	267,434
Secondary	13	5,033	105	42,111
Teacher Training	22	1,916	83	15,144
Technical	5	622	11	4,956
University	2	208	3	4,291

Source: Hayford, B.K., 1988

2. Linking growth to high quality and decline in Education

After Nkrumah's government was overthrown in 1966, rapid expansion of education provision was severely criticised as having compromised quality. In 1967, based on the recommendations of the Kwapong reform committee, 10 years elementary education with a break in year 8 for selecting suitable candidates for secondary education was introduced. Those who were not selected went on to complete 2 years continuation classes with an emphasis on pre-vocational education. The concept of continuation schools must have undermined the credibility of vocational and technical education as it only admitted those who had failed to proceed to an academic secondary education. Continuation schools were criticised for promoting inferior education for the masses whilst secondary education had become the preserve of elite Ghanaian children (Dzobo, 1987 in MOE, 1999). Meanwhile, many children from well-off backgrounds began attending private primary schools to gain direct entry to secondary education. Thus, whilst the majority of Ghanaian children were going through a 6 year primary, followed by 4 years middle and 7 years secondary education, making 17 years of pre-university education, a minority from well-off backgrounds were doing 13 years of pre-tertiary education.

Competition, selection and choice began to take root in primary and middle school education which limited access to secondary education, especially for children from disadvantaged and poor households (see Addae-Mensah, Djangmah & Agbenyega, 1973).

By 1985, 30 percent of secondary entrants were from private primary schools, most of the rest coming from the fourth year of middle school (World Bank, 2004:8). Recently, private sector provision of basic and secondary education has grown, some would say, offering more choice for families than ever before. However, there is growing evidence that it might promote both social mobility for those who can afford it and entrenchment of socio-economic stratification in Ghanaian society (see, Addae-Mensah, 2000; Donge et al., 2003).

By the mid 1980s, Ghana's educational system was in sharp decline following a period of protracted poor economic performance in the 1980s. In 1982, per capita income was 30 percent below the 1970 level, and the index of real monthly earnings had fallen from 315 to 62. This period also witnessed acute shortage in teachers, textbooks, and instructional materials throughout the country's schools (Akyeampong et al., 2007).

2.1 1987-2007: Socialist ideology, basic education for all and practical skill training

In an attempt to find solutions to poor access, quality, and educational infrastructure, the populist Rawlings' government which had come into power through a military coup, turned to the World Bank for assistance to reform Basic Education¹ as part of economic reform (World Bank, 2004; Donge et al., 2003). The blueprint for the reforms emanated from the

¹ Support related to Basic Education included: two Education Sector Adjustment Credits (EdSAC I and II), the Primary School Development Project (PSDP, 1994-1998), and the Basic Education Sector Investment Credit (BESIC, 1996-2002). By 2003, over \$500 million of donor funding had been injected into Ghana's education sector most of it going into infrastructure development and rehabilitation.

work of the Dzobo Committee in 1973 which had suggested a new structure of education comprising 6 years primary, 3 years junior secondary and 3 years senior secondary, as well as a new content of education with emphasis on vocational and technical subjects for all children up to junior secondary.

The 1987 education reforms abolished the middle schools (4 years), replaced it with 3 years junior secondary, and reduced senior secondary from 7 to 4 years. Primary and junior secondary combined to become basic education. The reforms also included comprehensive curriculum reforms. Whereas the middle school was grammar education geared towards preparation for secondary education, the diversified JSS and SSS curriculum was intended to prepare the majority of children whose formal education terminated either at JSS or SSS for the world of work, and the rest, for further education. The new system was also to ensure that *all* products of primary school had access to secondary school to address the inequity between secondary school and the middle/continuation school.

Evidently, diversifying the education curriculum to include technical and vocational elements has not necessarily increased the stock of middle level technical and vocational manpower base of the country. What this policy had failed to take into account was that formal schools are generally ineffective in changing attitudes towards employment and self-employment especially towards vocational and technical education (see Foster, 1965; King & Martin, 2002). Besides, as a supply driven initiative, it failed to recognise that the kind of macro-economic conditions needed to motivate demand for practical subjects was lacking in what was a poor performing economy. Ghana was only just emerging from a devastating economic period and did not have an abundant supply of network of production and trade to create high demand for the kind of practical skills formal schools were developing. The 2000 Ghana Living Standards Survey (GLSS) revealed that only about a tenth of workforce in various industrial sectors had a secondary or higher qualification and about 43 percent of people engaged in agriculture had never been to school, whilst 53 percent either completed or failed to complete basic education. With only about 5 percent of the active labour force engaged in production with a secondary or higher qualification, the 1987 education reforms had been far from making an impact on skills and qualification profile of the labour market.

Also, as a condition for World Bank support the reforms had placed a lot of emphasis on cost recovery in secondary and tertiary education (World Bank, 2004). This meant increases in school fees, textbooks and withdrawal of state subsidies. This hit poor families the hardest who became increasingly excluded from participation in post-basic education.

But overall, the infrastructure base of basic education improved after it had deteriorated during the economic decline of the 70s. Basic schools increased (from 12,997 in 1980 to 18,374 in 2000), attendance and completion rates improved, but levelled off later in secondary. Growing enrolments also narrowed enrolment differentials between boys and girls (World Bank, 2004). What many commentators and analysts of Ghana's educational progress under the 1987 reforms point out is that, although access improved, the quality of education in all sectors did not (World Bank, 2004; Cobbe, 1991; Donge et al., 2003). In 1995, the 'free compulsory universal basic education' (FCUBE) reforms were introduced to address the quality concerns in basic education. More resources were allocated to enhance

quality and management for efficiency (World Bank, 1996). Community involvement in education decentralisation was intensified. Overall these measures contributed to minor improvements in quality but not of the magnitude that would make a significant difference to educational outcomes at post-basic level.

At the basic level certain challenges have persisted. For example, overage entry appears stubbornly resistant to attempts to enrol all children, especially girls, at the age of 6. Regional variations in access and participation are such that as many as 40 percent of school age children appear not to be enrolled in some parts of the country, especially in the North. Besides, levels of achievement are such that further expansion in the future risks increasing numbers who learn little of what is required to successfully complete basic education at levels that assure sustained literacy and numeracy (Akyeampong et al., 2007).

Quality concerns in education have resulted in a sizeable private sector involvement in Ghanaian basic education. Today about a fifth of all primary schools are private (MOESS, 2007). As Ghana approached the year 2000, the biggest unresolved challenge facing education was how it was going to make significant improvements in the learning achievements of students from all backgrounds at all levels of schooling (Donge et al., 2003). Increasingly, Ghanaians are developing an individualistic outlook to education where looking for a good school and even paying for it is becoming common.

The lessons of both 1987 and 1995 education reforms in Ghana are particularly important at a time when the international community is pressing and supporting African states to improve access to basic education as a strategy for poverty alleviation. Education developments in the 1980s and 90s have shown that good access to poor quality basic education will not yield the private and social returns of investments to promote economic growth. The quality imperative is becoming more significant with the realisation that competitiveness in tomorrow's economic environment will require (not only) an equitably accessible basic education of 8 or 9 years of acceptable quality, but selective and equitable access to opportunities for further education and training (World Bank, 2007:2).

Ghana is aiming to become a middle-level income country by 2020. But, to achieve this goal requires manpower with capabilities in abstract and problem-solving skills to tackle the increasingly technological environment of production and trade. Essentially, these capabilities begin their development mainly from the secondary education level where also, the returns to the individual and society are much higher (see, Lewin, 2006; World Bank, 2007). Analysis of the rate of return by level of education in Ghana has indicated that upper secondary produces a higher rate of private and social return than the lower secondary (JSS) level (Canagarajah et al., 1997). The relatively low rates of return to JSS are also an indication that overall, JSS has been inefficient in preparing the large number of students who complete, to qualify for SSS or actively participate in the labour market. In contrast, the high rates of return to senior secondary indicate that it functions better as terminal education for entry into the labour market.

2.2 Progress towards equitable access to quality secondary education

More recently, demand for secondary education has grown. In the last 5 years alone, secondary enrolment has grown by as much as 60 percent, although the completion rate of 34 percent in 2006 (MOESS, 2007) suggests dropout is still high. In 2006, secondary net enrolment stood at about 13 percent after stagnating at 10 percent for a decade. What this means is that, the proportion of secondary students not of the appropriate age for secondary is high. Therefore, despite the relatively high enrolments, the secondary education system has not been very efficient in delivering high numbers of graduates for further education and the labour market. The recent Presidential Commission on Education Reforms in Ghana examined the reasons why most JSS students were unable to access senior secondary, and blamed this on a number of factors: inadequate facilities and infrastructure, parents unable to afford secondary fees, a lack of alternative tracks for students with different interests and abilities, an inability of students to meet the minimum requirements for further education and a lack of interest in further education (GoG, 2002).

Similarly, the diversification of secondary education meant to open up opportunities for the different aspirations and abilities of students, as well as improve streaming into different post-secondary education and training never fully materialized. One reason was that the quality of practical education students received depended on whether they attended a school in a rural or urban area. Generally, there is better quality provision in traditional boarding schools located mostly in cities and towns than in community day secondary schools found mainly in rural or peri-urban areas. Also the traditional schools attracted more qualified teachers than the community schools. Teacher shortages in the technical/vocational subject areas effectively reduced quality of provision and undermined student interest (see Akyeampong, 2005). But, perhaps the most important influence on students' subject choice is the opportunity structure outside the school system. This has proved to be decisive for some students when it comes to selecting school subjects, and increasingly, many of these students are seeing liberal arts and science subjects as offering better opportunities than vocational and technical subjects (see King et al., 2005; Ampiah, 2003). When in the mid 90s Peil (1995) asked the adult population of residents in Madina, a suburb of Accra, which subjects they studied were most valuable to them the responses were revealing – about a third said reading, a fifth mathematics, a quarter both of these, only 7 percent indicated vocational subjects.

This says something about the importance attached to core skills in numeracy and literacy for economic survival, and seems to support the assertion that realism about labour market opportunities in Ghana have much to contribute to job aspirations among students (see King and Martin, 2002; Akyeampong, 2005).

Over the years, the ideological sentiments associated with technical and vocational secondary education have made sure that it remains at the forefront of education policy. But what this does not take into account is the pragmatic implication of costs, and how that might affect equitable access to quality. Community secondary schools which were introduced under the 1987 education reforms to make secondary education more affordable and accessible to students in rural populations, lacked adequate infrastructure, teachers and equipment to

support their practical focus. The lesson is that, implementing a large scale diversified curriculum under resource constraints creates uneven access to quality and choice of secondary subjects (see Akyeampong, 2005). Recent international evidence suggest that it is rather better to emphasize generic and problem-solving skills in secondary education as foundation for further training in post-secondary technical and apprenticeship institutions. This has also the potential of providing better access to secondary education (see Lauglo & MacLean, 2005). Generally, secondary education is faced with the challenge of providing equitable and meaningful access so that dropout reduces and learning achievements improve significantly. An additional challenge is the rising cost of secondary education to both government and parents and the potential that this has on constraining future growth (Akyeampong, 2005).

International evidence suggests that the quality of secondary education, especially in maths and science, has a stronger impact on economic growth than years of schooling. Equitable access to secondary education for poor students, and especially girls is an additional factor enhancing countries' economic growth performance (World Bank, 2007:9).

But this also depends on an adequate supply of qualified teachers who can generate interest in science and mathematics through innovative teaching. Ghana's progress against these international benchmarks reveals that developments in secondary education still have a long way to go. Of all approximately 14,000 secondary teachers in public schools, about a fifth are not professionally qualified, and for science and mathematics subjects this is even less - 19 percent and 13 percent approximately (NPT/GHA PRACTICAL project, 2007). The general science stream in secondary schools currently stands between 13 to 15 percent of all students, although elective science and mathematics subjects can be selected in other more practical streams. Overall participation in physics has declined to 18 percent of examination candidates, in chemistry to 21 percent, and in elective mathematics to 28 percent. Expansion in secondary education has predominantly taken place in the general arts subjects of which the relative size has grown relative to other subjects. Technical, vocational and agricultural streams have all declined, either because schools do not have the capacity to offer more specialist subjects ... or newly created schools only offer a very limited curriculum (See NPT/GHA PRACTICAL project, 2007:13-14).

2.3 Progress in technical vocational education and polytechnic education

Right from independence Ghana has always identified and prioritized technical vocational education and training (TVET) as the sector for providing its middle level manpower base for accelerated development. Unfortunately progress in this area has been slow. In recent years, (e.g. from 2002 to 2006) enrolment in TVET institutions has stagnated at about 18,000 students (MOESS, 2007).

Although enrolments in the 10 Polytechnics² have increased substantially, the increases have significantly been in business related programmes and not in science and technology

² Polytechnics were upgraded to tertiary institution status in 1993 have since then made a slow but determined progress to upgrade their programmes to degree status.

programmes (Table 2). This is happening despite the government approved norms of 60:40 for science/technology programmes against business related programmes. What this could be signalling is that probably the formal and informal labour market has more demand for business related graduates than for graduates in science and technology. Proposals to transform the polytechnic curriculum to support the development of core competencies and generic skills to increase chances of polytechnic graduates fitting in with changing labour market demands suggest a response to the need for demand-driven policies.

Table 2: Enrolment in Science/Technology and Business and related Programmes in Polytechnics

Academic Year	Science/Technology	Business & related programmes	Ratio
1996/1997	4,057	3,363	55:45
2000/2001	8,161	10,289	44:56
2003/2004	9,908	14,445	41:59

Source: National Council of Tertiary Education (NCTE) Statistical Digests

The growth of polytechnic education has always been constrained by the costs. TVET has consistently been allocated about 1 percent of total education spending and shows no sign of change (see Table 3). One of the success stories in educational financing in Ghana has been the introduction of the Ghana Education Trust fund (GETfund). The GETfund is generated from 20 percent of all VAT receipts which is then used to supplement financing shortfalls at both tertiary and pre-tertiary levels of education. For the polytechnics, the GETfund has helped to increase funding from 28 percent of assessed requirements in 1998 to 58 percent in 2000 (Effah, 2003). The current government has committed itself to a new partnership arrangement with the private sector to support TVET outside the formal sector. The government has accepted responsibility for funding the first year of apprenticeship training, and indicated its commitment to match funding levels to that of the secondary sector (GoG, 2004).

Employment has been a major concern of the polytechnic sector where difficulties in interpreting qualifications for placement on the job hierarchy have sometimes affected employability of polytechnic graduates. Although no comprehensive tracer studies have been carried out on polytechnic graduate employment, some analyst suggests that about a third of polytechnic graduates are unemployed (Afeti et al., 2003). Yet again, this is an indication that much of TVET has been supply driven and focused rather narrowly on specialized training that has low market demand.

Table 3: Expenditure by level of education as percentage of total expenditure (2003-2006)

Level	2003	2004	2005	2006
	Expenditure	Expenditure	Expenditure	Expenditure
Primary	40.0	32	30	28
JSS	22.0	16	18	17
SSS	15.0	20	21	16
TVET	1.0	1	1	1
Tertiary	14.0	21	20	23

Source: MOESS, 2007

The history of education development in Ghana suggests that TVET development plans face two main challenges. First, ensuring that sustainable capital and recurrent investment is available to ensure systematic growth and secondly, monitoring the quality of implementation especially the extent to which relevant institutions and structures can be readied to assume new roles and responsibilities.

2.4 Progress and developments in University Education

At the time of independence, Ghana had only 2 (public) tertiary institutions (universities). The last decade has witnessed phenomenal growth³. Currently, Ghana has 5 public universities, over 20 private (local and foreign-owned) university colleges, 10 public polytechnics and several other professional/specialized (both public and private) tertiary institutions. This growth can be interpreted to mean high demand for tertiary education. On average, only about 49 percent of qualified applicants gain admission to the public universities creating a demand-supply gap of about 51 percent (Oduro & Senadza, 2004)

One of the reasons why the tertiary sector has been doing well in recent times is the introduction of the Ghana Education Trust Fund (GETfund). GETfund support has been instrumental in the expansion of academic and physical facilities (i.e. student hostels, lecture halls, laboratories etc) allowing institutions to increase their intake. Despite the phenomenal rise in intake, the participation rate of students in the age group 17 to 21 is still very low (below 5 percent) compared to developed countries (over 50 percent). Thus, there is still some way to go before the full benefits of an expanded university system can be felt throughout the Ghanaian economy.

A challenge that progress in this sector faces is ensuring that there is wider participation from all groups, and not just from well-off segments of society. The indication is that much of the increased participation in tertiary education is coming from relatively few urban secondary schools. In the University of Ghana, for example, a study revealed that between 60 to 90 percent of students selected to various degree programmes came from the top 50 senior secondary schools which constitute less than 10 percent of senior secondary schools (Addae-Mensah, 2000). Expanding the base from which tertiary education draws its students is going

³ From 1999 to 2006 enrolment in public universities and polytechnics has increased by over 120 percent (NCTE Statistical Digest)

to be a major challenge for the future, and will mean improving the quality of secondary education in semi-urban and rural areas, and introducing targeted subsidies for poor households. One step that was taken by the Kuffour government (2000 – 2008) which might help to widen participation from across the country is the on-going initiative to upgrade infrastructure facilities of one senior secondary school in each of the 138 districts. This initiative has the potential of ensuring access to quality secondary education across the country, and increase wider participation in tertiary education.

In 1992 a unique model of university education was introduced into the university system in Ghana. The University of Development Studies (UDS) was set up as an institution that would use research to promote the advancement and dissemination of knowledge and its application to the development needs of Ghana, especially in the north. Most of the work that UDS undertakes is in agricultural science, medical and health sciences and integrated development studies. UDS fits Nkrumah's idea of focusing much of university research on locally relevant development issues that pose a threat to economic productivity. The University of Education in Winneba has also been established focused mainly on education research and teacher development. Together with the University of Cape Coast, it runs an expanding distance teacher education programme with over 20,000 enrolled students.

Research in the universities is also growing. For example, about a fifth of the University of Ghana's budget goes to research activities whilst the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, and the University of Cape Coast spend about 6 percent and 3 percent respectively (Effah, 2003). The challenge for universities and research institutes is, how funding can be targeted more directly at problems of development in health, science and technology to alleviate poverty and increase productivity.

Ghana has also managed a relatively successful diversification of funding for tertiary education. GETFund has come to support infrastructure developments in education and a student loan scheme has been instituted. State universities are increasingly engaging in income generating activities to supplement government subvention. But even with these innovations in funding, the tertiary sector continues to consume a substantial share of education expenditure compared to other education sectors (see Table 3). Whilst government spending on both primary and secondary education has been falling, that of tertiary education has increased from 14 percent in 2003 to 23 percent in 2006. The unit cost of tertiary education is about 3 times that of the unit cost of TVET, and about 12 times the unit cost of primary education (MOESS, 2007). Compared to other sub-Saharan African countries with similar commitments to universalizing primary education, Ghana spends far less on primary education - 28 percent compared to the SSA average of 50 percent (World Bank, 2007). It is not likely that public financing will be able to meet increasing demand for additional places in both tertiary and TVET, which means that private and parental contributions will still continue to be crucial in the future.

Ghana faces a stark challenge: where should it prioritize funding of education to maximize impact on economic development? Financial projections for the future clearly indicate that Ghana will still need the support of development partners to meet its education growth targets (MOESS, 2007). For tertiary education, the challenge is to ensure that funding is

targeted to coincide with government priority areas. Currently, there is a mismatch between government priority and practice on the ground. Most of tertiary funding (universities and polytechnics) goes to support students pursuing liberal arts, humanities and business programmes. In state universities, the ratio of current enrolment in humanities and science and technology based programmes is about 65:35 (MOESS, 2007).

What Ghana can celebrate is the contribution that the private sector is making to tertiary education, and the growing number of distance education and sandwich programmes on offer in universities. As private access expands, this will reduce pressure on state funds so that more of it can then be used to support other education sectors.

3. Reforming education in a competitive market driven global economy

3.1 The new vision of education

In September 2007 Ghana launched new education reforms. Secondary education and TVET have both been prioritized in the reform plans. To address concerns about quality, senior secondary education has been extended from 3 to 4 years. There is a new determination to restructure pre-tertiary education provision so that it focuses on preparing *all* secondary students either for entry into tertiary institutions or for the job market through apprenticeship training in the private sector (MOESS, 2007). The reforms have set 2015 as the target date for achieving universal basic school completion, and 2020 as the date for all junior secondary students to benefit from senior secondary education. Whilst the changes may be familiar, they seem to reflect new understandings that are in keeping with international trends and experiences in investment in education for economic growth. The new reforms have recognized that the divide between academic and technical and even vocational training is becoming more blurred, and that students trained nowadays require not only skills that are immediately applicable to work, but also flexible knowledge and skills that will enable them to adapt as products and production methods change. The new emphasis is that education acquired by TVET student(s), for instance, should enable them to utilize the available information for more efficient production. Consequently the reforms are aiming to link schooling to the world of work by developing programmes that focus on job market readiness, through alliances with private and public sector agencies (MOESS, 2007). There is also a commitment to tracking, monitoring and evaluating student flows to enhance the development and design of programmes tailored to job market needs. A new education bill has been prepared which sets out the new structures and institutional roles and responsibilities to support further educational development.

New policy initiatives are being introduced to increase participation to support both small-scale and large-scale industries. A TVET policy Act has been passed by Parliament to support the establishment of a council for technical and vocational education and training (COTVET). COTVET will have responsibility for coordinating and overseeing all aspects of TVET, including the establishment of a national qualifications committee to determine standards and competencies. There is also renewed emphasis on apprenticeship and skills training, but this time in partnership with the private sector because of the recognition that “apprenticeship to acquire proficiency in the numerous areas of skill, industry and craftsmanship is today dominated by the private sector (GoG, 2004:26). All these measures are intended to once again rejuvenate TVET and encourage its growth.

Educational decentralization and management to improve the operational efficiency and promote a more responsive approach to education service delivery at district, community and school levels are all part of the new plans. There is renewed emphasis on increasing budget lines and budget shares of district education offices. As part of the education strategic plan implementation process, district education work plans are being drafted with the 2015 educational targets in mind. Already, the introduction of a capitation grant scheme in 2004 for basic school operating budgets has led to an additional 17 percent rise in basic school

enrolments. The basic school system has also been expanded to include 2 years of kindergarten education (MOESS, 2007).

3.2 Mapping the way forward

Ghana has accumulated a wealth of knowledge and experience from 50 years of educational development. On average, it has introduced one form of reform every 5 years, but it is how the country utilises knowledge and experiences from these reforms that will determine the extent to which education and economic development will interact to achieve Ghana's goal to become a middle level income country by 2020. The achievements of 50 years of education offer plenty of insights for the next 50 years. Today, access to all levels of education has improved significantly, but there are still old and new challenges that would require different approaches to make the interaction of education and economic growth mutually beneficial for accelerated development.

What reforms in education has taught Ghana is that it is much easier to fix the 'hardware' problems of education than the 'software' ones. With huge investments from internal and external sources structural and infrastructural problems of education can be fixed. With expanded facilities access can improve. However, completion rates remain the problem, especially at junior and senior secondary where low completion rates deprive the country of much needed educated youth prepared for work and for further education and training. It is easier to increase enrolments but much harder to make them stick.

For basic education, the next stage is for initiatives and incentives that can motivate demand from poorer sections of the country. Teacher supply and motivation is at the heart of this challenge. Major incentives for teachers in rural schools such as the provision of good housing with running water and electricity will be crucial. Unless this is done, the large majority of children living in rural areas will continue to receive poor quality education. In financing terms, the challenge for the new reforms is about how best balanced growth in education can be achieved within realistic budget constraints with appropriate shares for basic education, post-basic education and higher.

For the first time in many years, Ghana's economy is showing signs of consistent growth under an increasingly stable macro-economic environment. This offers some real opportunities to use educational growth to accelerate economic development as happened with East Asian economies, where secondary education development became more closely linked to economic growth and emerging labour market needs (World Bank, 2007). Also, improvements in the quantity and quality of secondary science and mathematics teachers are needed to increase the number of students studying science and mathematics subjects. There is also the issue of widening participation in secondary education. As access to secondary education improves its recurrent expenditure will need to grow beyond the current level of about 16 percent towards the international indicative benchmark of 20 – 25 percent by 2015 (see Lewin, 2006). This will most definitely mean reducing the share of tertiary education budget whilst targeting science and technology-based programmes for increased investment.

50 years of formal TVET has focused mainly on pre-employment training for specific skills. Today, global and local economies are much more dynamic and competitive with the informal and private sectors playing important roles. The challenge for the future of TVET in Ghana is how it can respond to markets that are highly competitive and dynamic, and how it can produce graduates with skills that can respond to demands of the local and “global networks of production, (technology) and trade” (World Bank, 2007:1). On the basis of what is now known about TVET and development, creating more opportunities for further formal and informal learning in an environment of sustained economic growth is paramount. Fortunately, the economy of Ghana is showing signs that can make strategic investments in TVET and secondary education pay off as happened in East Asia.

50 years after independence, Ghana’s education system has made significant strides, but now needs investments that can improve quality; provide equitable access for the disadvantaged; especially poor households and girls; strengthen decentralization of education services; improve teachers’ work and living conditions particularly in rural areas; strengthen public-private sector partnerships in education service delivery; reduce overall recurrent spending on tertiary education and increase investment in science and technology related programmes in universities, research institutions and polytechnics. Finally, given the constraints on public resources available for education, a medium to long term planning framework will be required to track investments, progress and challenges. The journey has been difficult but the lessons offer hope for the future.

References

- Addae-Mensah, I., Djangmah, J. & Agbenyega, C (1973) *Family Background and Educational opportunity in Ghana*: Accra: Ghana Universities Press
- Addae-Mensah, I (2000) Education in Ghana: A Tool for Social Mobility or Social Stratification. *The J.B. Danquah Memorial Lectures*, April 2000
- Afeti, Baffour-Awuah, Budu- Smith, (2003) *Baseline Survey for the Introduction of Competency-Based Training in Polytechnics*, National Council for Tertiary Education (NCTE) Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)
- Akyeampong K, Djangmah J., Oduro A., Seidu A., & Hunt F (2007) *Access to Basic Education in Ghana: The Evidence and the Issues – Country Analytic Report*: CREATE, University of Sussex
- Akyeampong K (2005) “Vocationalised Secondary Education in Ghana” in Lauglo J & MacLean R (Eds) *Vocationalisation of Secondary Education Revisited*, Springer, Dordrecht, The Netherlands
- Ampiah J.G. (2002) *Attitude of Junior Secondary School Students towards Science*, Institute of Education, University of Education, Ghana
- Canagarajah, S. & Coulombe, H. (1997) *Child labour and schooling in Ghana*. Washington DC: World Bank
- Donge J (2003) Into the black box of Ghanaian Education: why do increased inputs not lead to better educational outputs? *Mimeo*, The Hague: ISS
- Effah, P. (2003) *A Decade of Polytechnic Education in Ghana: An assessment of achievements and failures*
- Foster, P. (1965) *Education and Social Change in Ghana*. London: Routledge and Paul Kegan
- Government of Ghana (GoG), (2004) *White Paper on the Report of the Education Reform Review Committee*, Ministry of Education Youth and Sports
- Hayford B.K. (Ed) (1988) *Social Studies for JSS: Accra: Curriculum Research and Development Division (CRDD)*
- King K. & Martin C. (2002), The vocational school fallacy revisited: education, aspiration and work in Ghana 1959-2000. *International Journal of Educational Development*
- Lauglo J & MacLean R (2005) *Vocationalisation of Secondary Education Revisited*, Springer, Dordrecht, The Netherlands

- Lewin, K.M. (2005) *Seeking Secondary Schooling in Sub Sahara Africa: Strategies for Sustainable Financing*. Center for International Education, University of Sussex, SEIA Thematic Study No. 1
- McWilliam H.O.A. & Kwamena-Poh, M.A. (1975) *The Development of Education in Ghana*. London: Longman
- Ministry of Education Science and Sports (MOESS) (2007) *Preliminary Education Sector Performance Report*, June
- Ministry of Education (1999) *A Background Paper prepared for the Ministry of Education: National Education Forum*. Accra: Ministry of Education
- Netherlands Programme for Post Secondary Education and Training Capacity (NPT) *PRACTICAL Project (2007) Inception Report*
- Oduro A.D. & Senadza B (2004) *Cross-border provision and the future of Higher Education in Africa – A Case Study of Ghana*, Paper Prepared for the 11th General Conference of the Association of African Universities (AAU) to be Held in Cape Town, South Africa, from 21 – 25 February 2005
- Psacharopoulos G & Patrinos H.A. (2002) Returns to Investment in Education- A further update. *Policy research working paper series no. 2881*. The World Bank, Washington D.C
- World Bank (2004) *Books, Buildings and Learning Outcomes: An impact evaluation of World Bank support to Basic Education in Ghana*. Washington, DC: World Bank
- World Bank (2006) *Basic Education Sector Improvement Program, Staff Appraisal Report*. Population and Human Resources Division, West Central Africa Department, Africa Region, Washington DC: World Bank
- World Bank (2007) *At the Crossroads: Choices for Secondary Education Development and Training in Sub-Saharan Africa*. SEIA Conference Edition: Africa Human Development Series, Washington DC: World Bank



Consortium for Research on
Educational Access, Transitions & Equity
Funded by DFID

Report summary:

In 2007 Ghana celebrated 50 years of independence from British colonial rule. The golden jubilee offered an opportunity to take stock of how the country had progressed in expanding education and the challenges for the future. This paper offers a critique of the journey, highlighting the challenges and progress. What reforms in education has taught Ghana is that it is much easier to fix the 'hardware' than the 'software' problems of education. With huge investments from internal and external sources structural and infrastructural problems of education can be fixed. With expanded facilities access can improve. However, completion rates remain the problem, especially at junior and senior secondary where low completion rates deprive the country of much needed educated youth prepared for work and for further education and training. TVET development plans faces the challenge of ensuring that sustainable capital and recurrent investment is available to improve infrastructural facilities and thereby improve the quality of products. Fifty years after independence, although Ghana has made good progress in expanding education provision, it is still faced with the problem of securing an education system that delivers on quality and provides equitable access for all, especially the poor and disadvantaged. Until and unless significant gains are made here, the goal of producing a workforce with the knowledge and skills for development would be hard to achieve. This is the task for the next fifty years.

Author notes:

Dr Kwame Akyeampong is Senior Lecturer in International Education at the University of Sussex who has written extensively on teacher education, education and development in sub-Saharan Africa, and basic education provision in low-income country contexts. He has consulted for DFID, JICA, the World Bank, and Ministries of Education in Ghana and Rwanda. Currently, he is a principal investigator on a William and Flora Hewlett Foundation research project on Teacher Preparation and Continuing Professional Development in Africa (TPA/FICEA)

Address for Correspondence:

CREATE, Centre for International Education
Department of Education, School of Education & Social Work
Essex House, University of Sussex
Falmer, BN1 9RH, UK.

Website: <http://www.create-rpc.org>

Email: create@sussex.ac.uk

