

The Political Economy Analysis of the Education Sector in Ghana: the Implications for STAR-Ghana.

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List of Acronyms

AESR	Annual Education Sector Review
AFC	Associates for Change
BECE	Basic Education Certificate
CBOs	Community Based Organisations
CDD	Centre for Democratic Development
CHASS	Conference of Heads of Second Cycle Schools
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CPP	Convention Peoples Party
CREATE	Consortium for Research in Educational Access, Transition and Equity
CRT	Criteria Reference Test
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
DACF	District Assemblies Common Fund
DAs	District Assemblies
DDF	District Development Fund
DEFATS	District Education for All Teams
DEO	District Education Office
DEOC	District Education Oversight Committee
DFID	Department for International Development
DHS	Demographic and Health Survey
DP	Development Partners
DTST	District Teacher Support Team
EMIS	Education Monitoring Information System
EQUALL	Education Quality for All
ESR	Education Sector Review
FAWE	Federation of African Women Educationalists
FBOs	Faith Based Organisations
FTI	Fast Track Initiatives
GAIT	Government Accountability Improved Trust
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GES	Ghana Education Service
GETFund	Ghana Education Trust Fund
GHARI	Ghana Accountability and Responsiveness Initiative
GII	Ghana Integrity Initiative
GLSS	Ghana Living Standard Survey
GNAT	Ghana National Association of Teachers
GNECC	Ghana National Education Campaign Coalition
GOG	Government of Ghana
GPRS	Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy
GRAIL	Grant Accountability to Improve Learning
G-RAP	Ghana Research and Advocacy Programme
GSFP	Ghana School Feeding Programme
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
IDEG	Institute for Democratic Governance
IGF	Internally Generated Fund

IMF	International Monitoring Fund
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisations
ISODEC	Integrated Social Development Centre
JHS	Junior High School
JICA	Japanese International Cooperation Agency
KM	Knowledge Management
KNUST	Knowledge Management Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology
LA	Local Authority
LCD	Link Community Development
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MDBS	
	Multi Donor Budgetary Millennium Davidonment Cools
MDGs MOE	Millennium Development Goals
MOE	Ministry of Education
MOFEP	Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning
MPs NACDAT	Members of Parliament
NAGRAT	National Association of Graduate Teachers
NALAP	National Literacy Accelerated Programme
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NDPC	National Development Planning Commission
NEA	National Education Assessment
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisations
NNED	Northern Network for Education Development
NPP	National Patriotic Party
NUGS	National Union of Ghana Students
PAGE	Partnership for Accountability Governance in Education
PBR	Pupil Book Ratio
PE	Political Economy
PETS	Public Expenditure Tracking Study
PMT	Performance Monitoring Test
PPMED	Policy Planning Monitoring and Evaluation Division Ghana
PPVA	Participatory Poverty and Vulnerability Assessments
PTAs	Parent Teacher Associations
PTTR	Pupil Trained Teacher Ratios
QUIPS	Quality Improvement at Primary School
RAVI	Rights and Voice Initiatives
RECOUP	Research Consortium on Educational Outcomes and Poverty
SEA	School Education Assessment
SEND	Social Enterprise Development
SFL	School for Life
SHS	Senior High School
SMCs	School Management Committees
SNV	Netherlands Development Organisation
SPAM	School Performance Appraisal Monitoring
SPED	Special Education Division
SPIPs	School Performance Implementation Plans
SPR	School Performance Report

STAR	Strengthening Transparency Accountability and Responsiveness
TENI	Tackling Educational Needs Inclusively
TLMs	Teaching and Learning Materials
UDS	University for Development Studies
UEW	University of Education Winneba
UNICEF	United Nation International Children and Education Fund
USAID	United States of America International Development
USD	United States Dollars
VSO	Voluntary Service Overseas
WASSCE	West Africa Senior Secondary Certificate Examination
WB	World Bank
WFP	World Food Programme
WUSC	World University Students of Canada
YGC	Youth Gender and Citizenship

1.0 Introduction.

Ghana is entering a critical period in which it's political, economic and social change processes will demand the highest level of human development that the country can offer in order to ensure good governance and maximize on opportunities within the resource and service sectors. Ghana has a long history of policy commitments and investments to provide universal access to quality education for its children between 6-15 years of age. In the last decade the Ghana government has made significant strides in achieving universal access particularly at the primary level (with over 11% enrolment growth increases and achieving over 85% net enrolment¹). Significant challenges still remain in transitioning children to higher levels of education, and ensuring basic education outcomes of high quality. Recent analyses by the World Bank suggests that unless more focus is placed on ensuring equity in resource disbursement and efficiency in resource allocation and programme implementation, a large portion of Ghana's poor will remain out of reach from quality education services, experience sub standard learning outcomes and fail to escape the poverty cycle (World Bank, 2010; Casely-Hayford, 2009 and RECOUP, 2010).

Probably the most important issues for Ghana to address in the coming ten years will be its ability to provide quality education to children at basic level whose parents invest in public education and receive inequitable access to post basic levels of education (e.g. second cycle and tertiary etc) due to systemic inequalities in the system. The improvement of quality particularly at the primary level and attainment of basic literacy and numeracy skills of international standard remains the most pressing problem for Ghanaian policy makers and politicians; the transition of girls to post basic entry level and the expansion of access to post basic levels for the poor will be the key issues to ensuring that the intergenerational change and economic benefits of education are felt by a larger group of Ghanaians. Improved learning outcomes particularly among girls will have significant impact on the next generation of children by reducing intergenerational poverty, improving the social outcomes and bringing opportunity for increased economy growth.

The "Political Economy Analysis of the Education Sector and Implications for STAR-Ghana" is to assist STAR-Ghana identify key issues, entry points and strategies to achieving change within the education sector. The strategies identified in the study will assist STAR support civil society, and allow Parliament and the media work closer with government on key issues of accountability and quality improvement in the education sector. STAR-Ghana is a multi-donor fund programme which aims to "address the need to increase civil society and parliamentary influence in Ghana to foster better governance of public goods and services. In doing so, it will develop efficient and transparent mechanisms which can link civil society with and to the actions of government, traditional authorities, and private enterprise".

¹ See annex 5.

1.1 Objective and Methodology

The objective of the study was to undertake a political economy analysis of the education sector in Ghana, and to use the results to assist in the refinement of STAR- Ghana's strategy, with particular focus on locating the drivers of change within the education sector, identify key issues, strategies, institutions and actors for facilitating broad alliances and coalitions among key stakeholders in order to ensure pro-poor service delivery in the education sector. The expected methods used in the study included:

- A literature review of key policy, donor analysis and research related to NGO's relations with the state and best practice literature in education;
- Selected in-depth interviews with key stakeholders in the sector including Members of Parliament (MPs), government and civil society representatives who have been actively working for change in the sector over the last ten years; and
- A validation workshop to present the findings and probe deeper into the key issues identified.

Interviews were held with key government agencies including the Ministry of Education (MOE), Ghana Education Service (GES) and Ministry of Finance (MOF). CSOs interviewed in the education sector included ISODEC, Ibis, World University Service of Canada (WUSC), Ghana Integrity Initiative (GII), PAGE and ACTION AID. Education coalitions interviewed included Ghana National Education Coalition Campaign (GNECC) and the Northern Network for Education and Development (NNED) and other NGO's and think tanks (see annex for a full listing of those interviewed). Bilateral donors interviewed and engaged with included: DFID, USAID, CIDA, and the Netherlands Embassy.

2.0 Political Economic Analysis

This section explores the political commitment and policy making processes related to educational development in Ghana; it will also explore the financial and power relations that control resources. Finally, the section will consider issues which relate to the control, complexity and bottlenecks in implementing change processes in the education sector.

2.1 Political Commitment and Policy Making

The Ghana government has been leading Africa on several fronts to attain the MDG's related to education development particularly in relation to achieving universal access and gender equity. Since the Nkrumah government in the 1950's education has been a key pillar to the social and political life of the country with teachers playing a significant role in nation building in the 1950's and seen by the countries leaders as key agents of change at the community level up until the 1970's (Casely-Hayford, 2000). The 1980's saw the IMF and World Bank taking a more interventionist approach in the economy with structural adjustment policies forcing cost sharing measures across the education system including user fees for books and examination fees in order to reduce government expenditure in education.

Ghana's first education reform in 1987 which restructured the system from 17 years of a full cycle education to 9 years of basic education, education has been slowly taken away from traditional centres of power such as the religious and faith based agencies and moved into the modern state system through the district assembly structures. This shift has come at a cost in terms of ownership and supervision of the schools across the country (Benings, 2001).

Overall Ghana's political leadership has continually placed education as the highest priority from the Rawlings governments of the 1980's and part of the 1990's to the Kuffour government of 2000 and 2004 to 2008 when the government changed back to the leadership of the NDC with President Atta Mills. Each government irrespective of its political party has placed education at the top of its agenda recognizing that effective programmes of the previous government should be sustained particularly those with high visibility, and direct incentives scoring strong political marks among the population (e.g. infrastructure, school feeding, free school uniforms, capitation grant etc). Most of the governments over the last 20 years have focused their attention on improving infrastructure for primary education with the largest increases experienced in the 1980s's through IMF loans (WB, 2010). Politicians have also recognized that the teaching force is very important to their constituency due to their large numbers (over 140,000 teachers at basic level alone²) and with their influence at the community level. Teachers have also participated in electoral processes and are seen as a very sensitive group which must be appeased (Prempeh, 2011).³

Ghana has also scored very high in terms of developing plans and policies to address issues within the education sector but often falls short of their full implementation (FTI Appraisal Report, 2011). For instance, Ghana has developed two major ten year education strategic development plans for the sector with support from donors and other stakeholders including civil society. The first strategic plan was developed for the period 2004 to 2015, and the second for 2010 to 2020. Both plans have had increasing input and critique from civil society stakeholders including coalition groups, gender, and research and advocacy organisations.

Ghana's policy making has also included continued political oversight to the sector through the Parliamentary Subcommittee for Education, the Ministries Advisory Committee which overseas policies in the sector and the Ghana Education Service Council. These high level institutions oversee the policies and plans of MOE and GES. Government white papers stimulated by analysis and "sector reviews" are often initiated at the presidential level or the ministerial level. This was the case in 2004 when two sector analyses were carried out at the same time over a two year period from 2002 to 2004 before the Government's 2007 white paper on educational reform was delivered to parliament⁴. The 2007 white paper reoriented the sector towards more of a "political agenda" providing new directions, re-establishing the priorities of Government and led to a reform process which redirected GOG investment

² Including trained and untrained teachers.

³ Political Economic Analysis of Ghana by H. Kwesi Prempeh for STAR Ghana. Teachers are often used to oversee ballot boxes etc.

⁴ The first review was commissioned by donors and the Ministry of Education itself and called the Education Sector Review (ESR). The second review was commissioned by the President and referred to the Anamoah Mensah Commission on Education.

towards post secondary and introducing pre primary school as another dimension of "basic education provision" for children in Ghana (Casely-Hayford and Palmer, 2009)⁵.

Decentralised institutions at the school and district level have also been evolving over the last 15 years. Since the late 1980's with the education reform of 1987 and more recently with the new Education Act of 2009, communities have been mandated to elect and appoint a school management committees (SMC's) to oversee all activities at the school level including capitation and school improvement plans. District Assemblies are also expected to appoint District Education Oversight Committees (DEOC's) to ensure the oversight of all educational programming within the district and work in close collaboration with the district education office at district level. The new act also lays out the structure in which the decentralization will eventually lead to full control and oversight of education by the District Assembly itself. Recent analysis of decentralisation processes suggest that it is very unlikely that education will ever be fully decentralised and that the recent legal instrument which decentralised several agencies of government to the district level did not include services such as education, the judiciary and the police force (Hoffman, and Metzroth, 2010). Part of the challenge in decentralising the Ghana Education Service remains that large budget it demands and the scale of management of the teaching force (Ibid).

2.2 Influences of Party Manifesto's

Literature on political and institutional policy making processes within the education sector over the last 15 years of democratic rule suggests that there have been growing tensions/conflicts between the plans laid out by the Ministry of Education and the political commitments and directives resulting from political party commitments when new government's come into power (Casely-Havford, and Palmer 2008; IDEG, 2010; Booth et al.). A very strong example of this was the tension which developed between donors in the education sector who saw Government's white paper as conflicting with the priority areas of the education strategic plan in relation to their investment in primary education; and then one year on the political pronouncements of a move away from language policy in order to impellent English alone in the school system. The analysis of the party manifesto's based on the 2008 election platforms reveal no political voice on the poor learning/low achievement rates, teacher accountability, teacher deployment, inequality and limited discussion on quality of education issues (apart from ensuring new school buildings). Political party focus continues to sustain a narrative on commitments to high visibility projects with support to more structures and social incentive packages such as the Ghana School Feeding Programme (school uniforms, scholarships etc) and "scoring points" with teachers and youth (see annex 4 for details)..

Lessons from Ghana's Political Economic Analysis in Education.

From the 1950's at the time of Ghana's independence, education was placed as a key transformational tool of the state able to transform the population into more productive, conscientized and patriotic citizenry (Casely-Hayford, 2000; Antwi, 1992). Education was

⁵ "Aid Partnerships Literature Review" RECOUP working paper available on (www.RECOUP.ac.uk)

seen as a key transformational state tool focussed on teachers and youth reinforced by agencies such as civic education and non formal education. With the emergence of in the 1970's of military regimes who governed using force, coercion and fear, the 'intellegencia' or the "educated" and those promoting education were restricted and limited. A flood of educated elite including teachers and senior tertiary lecturers left the country and the "culture of fear was instilled in the population". This period in Ghana's educational development history was characterised by limited state social conscientization, lack of criticism and restrictions on media freedom (see Annex 6 for table on political economic history of change in education sector).

The early 80's saw a significant change with the emergence of external forces and ideological shifts within the state due to the commitments to the new neoliberal economic philosophy of structural adjustment; the Ghanaian state was no longer alone in being a key driver of education reform or change within this new economic paradigm of shared responsibility with development partners, and joint educational decision making based on Bretton Woods institutional pressure, analysis and structural reform (Oxfam 2000; Jordan, 2008). Since the early 80's development partners have had growing and significant influence over the direction of education (Atumpugrie 2009; Casely-Hayford and Palmer, 2009). Some analysts predict this may shift due to the GOG's new Aid policy which strongly recommends more budget support, less projectization and of course the impact of oil revenues⁶.

Finally, as democratic processes mature between different government transitions, political party forces also begin to take their more central place in state bureaucratic processes including the "business cycle." Booth et al and Killick's work on the drivers of change suggest that political party manifestos' and ideology have been more widely influential on the state machinery in part due to the "weak and fearful bureaucracy" to stand up and 'proceed on leave". These and other political economic analysis including the STAR PE study by Prempeh (2011) and recent external analysis by the Fast Track Initiative (FTI, 2011) also demonstrates a sustained lack of decision making on "sensitive" but critical issues in the education sector and less political incentives which require long term structural reform (e.g. teacher deployment, teacher study leave, teacher absenteeism, improving achievement rates/quality and ensuring equity).

2.3 Economic Investment/Control of Resources

Political and economic commitment towards education in Ghana is evident based on the high level of financial investment in the sector. Ghana has one of the highest rates of educational investment in the world and tops the list of countries investing in education. Ghana spends over 11% of its GDP on education and over 30% of the government budget supports the education sector with over 95% earmarked for teacher salaries (25% of the entire GOG budget) (WB, 2010; MOESS, 2009). Over the last 10 years analysts estimate that Ghana has spent over 1 billion dollars on educational investment with varying degrees of outcomes particularly in relation to learning outcomes among children at basic education level (USAID, 2010; Thompson et al, 2008).

⁶ Interviews with some key think tanks and CSO's...

Ghana's education sector has also made significant strides in promoting free compulsory basic education and expanding access to basic education while attempting to ensure gender equity. The government over the years has increased its investment in education as well as introduced several policy reforms to improve universal access to primary and JHS education. Government spending in the sector increased from \$ 384.5 million (US) in 1999 to 1 billion (USD) in 2006. Consequently education's share of GDP increased from 5.0% in 1999 to 5.7% in 2006 to approx 11.1% in 2008 (WB 2010). Donor contributions to the sector vary but are estimated at about 5.5% of the total education budget.

Donors contribution to the sector remain focused on non salary items including administration and investment which makes it influential in policy making and policy implementation processes particularly since GOG consistently overspends on salaries "crowding out" other areas of need in the sector such as the provision of teaching learning materials (FTI report, 2011). The GOG has also increasingly encouraged private faith based and other CSO responses to investment by encouraging these sectors in order to expand educational provision and delivery at all levels including tertiary. Currently 23% primary schools in Ghana are privately owned and managed, 24% of JHS's are private and 30% of SHS are private (AESR, 2009). There have also been shifts in the power over resources towards more internally generated resourcing (IGF) of education as the 3rd largest provider of funding to the sector, with the GETFund as the 2nd largest contributor to educational investment and with the Ministry of Finance as the primary contributor. Recent Public Expenditure Tracking Studies within the education sector suggest that there is limited transparency of the expenditures used by the District Assembly Common Funds towards educational provision, along with other sources of internally generated funds (IGF), which include fees from second cycle and tertiary institutions (CDD, 2008). Reports from Africa Watch also suggest that there is relatively more openness on budgeting processes which become difficult to follow up during the implementation and expenditure stage due to lack of transparency and poor reporting by education institutions and agencies (GII, 2008). This is discussed in more detail in the next section.

Agency	Allocations	Policy Direction and Influences on Expenditure
Ministry of Finance	MDBS	GPRS
Ministry of Education	Service Administration Investment	Education Strategic Plan
Ministry of Local Government	District Assembly Common Fund MP's common fund	Education infrastructure MP's discretion

Table 1: Sources	of Educational	Financing	and Policy	/Fypenditure	Direction
Table 1. Sources	of Luucational	Timanenig	and I one	/LApenditure	Diffection

GETFUND	Tertiary and some basic education infrastructure	Government interest
Donors	5% of education budget	Education Strategic Plan

Key challenges remain in relation to ensuring objective budget and expenditure tracking at all levels of the system in order to ensure compliance with the GOG budget. There also remains a limited voice at national levels for CSO's to engage in key decision making bodies that oversee government expenditures in the education sector (e.g. GETFUND and new Oil and Gas platforms for social spending)⁷.

While expenditures on the education sector mainly focus on teacher salaries this is often increased due to overspending with the result that other important items in the education budget are crowded out resulting in poor educational delivery (e.g. text books and teaching learning materials) (FTI Appraisal Report, 2011). Another key challenge to education financing is the fact that there are inequitable allocations and spending across regional and poverty endemic locations leaving rural/deprived areas under funded and under resourced in terms of trained teachers and resources spent per student (see table 2 below). The WB Report (2010) on equity and efficiency in the education sector clearly states that resources per pupil are inequitably distributed across Ghana favouring the urban wealthy and depriving the rural poor of their fair share of educational resources. Table 2 summarizes the analysis.

	Annual Per unit	% difference from
	expenditure	the national average
ASHANTI	3573	6%
BRONG AHAFO	3216	-5%
CENTRAL	3478	3%
EASTERN	3486	3%
GREATER ACCRA	4305	28%
NORTHERN	3042	-10%
UPPER EAST	3129	-7%
UPPER WEST	3257	-4%
VOLTA	3513	4%
WESTERN	3143	-7%
NATIONAL	3376	
non deprived	3550	5%
deprived	3009	-11%

Table 2: Difference in	Per Unit Exper	diture by Region,	2009 (World Bank, 2010)
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Source 2009 Payron.

There is a CSO platform on Oil and Gas which is supported by IBIS and Oxfam US but there is no education CSO representative yet.

The WB (2010) analysis of Ghana's education sector suggests that the poor in the northern regions of Ghana receive less than 30% of the resources per pupil compared to their southern counterparts despite their poverty profile. This is validated by recent studies on poverty and education which investigate the impact of educational equity on the poor from a qualitative perspective (see PPVA, 2010). Table 3 below reveals that the regions with the highest incidence of poverty are also the regions with the least per pupil expenditures in education with the three northern regions experiencing a gap of 59% to 83% of sub standard expenditure per pupil.

	KG	Primary	JHS
ASHANTI	28%	29%	23%
BRONG AHAFO	0%	35%	<mark>45%</mark>
EASTERN	0%	15%	0%
GREATER ACCRA	17%	7%	0%
NORTHERN	49%	65%	83%
UPPER EAST	59%	66%	63%
UPPER WEST	93%	45%	59%
VOLTA	15%	0%	12%
WESTERN	24%	18%	5%

 Table 3: Percentage of Children in Regions with Sub-standard Pupil Child Expenditure (World Bank, 2010)

Another key indicator of inequity is the <u>pupil to trained teacher ratios (PTTR)</u> across the country. While children across the three northern regions have a 1 to 130 pupil to trained teacher ratio, primary students in southern Ghana have a 1 to 40 PTTR ---trained teacher ratio (World Bank, 2010). The intractable challenge of trained teacher deployment continues to plague Ghana's education system with both central and decentralized levels unable to ensure that an equitable formula⁸ and teacher deployment process is carried out. Several studies in Ghana attest to the problems of teacher deployment including the Government's own yearly performance reviews and appraisals from 2006 to 2010 (MOE, 2009). The FTI appraisal of Ghana identifies this as one of Ghana's key challenges in the coming years in order to ensure that funding is efficiently and equitably used.

The findings from the Equity and Efficiency Study by the WB are staggering given the fact that several donors are involved in budget support to the sector and have not been able to ensure more equitable resource distribution over the last five years. The findings are also surprising given the scale of the Public Expenditure Tracking Study (PETS) and other expenditure tracking studies being carried out by CSOs on educational financing. There has been little exposure and media attention to this issue although a few international NGO's have attempted to educate the population using a small brochure (e.g. Action Aid).

⁸ National education, advocacy and lobbying by CSO's and the media are needed to ensure that a new formula for teacher deployment is arrived at which insures that the inequities of the past 10 years are rectified. This is likely to demand trained teacher incentives for those willing to work across the three northern regions along with a stronger targeting and monitoring system to ensure it is implemented.

Another key issue related to inequitable deployment of teachers and inequalities in resource allocations across Ghana's regional and poverty divides is the growing evidence and awareness within civil society of the GOG <u>poor targeting</u> mechanisms related to costly social protection programmes operating within the education sector. Analysis by WFP and the SEND Foundation over the last three years on the Ghana School Feeding programme has clearly concluded that the Ghana School Feeding Programme has been inequitably distributed to schools across the country with the northern region benefiting least (WFP/Boston Group analysis, 2009). These studies also suggest that less than 50% of the schools benefiting from the GSFP can be considered "deprived and needy" (WFP Country Evaluation, 2010)." The selection of GSFP schools is a result of district assemblies' decision making sometimes influenced by "interests" at the district levels in defining beneficiary school locations. The analysis of the Capitation Grant allocation to schools across the country also disfavours small and remote area schools which are often in more need (GII, 2008).

3.0 Drivers of Change in Education

3.1 Bringing about change in the sector

- "The public service particularly the civil service has reached a very slow ebb. Incentive structures within the civil service actually discourage initiative and pro activity. For individuals to move up the system is to avoid mistakes, maintain a low profile and let seniority work its magic (Booth et al. 2005)"
- "There is a premium on visible, quick fix actions (new roads, school buildings etc) as against longer term, slow acting structural reforms (quality education, teacher accountability etc)... (Booth et al, 2005).

The avoidance of politically tough decisions that genuine reform would necessitate can be seen in the education sector partly as a result of lack of political incentive structures, lack of understanding by key policy makers and insufficient pressure by key drivers of change (particularly vested interest groups). Interviews with key stakeholders in the sector along with evidence from the literature, suggest that an organised voice from the grassroots (e.g. parents and youth) who have experience in using the public education system, and have direct exposure to the weaknesses in education service delivery remain outside the state governance and decisions making processes and are not visible at national level and rarely heard in the media to effectively exert their influence⁹. There are also only a few national CSO's focussed on education issues, currently with one national coalition and weak capacity to represent these views over a sustained period on several platforms including the media.

There is a growing need for much stronger synergies between Education Research Think Tanks, International NGO's and a broader range of district and community based NGO's and the media to emerge around key structural issues which need addressing such as teacher absenteeism, teacher study leave and incentives tied to performance, strengthening deployment mechanisms, and inequity in resourcing across the country particularly from a regional perspective. Incentive structures within political parties also suggest that long term structural change is not at the top of the agenda for many politicians due to political sensitivities among key constituencies (e.g. teachers), the significant investment in time needed to bring about visible change and lack of longevity within the education sector to bring about reform remains a key challenge to Ghana's education sector (Prempeh PE Analysis, 2011¹⁰).

Various studies suggest that there are certain areas in the education sector where decision making and change has not been brought about despite significant technical reporting, evidence and analysis; development partners have also invested in policy dialogue and supported commissioned studies which highlight the need for significant structural changes

⁹ There are some channels at the district levels through the facilitation processes of NGO's and local radio stations. Some of the evidence reveals that: GNECC, NNED, IBIS, Action Aid, and Link Community Development along with several other NGOs have been facilitating these processes.

¹⁰ This was also based on interviews with governance experts.

to take place in the sector. The Annual Education Sector Performance Report (AESR) from 2008, 2009 and 2010 all suggest that there has been little change in relation to educational quality over the last 10 years, particularly in relation to basic education achievement rates in literacy and numeracy. The recent FTI Appraisal Report (2010 and 2011) suggests that hard decisions on key issues of concern such as improved efficiency and cost cutting measures in the education sector have not been made for several years despite significant technical analysis and donor pressure. A very good example of this has been that the high cost of teacher study level with pay which continues to drain important human and financial resources due to the teacher shortages in the most deprived areas and continued deployment problems which leave significant teacher shortages in the country. The WB Report (2010) suggests that the same number that go on study leave are the same number of graduates available for placement from the Colleges of Education on a yearly basis suggesting the system remains static despite the shortages and deployment issues.¹¹

3.2 The Traditional and Emerging Drivers of Change

Ghana's traditional 'drivers of change' in the education sector include: the government, development partners/donors, trade unions and student unions, a few NGOs/think tanks, faith based institutions, district assemblies and traditional leaders. All these institutions have different influences over the population, teaching force and education policy making and implementation machinery of the state and to some degree exert influence and have brought about change in the education sector. Particularly influential are the teacher unions who have demonstrated their ability to exert pressure over government to increase salaries and other incentives to the teaching force often without performance measures in place.

A missing voice within the sector, and a potential 'drivers of change" who have a direct vested interest in bringing about improvements are children, youth and parents. These direct vested interest groups including children, youth (who have completed basic education, those who dropped out and others who never entered) and parents are currently investing in the public education system but are less organised and lack voice at all levels (from grassroots, district to regional and national levels). Studies suggest that there is a growing number of unemployed youth in the country who have completed basic education but have not attained entry into second cycle institutions (approx. 120,000). A few efforts have been made to provide some forums to assist communities and PTA's to interact with policy and law makers in the country through the work of UNICEF, NNED, GNECC, Action Aid, SFL along with others.

There are also a growing number of established and trained School Management Committees throughout the country which have received training in their roles and responsibilities by the Ministry of Education and numerous donor supported projects such as QUIPS, EQUALL, PAGE, GAIT, and GRAIL etc. The SMC's are beginning to take up responsibilities at the local levels in relation to monitoring their schools but often need support from NGO's and

¹¹ World Bank (2010) study suggest growing inequities in relation to resource distribution in the country mainly fuelled by ineffective teacher deployment, limited targeting and other resource allocations which favour urban southern schools as against rural northern schools.

outside agencies to ensure that they are able to sustain their oversight. These structures also lack the voice, entry points and channels at the district and regional levels to bring key issues to the attention of district assemblies and district education offices, publicising the problems in the media and advocating on pressing educational issues in order to hold government accountable (AfC, Link Community Development evaluation; GAIT, 2007; PAGE interview, 2011). New initiatives are at work such as the development of SMC networks in some districts and regions to organise the voice of parents.

The District Education for All teams supported through GNECC and NNED are active in about 30 districts in the country along with some District CSO coalitions/networks which remain from the GAIT project¹². Research in the sector suggests that when SMC's and PTA's are provided with information and space to engage they use this to improve education in their communities. The Tackling Educational Needs Inclusively (TENI) programme supported by the VSO Ghana is beginning an innovative process of building the CSO stakeholder voice from the community level up to the district and regional levels in order to support a process of addressing key educational challenges in northern Ghana. The process involves the engagement of key community stakeholders (SMC's and PTA's) in explaining challenges to their District Assemblies and DEO's along with MPs in the district.

Table 4: below summarizes the findings on the drivers of change with a direct vested interest in educational change and improvement; their experiences in effecting change and the platforms which have been created to interact with the state on educational issues.

Groups	Organization	Voice	Experience in Effecting Change	Platforms/Space
SMC/PT A's	Limited to school and some organisations emerging at the district levels	Mainly at community level	Training of SMC's in several areas of the country; some evidence of documented change in relation to teacher indiscipline/removal and infrastructure lobbying. Still dependant on donor project support.	School Performance Implementation Plans (SPIP)some SPAMs. There is space but not fully maximized. No organised national or regional voice
Parents	PTA's (same as above)	Parental voice heard at community level and within some districts; Not using local radio;	NGO facilitation; MC: Movement to private schools;	Required to be involved in the development of the SPIP with the head teacher but not always done

¹² These findings are based on interviews with GNECC, NNED, PAGE and WUSC.

		Stronger voice within the middle class/good schools;		
Children and Students	Student bodies only at SHS levels and higher well organised. Very limited organization at basic level only through school clubs)	Limited voice at the basic school level with indications of different forms of abuse Stronger voice at tertiary levels;	NUGS: School Representatives Council (SHS) facilitated improved Get FUND usage; fee cost sharing.	Tertiary student bodies using the media, TV radio and direct contact with political leaders in conferences; University / Polytec. "governing board" Few platforms for basic education students
Youth	Youth drop outs and JHS leavers (not organised) Youth associations (Faith based and non faith based/political /sports/thematic clubs) do exist in all districts	Strong/ recognised as a political force and traditional mobilisation group.	Mining areas ; Not focused on educational change issues; Some resentment of education system not fulfilling their expectations;	Political rallies, Durbah's, Faith based activity mobilisations, self help initiatives School infrastructure support

The analysis suggests that the second cycle and tertiary level students are well organised and have experience in protecting their interests and directing policy to their benefit. The basic school children are sometimes organised into school clubs and have a much more limited voice on issues related to ensuring the quality of their education. The parents that also use the public education system at the basic level from rural deprived areas of the country have less voice at the district and national levels to protect their children's interests. Recent studies in Ghana suggest that few of the SMC's and PTA's recognise their roles and responsibilities and monitor their schools on a regular basis when not trained or involved in performance monitoring process (PAGE Interview, 2011; Casely-Hayford, 2009)¹³.

Stakeholder groups with less direct vested interests in bringing about educational improvement and results in the sector include: teachers, teacher associations, educational coalitions of NGO's, and other CSO's working in the sector. The evidence within the media (newspaper reports and media reports) suggests that the teacher unions and teachers across the country are focussed on their own welfare as a professional group along with protection of their rights. There is less discussion among unions concerning monitoring their performance, ensuring that structures are in place to reduce abuses in the system including

¹³ Based on interviews with key CSO agencies involved in SMC training and SMC capacity baseline studies (e.g. PAGE and WUSC) also documentation such as: "Strengthening the Chain of Accountability in the Basic Education Sector in Ghana: the impact assessment of Link Community Development (LCD)" by Associates for Change, Ghana; commissioned for the VSO/TENI.

physical abuse in schools and the general welfare of the child. Much more research is needed to understand the focus of teacher unions within the country and how these potential drivers of change can be brought on board the discussion on accountability, improved performance and child welfare issues within the classroom.

	Organisation	Voice	Experience in effecting change	Space
Teachers	GNAT NAGRAT	Strong and effective voice using media, membership, financial, numbers	salary issues, welfare and internal interests, conditions of service less vocal on accountability/ defensive, "Teachers Code of Conduct"	National, regional, district, zonal and school level Relation to communities, DA, RCC
Teachers Associations	CHASS Subject Associations (Math, Science,)	Not often but are in the media and strong;	Four year vs. three year; Delays in disbursement in feeding grants;	Conference s to discuss issues
Education Coalitions GNECC NNEDD Regional Coalitions	Well organised at regional and national levels yet weak at district levels (DEFATs etc) Membership base does not fully finance the coalition).	Limitations due to staff size lack of core financing; overstretched at national level to represent on all platforms.	Research and advocacy issues: schools under trees; rural urban inequalities; Capitation grant and budget tracking; out of school children; access to information and gender based violence	AESR Parliament (MPs) and Select committee; Global week of action; Regional conferences; Media (radio)
FBO's	Organised through Christian Council and Catholic Conference, <u>National</u> <u>to communities;</u> women and youth associations	Voice on specific selective education issues: moral education, Return of schools to the missions and FBO's	Could be if better mobilized; Success in the moral education in schools;	Media Churches, Mosques and their own religious venues Conferences AESR

Table 5: Stakeholder groups with indirect and more limited vested interest in brin	g about
change in the education sector.	

	Organisation	Voice	Experience in effecting change	Space
NGO's (GNECC/NNED 300 -400 approximately	National, regional to district levels; lack of funding has weakened themshift away from service delivery Think tanks in education are very limited	Limited media usage Varied degree: through coalitions, INGO's have presence CBO's and district NGO's making change not seen and rarely heard unless a presence at national level;	Areas of some success include: budget tracking exercises, community score cards, SPAM/SPR's research and advocacy work esp. rural inequalities, teacher accountability Deployment	District Assembly District Planning processes District Education Performance reviews; Conferences and DEFAT activities. Some regional platforms :

3.3 The Media

One stakeholder group which appears less interested in quality issues in education is the media. Several CSO's interviewed revealed that they have difficulty working with state and private media due to their practice of "charging" for their services. Some have discontinued working with the media due to their unethical reporting on sensitive issues related to children and misinterpretations of sensitive material. Most importantly some media groups continue to portray a negative image of women in their work. Interviews suggest that CSO's also find it challenging to keep up the engagement process with the media due to time constraints, limited staffing in public relations and lack of sustained interest by the media themselves on a particular educational issue. The media also lack capacity to investigate and highlight complex educational issues which are of key concern to the public (little value for money: prolonged poor learning outcomes among children in the country compared to the state's significant investment in the structures/implementation of basic education). More promising are the community and district based radio stations which are becoming more focussed on educating the population on addressing critical issues at regional and district levels.

Parliament

Interviews with key stakeholders reveal that some members of parliament demonstrate interest and commitment to educational improvement at the constituency level through visits to their schools and interaction with their communities. The Parliamentarians are also receiving a common fund allocation which allows them to assist communities with small scale improvement projects. Some CSO's interviewed suggest that more scrutiny is needed to ensure that the MP common fund is better tracked. To large degree, NGO's confine their involvement with parliamentarians to research dissemination activities at the national, regional, and district levels. Some of the think tanks are also engaging with MP on regular

round table platforms on social development issues (e.g. Centre for Social Policy Studies, University of Ghana).

Much more work could be focussed on improving engagement MP's particularly at the district and regional levels in order to build interest around issues of improving quality and equity in educational, and strategies to ensure teacher performance relating to teaching and learning in the classroom. MPs in the northern region for instance have expressed interest in issues of out of school children and have embraced complementary systems of education which assist children in the constituency participate in *School for Life* and other extracurricular education programming. The media should be used to engage with the parliamentarians at the national level and open up entry points for debate on the crucial issues of resource allocation inequity and teacher accountability.

District Assemblies

Although a less visible partner in the education sector, the decentralisation process and the new education act (2008) requires that district education oversight committees be set up in each district in order to oversee educational change processes and development partner programming. Several of these institutions are still not created due to lack of awareness at district level particularly among the CSO sector who could lobby the DA to set up this institution. The USAID supported PAGE program is responsible for supporting the creation of DEOC in at least 46 districts across the country. If and when DEOC's are installed and functional this will provide the District assembly a direct role in oversight, supervision and monitoring of education programmes, issues and challenges in the sector. Civil society (possibly the DEFATs) should be trained in helping to facilitate the establishment of these bodies and ensure a seat at the table.

Development Partners and Arenas for Change

Key drivers of change over the last 15 years are development partners particularly those engaged in budget support and policy dialogue on the "key triggers" which will release allocations for multi donor budgetary support. The Ministry of Finance's "education sector group" has become a key platform for engagement with the state on educational issues. CSO's have had one representative (GNECC) and more recently another representative (Ibis) was asked to serve on the thematic group. The development partners who continue to channel resources outside budget support mechanisms but provide the Ministry of Education and some district education offices direct support through bilateral funding are: JICA, USAID and to some degree UNICEF. These development partners have influence within the education policy sphere and often use "country systems" at national, regional and district levels to assist their partners implement programming.

Conclusion

Despite a high degree of educational planning and policy making processes within the sector, the ability of the government, particularly the MOE and GES, to respond to sensitive and structural change issues which could ensure better service delivery remains a key challenge;

the strongest voices and centres of power remain in the hands of the teacher unions, media and tertiary level institutions which often limit their focus to issues of "self interest" and high visibility projects avoiding discussion on issues of performance. The media and population as a whole remain unaware and out of touch with the inequities and poor educational outcomes which the education system is producing (e.g. poor learning outcomes among basic education graduates and primary school leavers at P6 level).

"Conscientisation" processes within the population to their rights to <u>quality</u> education remains a key focus of NGO activity at the community level and to some degree district level but has not received visibility or voice at regional and national levels. Attempts through some programmes such as GAIT, Link Community Development (LCD) and more recently the TENI project are showing signs of activating key stakeholders such as children, youth and SMCs and engaging them in platforms for change at district and regional levels. Unfortunately the evidence in Ghana suggests that often these processes are not sustained after donor financing is phased out (GAIT midterm evaluation, 2008).

More experienced vested interest groups who have achieved results in protecting their rights and ensuring better quality education is the tertiary student organization (NUGS), who are well organized and have a long history of mobilizing for change. Much weaker voices yet growing in strength appear among faith based institutions, traditional leaders, along with other civil society groups such as the GNECC and NNED. Much more work is needed to broaden the number of national coalitions (constituency based) in the education sector in order to create space and maximise existing platforms focussed on issues such as: gender related violence in schools, poor literacy outcomes among children, the image of young women in the media, inequitable resource distribution including trained teacher deployment.

Another key challenge to strengthening change processes in the education sector is the competing implementation forces which are at work due to the "projectization of the sector". The large donor supported programmes which are attempting to bring about change using different approaches at national, district and regional levels characterise much of the educational change work at the moment. These projects increase the complexity of educational improvement processes, often challenging the limited capacity of the "system" and occupy much of the time of sector technocrats.

The implementation forces and competing change processes in the sector also include: the District Assembly planning cycles, the decentralization agenda of government, development partner agenda's, and some aid modalities which result in large scale projects implemented at district and national levels. Despite the sector wide approach in education, planning is still fragmented due to the number of projects still being implemented by key donors to the education sector. There is also evidence that increasing and competing usage of 'country systems' is weakening service delivery and limits the capacity of educational managers at all levels. The competing change processes have different 'theories of change' at all levels (budget support/ policy level; direct implementation at district assembly level etc). The competing forces is most visible when attempting to sustain change after project completion and institutional structures build up by development partners (e.g. SMC/PTA's, DEO's and

District Assemblies) do not continue to engage on the issues or reform once the program is completed¹⁴.

• STAR-Ghana should attempt to build on the capacity developed within and through governance and education donor programming in the past 10 years which have supported the development of national and district governance structures in education (e.g. District Education Oversight Committees (DEOC's), District Civic Unions, District Education for All Teams etc). This could ensure a value added approach and possibly increase the likelihood of sustainable change over the long term after STAR phases out. More specifically this would involve a mapping of all relevant projects (such as EQUALL, PAGE, GRAIL, QUIPS and GAIT) which have built capacities with DA's, DEO structures, SMC's and CSO's to improve educational change mechanisms and accountability processes over the last five years.

¹⁴ USAID/ TMG: QUIPS Final Impact Evaluation, 2004.

4.0 Current Areas of CSO Engagement with Governments Business cycle in Education

The Ghana STAR fund was set up to increase accountability and responsiveness of government, traditional authorities and private enterprises in Ghana. The STAR Fund is designed to enhance the capacity of CSO's to engage in the "business cycle" of government in policy formulation, implementation and monitoring. The STAR Fund is also expected to increase the use of CSO's in evidence based policy making and practice through focussing on monitoring and evaluation, knowledge management, research and communication to improve quality delivery of Government services. This section focuses on exploring civil society engagement in the education "business cycle of government" with reference to the national and district level engagement.

4.1 The Current Profile of CSO's working in Education

The <u>current profile of CSO's working on issues with</u>in the education sector consist of 400-500 NGO's and Community Based Organisations (CBO's)¹⁵ across the country which range in capacities/scale and are focused on education service delivery, research and advocacy activities¹⁶. There are approximately 10 international NGO's, 10 National Ghanaian NGOs and three research think tanks working on education issues along with two major coalition groups operating at the national (GNECC) and regional level (NNED)¹⁷. The Ghana National Coalition Campaign is currently the only national membership body focussed on education which has regional representative bodies including the Northern Network for Education Development (NNED). NNED also has regional representation across the three northern regions and lead organisations which spear head their work. Both GNECC and NNED have regionally elected bodies which have representation on the main body and oversee district level coalitions called District Education for All teams (DEFATs) which carry out different activities on behalf of the national and regional coalitions.

The larger national NGOs' working in the education sector along with the smaller district and community based organisations have suffered from lack of core funding which results in close engagement with larger international NGO's for funding and direction to carry out their work; many are also searching for funding across the embassies or other international donor agencies¹⁸. There are a few platforms which have emerged over the last few years where

¹⁵ There are only about 10-15<u>Ghanaian</u> NGO's who are focused on educational change processes and have reached a level of visibility, effectiveness and scale at the national and regional levels that could assist government improve educational service delivery on a large scale.

¹⁶ Based on documentation on CSO mapping by the EU and also interviews with GNECC.

¹⁷ There are other regional coalitions but they work through either GNECC or NNED.

¹⁸ Currently, (as of 2011) there are three major USAID funded education programmes are being implemented through "country systems" and international NGO's. These USAID funded programs include: the Partnership for Accountability Governance in Education (PAGE), TAP and the Ghana Education Decentralization Project. The GRAIL program has just completed its last year of financing but is still winding up operations.

education coalitions are invited to be represented; usually GNECC takes on this responsibility (e.g. the aid effectiveness platform includes an education coalition platform). Interviews across the donor and CSO sector suggest that there are challenges in GNECC representing the sector at all the meetings and opportunities with government, development partners and media events given the small staff size of GNECC (3 core staff) and lack of core financing. Interviews also revealed that there is also growing awareness within the CSO community that one national body for education can be "dangerous" since the organisation can sometimes be used to "rubber stamp" plans when it is called to represent CSO's in the sector. Interviews with GNECC, NNED and other CSO's revealed a growing awareness, that more coalitions, more voices and constituency based bodies are needed to more broadly represent key interest groups on educational issues at national level as well as regional and district levels. Key issues which do not have consistent voice at national level are inequality in educational allocations, literacy and learning outcomes, teacher accountability and all forms of abuse in basic schools,. These gaps will be discussed further in the next chapter.

An encouraging sign in the last five years is that a growing number of think tanks are beginning to carry out research on education issues with findings being shared with the media, the Ministry of Education/GES and the Parliamentary subcommittee. This was partly a result of DFID funding for three large research consortiums in the education sector: CREATE, EdQUALL and RECOUP. Some "think tanks", research organisations and CSO's have also shared their findings with the Parliamentary select committee on education facilitated through the Parliamentary Centre and UNICEF. Some research agencies and think tanks have also been asked to conduct research directly for Parliament on issues of interest but these have not been on education related issues¹⁹. Assisting Parliament conduct research on specific issues could be one approach to entry in the "government business cycle" and is explored in the next section.

The main problems for CSO's in the education sector has been that there is limited partnership arrangements or clear role definition by MOE/government and development partners in relation to CSO's role in the planning, budgeting, implementation and monitoring stages of the "business cycle". This is in contrast to the health sector where partnership conferences are held and roles have been more clearly defined for CSO's operating with the health sector (see the Health Sector Strategy document and Annual Plans). For instance, at the initial stages of the health sector wide approach, CSO's and research agencies were asked to assist with external monitoring of sector performance and conducted independent reviews to support the health agencies and DPs monitor progress in the sector.

CSO's and Ghanaian NGO's operating in the education sector have been limited by lack of role definition, partnership arrangement and financing on a sustainable basis. Within the MOE 'business cycle', their role has been to provide a voice and feedback on the annual performance reviews of the education sector based on the MOE's own analysis and data sets (e.g. EMIS). When and where NGO's engage in research and advocacy activities they are often challenged by Government on validity of the results and are not always able to follow up on issues raised/research findings and their implications with the MOE/GES once the

¹⁹ This process was supported through DANIDA financing and three key think tanks were engaged.

project has come to an end. The cycle of research and advocacy tends to focus on CSOs' carrying out research at district level, presenting this at a workshop for all the key stakeholders including district education offices to comment and sometimes using the findings at the national level through GNECC on strategic advocacy work (e.g. research on out of school children, rural and urban divide research etc). Unless the NGO has a vested interest in following up on the issue then other research and advocacy issues may take precedence and the original evidence based advocacy issue may not be followed up (e.g. teacher absenteeism studies, teacher time on task, budget tracking work, gender based violence etc). This section will highlight some of the areas where impact has been made by CSO's in relation to the business cycle in order to highlight the key lessons learned.

4.2 Overall CSO engagement in the "business cycle"

The current arenas open to CSO engagement with the government in the education sector include participation in some aspects of the planning cycle, limited involvement in performance monitoring and some influence in policy making. The vast majority of CSO's in the education are not aware of the timing and stages in the Ministry of Education's "business cycle" and engage only tangentially through the national representative body: GNECC or other regional bodies such as the Northern Network for Education Development (NNED). There are signs that through donor leveraging, CSO's are gradually obtaining a place in the budget cycle process particularly on issues of donor interest (e.g. complementary education, girls' education etc)²⁰.

The Interviews conducted as part of this study revealed that in relation to <u>policy making and</u> <u>planning</u>, CSOs are not well informed of the MOE business cycle and the timing of inputs and contribution needed to properly influence the process. For instance, very few CSO's in 2010 were aware that the MOE was about to focus on developing a new education strategic plan which would guide the sector for the coming 10 years. A few education think tanks and CSO's were informed through informal networks (e.g. MOE's consultant) and passed this information on to strategic partners who then made attempts to influence and share key research findings with the ESP planning team developing the plan (e.g. RECOUP team, CREATE, SFL and FAWE).

The same informal networks are also used by CSO's when the Ministry is planning to make inputs into its Annual education sector review, FTI work or other major initiatives. Some international NGO's have staff members dedicated to ensuring that they are well informed and linked to the education policy levels (e.g. IBIS, EQUALL etc). The vast majority of CSOs have representation at the MOE level through their GNECC representative at the national level; GNECC has been recently appointed to the MOE's policy advisory committee which is one narrow entry point into policy making.

²⁰ When donors realize an important education issue needs addressing and there is financing available often CSO's can be called to consult and assist MOE with the Annual operating plan and proposed budget for the activity (e.g. closing the MDG 2 gap requires complementary education).

Interviews with GNECC and other CSO's suggest that there is limited participation and engagement in the MOE's planning cycle due to the lack of information on its timing, restrictive space for CSO engagement and that engagement is often not collective in character (e.g. ESP 2010-2020). Several interviews suggest that CSO engagement has become a "rubber stamping "exercise with the main education coalition being invited and then disseminating information to their membership.. For instance, the ESP 2010-2020 did not include a review of the achievements and gaps over the last ten years but engaged CSO's in the review of the proposed document which had been developed by the MOE for feedback. Some NGO's presented their feedback on the New ESP document but were not able to see any changes to the document despite significant lobbying at senior GES levels (e.g. FAWE had strategic partners and core membership review the ESP).

The district planning processes including District Annual operational plan which are derived from the District Education Strategic plan affords another entry point for CSO's into the planning cycle. Over the last three years these plans have become more open in nature with some CSO's at district level engaged to assist in the planning process. Some districts invite their CSO partners to help develop the analysis and strategies for the way forward. Some CSO's are also involved in the planning process at regional depending on their interest and geographic location/ areas of operation. Increasingly NGO's are aware of this vital stage of engagement at the district level and the need to be visible to the DA at strategic planning moments such as the annual operational plan of the district. (*This stage is often completed before the district budget cycle begins in April/ May of each year*).

Lessons from the education sector also suggest that those who have been successful in gaining entry into the policy making and planning arena are CSO's who have invested heavily in media campaigns and research which highlights the effectiveness of their work; this is sometimes achieved through using external impact assessments of their effectiveness (e.g. School for Life is an example) and/or donor financed research on a key agenda issue. CSO's with some influence at the national levels also gain entry through their relations with the media and through donor leveraging if the issue is of significant interest (i.e. able to assist achieve an MDG or is an MDBS trigger).

Another lesson which has resulted from key research institutions being engaged with the policy making and planning process is that research alone cannot drive change. The experiences of RECOUP, CREATE and EdQUAL²¹ suggest that stronger linkages to the CSO community could have helped to: strengthen follow up mechanisms on key research findings/ issues which demand policy reform, make better use of the findings to influence policy making and strengthen civil society capacity in holding government accountable. The tripartite relationship between CSO's, reputable research institutions, and policy makers needed to bring intractable issues facing education to the public and media, continues to elude Ghana's education sector.

²¹ These are three research consortiums which conducted peer reviewed/policy research over a five year period on Access (CREATE), Quality issues (EdQUALL) and education outcomes (RECOUP) but had weak linkages to civil society and the media. The University of Education, Winneba lead CREATE, University of Cape Coast led the work on Quality and Associates for Change (AFC) led the work on Outcomes to education in Ghana.

The <u>engagement of CSO's in the GOG budget cycle</u> at national level is limited to a few civil society organisations that have access to information and a close relationship to MOE. Information on the budget cycle within MOE is usually limited to the bureaucracy and the donor community. There is also much more donor engagement on issues of the budget given the current aid architecture which has shifted donor support towards budget support; the budget support and multi donor budgetary support commitments have positioned key development partners in the education sector in gaining greater access at national level to the budget. The national education coalition and more recently IBIS participate on the sector group, overseen by the Ministry of Finance and is a source of information on sector budget support to the education sector.

The MOE/GES budget cycle begins in April when letters from the Ministry of Finance requesting sector ministries begin policy processes and planning for the coming budget in December of each year. The first stage involves sector policy hearings which begin in June between MOFEP and the Ministry of Education to review the education sector budget and receive the budget ceiling based on a fully costed programme. These costings are based on the ESP and the Annual Education Operational plan which sometimes reflect particular needs of some district areas. Once the sector is provided with its total budget ceiling from MOFEP, then the MOE will call all its agencies and departments to come together to allocate budget ceilings out on a regional and district basis for each education directorate; NFED, tertiary institutions and other agencies will also receive their budget ceilings. July and August begins the planning and budgeting cycle at the district and regional levels followed by a national meeting with the GES financial controller in September to prepare GES budgets for each DEO and region.

There is very limited CSO knowledge or engagement in this cycle although some NGO's are increasingly lobbying for cost sharing arrangements with their DEO's and DA's at district levels before the budget cycle begins. One of the main challenges in the CSO sector has been limited visibility of their programming at the district level particularly in relation to their investments which should be part of the District Education strategic and annual plans and budgets. Much more work could be done to train CSOs on engaging at the district level in order to bring about more accountability, develop a rapport with the DA and then help them better target resources.

Delivery of service and implementation

The core implementation cycle begins with Public schools opening in September and closing in July. Most donor financed programming implemented at the district level involves training and capacity building processes during the months when teachers are at school; these programs if implemented often take up the majority of district education office time since there are limited resources by GOG to implement other types of programming. Districts will implement their plans through NGO and donor support in order to train and orient new head teachers and circuit supervisors. In more recent years, districts have been implementing some aspects of performance tracking of schools through the performance monitoring tests and some even use the School performance appraisal meetings (SPAMs) to feedback information to their districts (see section below on best practice on performance monitoring for more detail).

Although the Ghana government/MOE institute plans to release budget allocations on a quarterly basis (January, March, June and September), these are often delayed with only two or three quarters of budget allocations released per year. The non discretionary budget which includes budget lines for: service, and administration are often part of the releases expected to be done on a quarterly basis in order to purchase teaching and learning materials but they often are delayed or do not fully arrive. The investment line item of the budget which can provide funds for infrastructure at the basic level is handled by the District Common Fund and other District assembly revenue.

The late release of service and administration allocations by the MOE/GES has resulted in distorted expenditure planning, is highly disruptive of their plans and has in some cases "dampened enthusiasm" of planning officers/and some CSO's to engage in the planning cycle of government. Several years of non payment to the DEO has resulted in misallocations of funds and vying between payments to offset debts accumulated therefore disrupting the implementation process. The capitation grant is released quarterly and goes directly to the schools if the schools have an approved school implementation plan (SPIP). Some NGO's and CBOs have been involved with training School management committees on their role in the oversight monitoring and supervision of the school. More recently NGO's have also trained SMC's to actively engage in the development and oversight of the school implementation plans (SPIPs). This can minimise leakages and maximise the usage of the capitation grant where the process is transparent with the SMC.

There are a few examples of NGO's who have lobbied DA's for partnerships, cost sharing and joint implementation agreements in relation to education programming at the district level (School for Life, IBIS, Action Aid and Olinga Foundation). There is a varied record of success with some DA's reneging on their agreements and some District Education offices not implementing parts of these agreements which bind them to proper implementation of their programme (e.g. SFL). CSO's invest a lot of effort in insuring that DA commitments and cost sharing is honoured but some districts are unable to meet with their commitments (partly due to late release and non release of funding).

CSO <u>monitoring and evaluation activities</u> mainly take place at the district, regional and national levels. During the Annual Education Sector Reviews, GNECC often presents a position paper focuses on issues related to: poor quality education, teacher deployment, inequity in relation to the distribution of resources, poor scale of infrastructure, and teacher absenteeism (analysis of GNECC position papers). But this form of engagement is limited since it is based on government M&E systems, data collection with limited systems of verification. A key challenge emerging within the DP and CSO arena in relation to accountable for results, is that the education sector only uses MOE/GES data sources generated from the School Census and National Education Assessment (NEA). This is the data source used to generate the annual education performance report and is also used to release budget support and prove that the MDBS triggers are being met. At the initial stages

of the MOE's annual education sector review process in 2004 and 2005, external agencies/consultants were used to monitor the process on behalf of donors but over the last four years there is limited external monitoring. Increasingly, the pressure of budget support and MDBS triggers/benchmarks call for alternative data monitoring and performance tracking in the system (Casely-Hayford, 2010; FTI Appraisal, 2010).

Over the last three years, District Education offices have also been involved in producing their own performance reviews based on data collected at the district levels. UNICEF, USAID and other DPs have assisted in building the capacity of some Districts to track their own learning, quality and access indicators which are used as a basis for their performance reports. District Education Offices collect data on enrolment, retention and transition as part of their ongoing monitoring efforts at district levels. Districts which have been involved in DP programming such as the (EQUALL and LCD project districts) have received more training and developed capacities in generating monitoring and evaluation data and tracking performance across the district. The degree to which these district performance reports are used by CSOs remains limited. Larger NGO's engaged at the district and regional level are often invited to the region to review performance across several districts during the months of May/June school year before the annual education performance review in June/July.

The need for independent data monitoring has brought about a growing interest by CSOs and research think tanks in conducting an alternative education performance review using independent data sets. Interviews reveal that there is awareness and some plans by civil society and think tanks in conducting this alternative education review in order to support evidence based advocacy and monitor performance at all levels. The CSO's are also involved in separate processes of monitoring and evaluation. Evidence in recent research on girls' education by the SNV, UNICEF and WFP suggest that there is a need for all external agencies working with GES in a particular district to harmonise their monitoring and evaluation systems in order to benefit from learning related to impact and outcomes levels of measurement.

Another entry point into the engagement by CSO's into the budget and monitoring cycles has been the method of using budget tracking to monitor efficiency and effectiveness of service delivery, within the public education system. Several think tanks and CSOs are engaged in budget and resource tracking at national and districts levels on issues of teacher punctuality and attendance, school feeding, capitation grants and text books²². The findings reveal wastage and leakages in the distribution of capitation grant funds as well as textbooks and teaching and learning material distribution and their utilisation (CDD/PETS, in 2009; PETS 2010; NALAP implementation study, 2010). Expenditure tracking studies also expose the challenges of equitable resource allocation. Key findings suggest that these educational resources often not distributed consistently, regularly nor in a timely manner arrive very late in education school cycle; there is also evidence of poor reporting and record keeping by District Education offices and Head teachers to account for the resource allocations, capitation grants and materials (GII, 2008; PETS, 2010).

²² Some of these CSO's include: NNED, GNECC, CDD, ISODEC's center for budget advocacy, SEND foundation etc.

The wide range of CSO studies at different levels of the system and across different types of allocations suggest that there is very limited coordination or collaboration on using budget and expenditure tracking studies to lobby and advocate at national level and therefore these studies may have limited impact. Interviews with some CSO's conducting the studies suggest that once the funding has been completed there are not enough resources for follow up and lobby activities which eventually come to a standstill with media engagement, government lobbying and across other channels of influence including parliamentarians.

4.3 Engagement with the Parliament

There are two key entry points for CSO's to engage with the Parliamentary cycle which were identified in the STAR Parliamentary Strategy Study by Aniwa (2011). These strategies have been adjusted to focus more on educational issues and include:

- 1. Support CSOs to identify educational issues from the media and existing research institutions in order to provide the parliamentary select committee with the evidence to follow up.
- 2. CSOs and CBOs working within the communities can assist identify issues of critical concern in education to the people and bring this to the attention of the MP and DA.
- 3. CSOs and the research institutions can provide information/analysis on critical education sector issues and alerting Parliament to missing actions agreed on in earlier discussions at the community, school and district levels in quality education delivery.
- 4. Parliament needs the support from the Think tanks and other CSOs in the education sector in considering the number of bills and loan agreements in education due to low capacity of Parliament to effectively scrutinize the bills (*a good example of this was the passing of the education act just before the last election in 2008*)
- 5. Parliament should engage accredited NGOS/CSOs and coalitions of education for oversight and research activities- to monitor ...Budget tracking and Resources of MDAs-
- 6. CSO's can brief parliament before the public hearings of public accounts particularly related to education service delivery, and monitoring.
- 7. There should be more MP constituent engagement with CSOs,-- on the utilization of the capitation grant, Getfund Parliament to work with CSOs and CBOs in communities to track the effectiveness of education service delivery to communities in areas and issues of interest to the communities
- 8. Policy dialogue/ interactive sessions on emerging issues in education and MDGs could use the Speakers Breakfast meeting on education, other Parliamentary Platforms on thematic areas in education
- 9. Expand the participation of Education focused CSOs in pre and post budget workshops and organize it to include all MPs so that they can be held accountable in their communities.

Currently, CSO's are engaging with parliamentarians on education issues in their constituencies at the community and district levels. More work is needed to train SMC's and PTA's to engage in this process. Some research think tanks and national NGO's are also engaged in sharing key findings with the education parliamentary subcommittee levels on issues of educational inequity, teacher performance and accountability and learning outcomes (e.g. GNECC, Action Aid, AFC).

What appears clear from these interactions with parliamentarians and interviews with the CSO's engaging in current parliamentary processes, is that parliamentarians have limitations on which issues they are willing and interested in taking forward due to "sensitivities with their constituencies" and limited incentives for addressing some types of issues. STAR needs to carry out a short research piece on the types of issues that parliamentarians are willing to address/ make change on in the education sector; this should include interviews with the media and other groups possibly teacher unions.

Interviews with selected NGOs is the sector suggest that engagement with parliament demands social networking, "knowing someone", dedicated time at national level and the technical skills to implement effective engagement. GNECC currently engages with parliamentarians but this engagement demands time and resourcing. GNECC often liaises with key and strategic MPs who have voice to table issues of key concern on the floor of Parliament. They also engage with the parliamentary Clerks. Evidence from the Parliament strategy study by Aniwa (2011) suggests that parliamentary engagement will demand change to the current parliamentary practices and approaches (e.g. initiation of standing orders etc).

CSO's need more capacity building to identify key areas and entry points to work on issues with parliament. Currently the structures and processes appear quite limited at national level to CSOs and think tanks that have technical capacity and a "social network" to parliament. Although one area identified by this study suggests that CSO's along with Think Tanks could conduct more research directly for the parliamentary research division and for the parliamentary subcommittee. More space appears to be open at the district and regional levels to engage with MPs in educational issues particularly when the media is involved in order to ensure that key issues are reaching the district assembly, national and subcommittee levels of parliament.

4.4 Learning about success and engagement in the education sector

Over the last five years, civil society has been increasingly engaged in the government "business cycle" and is making some impact in the education sector using the following approaches:

- CSO's are tracking budgets, capitation grants and school feeding (SEND, NNED and others);
- Increasing parental voice, parental and SMC participation in accountability processes by engaging them in the analysis for school performance (TENI, LCD, GAIT; PAGE)
- Bringing about the policy on complementary education to address the needs of children out of school (SFL, IBIS, GNECC)
- Working on issues of Girls' education, and other gender issues including gender based violence through dissemination events and advocacy (SNV, WFP, FAWE; CAMFED, PLAN; Action Aid; Pronet);

- Engagement with Parliamentary Sub Committee on Education: on issues of teacher performance and inequity in the education (GNECC, Action Aid, AFC)
- Setting up upward and downward accountability processes in collaboration with the district education offices (TENI, LCD, ISODEC and PRONET)
- Research and advocacy with media attention on teacher absenteeism and poor time on task by teachers (e.g. LCD, CDD; Action Aid)

CSO's over the years have also been involved in rights based approaches to education. The RAVI and GRAP programs helped develop capacities within civil society at all levels in using a rights based approach; international NGOs have also supported capacity building programmes on rights based approaches within their communities and among their partners (e.g. Action Aid, CARE, LCD etc). There is recognition within Ghanaian civil society working on education issues, that all projects/programmes should have a rights dimension assisting the population build capacity to demand for their rights and accountability processes with duty bearers.

A significant amount of analytical work has been carried out in Ghana which can assist the CSO movement lobby on key issues of accountability in the education sector. For instance, issues on poor learning outcomes among children at primary and JHS level, poor teacher time on task and teacher absenteeism are well documented across Ghana²³. CDD and Action aid have both carried out extensive studies on teacher time on task and teacher absenteeism in Ghana; the CDD study was captured by the national media and made front page headlines. Different best practices in "holding Government accountable" in order to improve quality have been documented through evaluations on different NGO' experiences (e.g. NNED evaluation; LCD evaluation; etc).

Other NGO's are also engaged in strengthening grassroots structures such as the SMC's and PTA's using a rights based approach and creating awareness among these institutions on their roles and responsibilities, disciplinary action and empowering even children to identify and understand their rights (Action Aids' Girls Education programme).

4.5 What works in relation to accountability in the education sector²⁴

The strategies that have documented evidence in accountability and responsiveness in the education sector include: school and district performance appraisal monitoring or SPR, Budget and resource tracking systems, capacity building and institution building at district

²³ The World Bank study (2008) by Helen Abadzie suggests that Ghana is one of the worst performing countries when it comes to "teacher time on task". The study found that less than 80 out of potential 160 days years are spent teaching in Ghanaian school and far less time is direct teaching.

²⁴ The projects and processes highlighted below have documentary evidence mostly in the form of midterm and external evaluations which suggest their effectiveness and impact.

and local levels. The School Performance Appraisal System was initially used by District Education Directorates and Link Community Development in the late 90's but has more recently been scaled up by other NGO's in the northern region through the TENI project²⁵. The School Performance Appraisal system stimulates change at the community and school levels particularly in relation to teacher time on task and teacher accountability for performance. Other CSO's are using methods such as budget and resource tracking to hold government accountable in programming such as the Ghana School Feeding programme, capitation grant, teaching learning materials (TLMs) and textbooks. Some CSO's are also working closely with District Assemblies' and lobbying for cost sharing in executing service delivery projects at the basic education level.

Successful cases of engagement by CSO's in the "business cycle" include:

- scaling up innovative and cost effective service delivery approaches to help out of school children access education and transition to the public school—advocacy and national dialogue including media engagement has resulted in policy formulation on complementary education;
- education performance monitoring and evaluation processes based on strengthening upward and downward accountability systems have proven effective in improving learning outcomes among children across specific districts in the north.
- Education budget and resource tracking at district levels in the sector.

Building citizen structures to ensure accountability

Probably the best known project in education which helped to strengthen district and community based governance structures in the education sector was GAIT 1 and GAIT 2. The GAIT program began in August 2004 and ended in 2009. The overall project goal was to improve the social and economic welfare of the population in 25 districts through improving effective citizen participation in local governance and school management.²⁶

GAIT 11 focused on two governmental entities in each of the 25 districts, the District Assembly (DA) and District Education Office (DEO), and the two citizen-based groups: the Civic Union (CU) and its constituent Civil Society Organizations (CSO), and the School Management Committees (SMC) and Parent- Teacher Associations (PTA) in 28 schools in each district. Improved effectiveness of citizen participation across each of these organizations was promoted through intensive training and workshops designed to transform the traditionally "passive" role of ordinary citizens towards more active ownership of their schools and enabled them to improve their interaction with government organizations such as the DEO and DA. At the same time, the program worked directly with the DA and DEO to promote receptiveness and responsiveness to the increased interest and requests from the ordinary citizens through their organizations (GAIT midterm evaluation, 2008). Since the

²⁵ Pronet and ISODEC along with LCD are working with the VSO across three district in the three northern region to scale up this approach in all schools in the target districts.

²⁶ GAIT 1 strengthened citizen advocacy at the local level and GAIT 2 added a specific focus on key governance institutions at the local level in basic education

program closed there are still district civic unions across the country which could be strengthened by CSO's involved in the STAR fund.

Upward and Downward Accountability in Education: School Performance appraisal processes

One of the most effective approaches which has triggered interest in holding government, District Education Offices and School heads/teachers accountable for educational outcomes at the district levels is the School Performance Review (SPR) processes facilitated by state and non state actors in Ghana. During the mid 1990's, school reporting included districts education offices conducting termly examinations or testing across their schools to assess the performance of the teachers, students and schools in general. The School performance appraisal meetings (SPAM's) and Performance Monitoring Tests (PMTs) was a GES initiative but not sustained after the 2004/05 when a new national appraisal system was put in place through the National Education Assessment (NEA) and the School Education Assessment. District wide child assessment testing conducted by the district with reports being fed back to the school and parents has continued by some active district education directors but was reintroduced by a Ghanaian NGO called Link Community Development (LCD).

The Link Community Development Approach to school performance appraisal involves a large number of schools in each target district conducting school assessments with their SMC"s and teachers on 20 key indicators and then conducting a literacy and numeracy test to test learning outcomes among children at the school. Often this process is carried out in most all the schools in an LCD target district in close collaboration with the District Education Office and Planning Unit. The district then compiles the data and feeds this back to the school level through school performance appraisal meetings (SPAMs). The SPAM process is held at the school level on a termly basis and parents/SMC'/ PTA and community members are able to consult with the school management including head teachers, teachers and circuit supervisors on issues affecting the school (e.g. absenteeism, lateness, lack of teaching resources, water etc). The communities then use these consultations as a basis to generate their School Improvement Plans (SPIPs). The school based appraisal meetings is then discussed in a formal stakeholder meeting at the circuit and the district levels where selected representatives from the SMC's attend to hear of how their schools are performing in comparison to other schools in the circuit and district. Finally similar performance appraisal meetings are held with key district education stakeholders, selected SMC members to discuss performance on a district level and then finally discussed at regional stakeholder meetings with the representatives from the regional education directorates.

An external assessment of the LCD School Performance Appraisal (SPR) Approach conducted in two of its three target districts in the Upper East found that the approach has improved the dynamics between teachers and students resulting in stronger school and district based accountability systems and improved district educational responses to issues arising from school performance²⁷. One of the key findings from the evaluation suggests that

²⁷ "Strengthening the Chain of Accountability in Basic Education in Ghana: An external assessment of the LCD approach in Northern Ghana" (2009) by Associates for Change and commissioned by the VSO Ghana.
LCD was making structural change and improving quality education at district and school level due to its technical competencies and close rapport with the District Education offices and district assembly; This is based on its technical support in data analyses and school management training which balances its approach in highlighting key challenges that the District education officers and schools face in delivering quality education. The approach also ensures that as the NGO adds value at DEO level to improve the systems of assessment, communities are also recognizing their rights, better informed of learning outcomes amongst their children and begin to hold their duty bearers accountable. This approach is being scaled up through the TENI programme and to some degree through the usage of the MOE's new school report card system which was piloted through GRAIL.

Budget and Resource Tracking in Education

Over the last ten years the value of using participatory approaches in the budget process is recognized by most donors and CSOs as a critical step in enabling citizens to have a voice in decision making concerning resource allocation at national and district levels. Several National based NGOs have engaged in various ways in the tracking of public spending in education and education programmes. These range from small scale budget tracking studies at a district level to large scale national studies on public expenditure tracking. Some of the key agencies conducting resource tracking in the education sector include the Center for Budget Advocacy (CBA) which conducts an annual analysis of the national budget from a pro poor perspective; the Center also conducts budget tracking of Government expenditure and other statutory funds to education including the GETFund and District Assembly Common Fund. The SEND Foundation also has a history of budget tracking and assessing public resource allocations and utilization in the education sector through its HIPC watch project and ongoing assessment work of MDG's. The Northern Network for Education Development (NNED), the Ghana Integrity Initiative and the Center for Democratic Development (CDD) have all been involved in tracking public expenditure/resources in the education sector.

These NGOs have produced evidence of inequality in the allocation of public resources highlighting in some cases the misappropriation and inefficiencies in the use of public resources. These budget and expenditure tracking studies have resulted in influencing and increasing public and DP awareness of some of the efficiency challenges in GOG programmes (e.g. HIPC funds, Ghana School Feeding and the capitation grant). For instance, the GSFP tracking studies helped to alert donors of the lack of equitable resourcing across the country and need for more effective targeting. The studies have also highlighted the lack of public participation in decision making in relation to the allocation of resources. Many of the national tracking studies have been: widely disseminated, gained media coverage and have helped highlight the key challenges that the Ministry of Education and DPs needs to address²⁸. Sometimes the coverage has resulted in GOG responding and addressing the issue (e.g. increase of capitation grant to 4.5 cedis and need for targeting of

²⁸ The media have created aware of the finding which has put a spotlight on an issue (teacher absenteeism, GSFP, Capitation) triggering more investigation by DPs and MOE/GOG on inefficiency issues (e.g. GSFP, Equity, targeting leakages and mis-management etc).

GSFP). Another type of accountability strengthening project is highlighted in Annex 7: is the Right to Know and Right to Learn Project by GNECC.

4.6 What is not yet working: Gaps in the Business Cycle.

Despite advances in using accountability measures and processes, CSO's in Ghana suffer from lack of sustained support to processes which can bring about significant change in the education sector. For instance, the Commonwealth Education Fund and USAID programming have helped develop and expand many of these accountability processes at the district and regional levels but at the end project cycle, the impact studies suggest that there is little remaining in terms of institutional capacity building and direct programmatic results at school levels (e.g. QUIPs Impact Evaluation etc). There are also certain gaps in relation to CSO engagement with the "business cycle" process which include:

Limited performance monitoring:

- There is no national and district wide independent performance reviews to provide an objective picture of key education indicators.
- CSOs at the grassroots level lack the capacity to conduct their own performance reviews.
- There are no sustained school mapping processes at district level to identify the gaps in basic infrastructure, track expenditures in relation to need by identification of areas of high deprivation/ need.
- There is also lack of funding for the civil society sector to conduct school mapping which will enable them to identify infrastructural, human resourced and TLM gaps across the districts and education sector.
- Limited coordination in budget tracking programmes at districts and regional levels to come out with concrete facts finding reports which will be presented during AESR.

Limited institutional sustained capacity

- There is also the lack of sustained engagement at district levels particularly in relation to ensuring structures, institutions and voices are sustained/ heard after development partners close programmes.
- Broader thematic coalitions are still not emerging which can expand the voice and CSO representation at national level on key issues emerging in the media, Government and DP community.
- Very few if any constituency based coalitions exist apart from GNECC and some regional bodies of GNECC and NNED...

There is also limited scaling up of good practices in accountability and service delivery approaches by Government once CSO demonstrate and provide the evidence of their effectiveness (e.g. schools performance monitoring, complementary education to ensure basic rights). There are also limited partnership arrangements between MOE and the CSO community in carrying out service delivery activities particularly in areas where CSO's have a clear technical capacity, proven track record and are better able to meet the needs of the marginalised.

4.7 Weaknesses within the CSO sector

Several reports in the sector suggest that CSOs are weak in engaging in "non partisan political activism" and limit themselves mainly to service delivery, research and some advocacy activities (Adarkwa, et al. 2006)²⁹. Other weaknesses among the Ghanaian CSO community identified by studies suggest that:

- CSO's in Ghana have limitations in lobbying and advocacy activities due to lack of long term follow up which limits their influence in policy change (Civicus Report, 2006)
- Ghanaian CSO's are significantly dependant on foreign donors and international NGOs for funding and lack long term core financial support to run their operations (GHARI Consultations, 2010); they receive very limited resources from public and private sources.
- The state and private sector have a limited understanding and appreciation of the contribution that civil society make towards education, social and economic development in Ghana (CIVICUS report on CSO index, 2006).
- CSOs' also have limited technical and financial capacity to operate at all levels of society including district, regional and national levels. This also limits their ability to engage with the national media and parliament.
- Lack of communication capacity and ability to liase with media Several of the key coalitions and large Ghanaian based NGO's do not have communication officers dedicated to this function. Key education coalitions lack the human resources to respond to all the issues arising from their membership and ensuring that these are followed up through the media.

Other weaknesses include: weak CSO representation at national, regional and district levels particularly in relation to the government "business cycle" and current structures (e.g. one representative agency: GNECC or NNED. Structures for CSO engagement at the district level are not functional or not in place (e.g. District Education Oversight Committee). Some CSO's lack the technical know-how and methodologies in engaging with the state on issues of educational <u>quality</u> and performance related issues in education.

²⁹ Consultations and interviews during the GHARI design process revealed that CSO's at district levels are mainly involved in community activism, awareness creation, improving accountability processes and conducting service delivery support in the education sector.

4.8 Areas of potential traction and challenge

Evaluation reports and impact assessments across several large Ghanaian based NGO's working in the education sector suggest that the main areas of traction to strengthen accountability and change processes are related to:

- Building stronger constituency led CSO's at the grassroots who can strengthen the voice and mobilize parental, youth and child interests in the education sector; (IBIS Ghana country program evaluation in Education, 2009).
- National and regional thematic coalition building is also needed across the education sector in order to strengthen the representation of NGO's/CSO's and ensure effective representation on most national platforms³⁰ (*Social Appraisal for GHARI, 2010*).

Evidence from the education, health, local government, water and agriculture sectors suggest that International and national CSOs are well positioned to support engagement with the state in a larger and more dynamic way by moving the CSO engagement process towards parliamentary subcommittee levels, and more effectively use the MDBS platforms. (*Casely-Hayford, 2010, Social Appraisal of Ghana's Poverty Reduction Efforts and key Development Sectors*).

The social appraisal of the GHARI (now the STAR fund) also revealed two areas where more work was needed to hold the state accountable. The first was in relation to ensuring gender budgeting across key sectors including education and the second was in relation to improving government analysis of cost effective approaches to service delivery being implement by CSO's³¹. The report highlights the need for more support for CSOs to organize community based responses to issues of state inefficiency in the delivery of education services. Another key finding from the appraisal suggests that some of the barriers to CSO engagement and collaboration in the past were related to the competition over funding and resources.

³⁰ Studies within the CSO movement suggest that there is need for more coalition building and platforms to emerge particularly in relation to girls' education and gender issues within the sector in order to monitor progress and lobby."(SNV, 2009).

³¹ Three of these Ministries are also targeted for gender budgeting by Government (*e.g. Health, Education and Local Government*).

5.0 Key Issues and Entry points in Education for STAR to consider

Ghana has made significant progress in relation to expanded access and gender equity at basic education level. Ghana is held up as a model country that has made tremendous progress towards achieving the MDG 2 (universal access to primary education). There has also been improvement in the gender parity index in primary and Junior High School (JHS) with gender equality at primary level close to 1 but less progress has been made at JHS level (MOE, 2010). Some social protection programmes have complemented efforts by government/ donors helping to improve enrolment and gender equity at basic level especially in rural and deprived areas (e.g. capitation grant, school feeding programme and free school uniforms). Other programmes such as the Take Home Ration for girls in northern Ghana has improved retention and transition rates among girls at the primary and JHS levels (WFP, 2010)³². More recently the NALAP programme has also made some impact on improving the literacy methods in the classroom at lower primary level and shows potential for transforming learning outcomes if given further support (Hartwell, 2010³³).

Despite Ghana's significant educational investment over the last 20 years, there are still structural challenges in relation to educational quality, equity and learning outcomes; regional disparity in education attainment fuelled by poverty, food insecurity, and poor quality service delivery characterize Ghana's education development context. There are serious challenges with regard to equitable resource distribution in the sector, poor quality and unacceptable learning outcomes among Ghana's primary and JHS completers, teacher deployment and teacher discipline in rural areas remains a great challenge to Ghana's education managers particularly in northern Ghana and the Western regions of the country³⁴. These will be briefly reviewed in the following section.

5.1 Persistent Inequity in Ghana's Education Sector and for Ghana's Poor

There are three categories of equity issues including educational equity, social equity and economic equity which frame issues within the education sector and are interlinked and reinforce each other. Several studies over the last 10 years in Ghana reveal that poor quality education in rural areas translates into poor quality learning outcomes which further marginalize, impoverish and deprive peoples' right to quality education (PPVA, 2010; Casely-Hayford, 2010a; 2009) Educational inequity among youth from different localities, ethnic groups, and social classes can result in social inequity visible in the reproduction of intergenerational poverty, and inequality often fuelling social division and instability (RECOUP policy brief on Youth Gender and Citizenship Findings, 2010³⁵). Poverty trends in

³² WFP Ghana Country Programme Evaluation, 2010.

³³ NALAP implementation study carried out by EQUALL and AFC from March to June, 2010

³⁴ The three northern regions and western region have a high percentage of untrained teachers because trained teachers refuse posting to these areas.

³⁵ The Research Consortium on Education Outcomes and Poverty (RECOUP) was a DFID funded research project which ran for five years in Ghana and looked at the education outcomes among four poverty zones in urban and rural Ghana.

Ghana continue to reveal that rural Ghana contributes about 86% to national poverty levels and the rural savannah contributes about half (50%) of national poverty (GSS/GLSS 5, 2008). Rural Ghana and the rural savannah are challenged with limited access and poor quality of education. Enrolment rates at both primary and JHS for the three northern regions are still far below the national average.

Although government has reduced the direct costs of basic education by making primary schooling free along with introducing the capitation grant, needy child support and other programmes, there are still other direct, indirect and opportunity costs to the poor in sending their children to under-resourced schools particularly if a child needs to walk a long distance from home/carry food to enable him/her to attend a Junior High school. These costs are often more for girls than boys (FAWE, 1999; Sutherland Addy, 2000). The main costs include opportunity costs to parents in terms of labour and support on the farm and at home. These costs attain an unacceptable level when children from poor families under-perform in school as a result of poor quality education (Casely-Hayford, 2000). Studies by Wumbee (2008) and Oduro (2008) and more recently the WB (2010) indicate that educational attainment is directly influenced by the wealth status of households; children from poor household are less likely to complete primary, attain achievement rates and transition to JHS compared to their counterparts from higher socio economic quintiles households.



Figure 1: Educational Attainment Profile by Socio Economic/Wealth Groupings (based on CWIQ, 2003; Wumbee, 2008)

While equity in basic school has been improving over the last five years, even greater inequities in relation to access and entry to the poorer wealth quintiles appear to be more profound at post basic levels. Students from rich income quintiles are two times more likely to enrol in Senior High school than their counterparts from the poorest quintiles household (World Bank, 2010). Socio economic inequity increases with ratios of 37 wealthy students compared to 1 poor student (37: 1) attaining tertiary level education. Government is therefore

subsidizing a larger proportion of high income students in public tertiary education than students from poor homes. This was acknowledged in the 2008 Education Sector Review which stated that the "enrolment pattern in public tertiary education clearly indicates that current levels of subsidy to post basic education are retrogressive" (MOE, 2008). Figure 2 below reveals the differences across wealth quintiles of children able to attain primary and secondary education and those not attending school at all (based on World Bank, 2010). The table suggests that 33% of the non attending students in Ghana are from the lowest wealth quintile and only 8% are from the highest wealth quintile. More worrying are that only 59% of children from the lowest wealth quintile participate in primary schooling based on net enrolment figures (GDHS, 2009)



Figure 4-7: Non-attendance and net enrollment in basic education, by quintile

5.2 Education quality and equity

Poor quality education delivery remains the main mechanism for reproducing social inequality through Ghana's education system and across diverse social and economic populations; poor quality education also remains a key challenge for delivering a human resource pool as Ghana strives towards middle income status and takes advantage of existing and potential employment opportunities for its youth. Lack of quality focussed inputs including teaching and learning materials, monitoring of time on task, ensuring a child friendly school environment and pupil-teacher ratios remain inequitably distributed across Ghana with the poorer areas of the country continuing to receive less financial support to improve quality. Quality processes such as proper teacher supervision and management including teacher time on task, and teacher deployment remain at the core of the problem. While urban centres in many regions and district capitals have too many teachers, rural areas have empty classrooms (e.g. WB, 2010; FTI study 2010; AESR 2010 AESR 2006).



 Table 6:
 Share of trained teachers in primary and JHS (1987-2008)

(Source: RECOUP Thompson and Casely-Hayford, 2008)

Research over the last ten years suggest that a growing and very high percentage of the Ghanaian teaching force is untrained and that these untrained teachers are mostly deployed in the rural and deprived areas of Ghana (Thompson et al, 2008). The three northern regions, Western, Central and Brong Ahafo regions have the highest percentages of untrained teachers (see table 7 below). For instance, the Greater Accra region has less than 5% untrained teachers while the northern region has more than 50% untrained teachers who make up the teaching force. There are also widening disparities in the pupil trained teacher ratio (PTTR) with 1 trained teacher to 36 pupils in southern Ghana compared to 1 trained teacher to 130 pupils in northern Ghana (World Bank, 2010). Table 7 below reveals teacher deployment trends based on numbers of trained teachers by region. The figure suggested that there are less than 57.3% to 61.7% of trained public school male teachers in the Western and Upper West regions of the country (World Bank, 2010).



2010/World Bank, 2010 3-8

The Pupil Teacher Ratio (PTR) and Pupil Book Ratio (PBR) also reflect similar disparities and remain low in the most deprived districts, and across the three northern regions. MOE's own analysis reveals that while the national PBR (core textbook) is 1:3 (one pupil to three core text books), the Upper West region had a 1:1.05 (one pupil had only one of the three core text books) (MOE, 2008).

Poor quality education delivery translated into poor and inequitable learning outcomes across the country particular socio-economic groupings. Learning achievement rates for pupils at basic level is very low in Ghana. The National Education Assessment (NEA) indicates that less than 25% of Ghanaian youth reach proficiency levels for primary 6 English and only 10% attain proficiency levels in P6 Mathematics. Further research suggests that between the 2005 and 2007 NEAs, the P3 results for both Mathematics and English demonstrate a decline in relation to the minimum competency and proficiency levels. English proficiency for P3 fell from 16.4 to 15 while Mathematics fell from 18.6 to 14.5 between 2005 and 2007. These have improved according to the latest NEA of 2009...(I am working on updating these figures). Comparisons across regions, districts and gender reveal wide variances. For instance while the percentage of pupils at P3 level reaching proficiency was 33.5%, only 6.3% of children reached the same proficiency level in the Upper East Region. Figure 4 below reveals that NEA results for 2005 across the regions of Ghana. These have improved by about 5% according to the latest NEA study.



(Based on National Education Assessment Analysis by Casely-Hayford 2010: Parliamentary Sub Committee Presentation on Educational Inequity)

Etse's (2009) work on student performance among JHS students across urban and rural districts of the country revealed that performance patterns reflect the pattern of poverty in Ghana. Greater Accra Region with the least incidence of poverty followed by the Eastern, Western regions and the three Northern regions with the highest incidence of poverty, had the worst performance in relation to learning outcomes. Over the four-year period, children in the most endowed regional capitals (e.g. Greater Accra), consistently performed better than all other regional capitals. The least endowed regional capitals (e.g. Tamale, Bolga etc) experienced the worst performance in comparison to other regional capitals (Cape Coast, Takoradi etc). A comparison of deprived and non-deprived districts reveals that the non-deprived districts outperform deprived districts in English and Math at P3 and P6 levels. P6

children in non deprived districts performed better in the NEA by 8 percentage points in English and 7 percentage points in Mathematics compared to their deprived district counterparts.

BECE performance results based on the latest BECE results follow similar trends with the three northern regions lagging behind the other regions. Children in urban districts performed better in English by 11% and 9% points in mathematics in the BECE. Girls continue to score less than boys based on the BECE results in English and mathematics³⁶. Figure 3 below reveals that BECE pass rates in English are lower for household with relatively low income levels compared to better endowed households where income levels are higher.



Level of Household Income (old cedis, 2006)

Figure 4-6: BECE English Pass Rate in Districts, by Income

5.3 Teacher accountability and performance

Another key challenge to improving education quality within Ghana's education sector is related to teacher accountability and teacher "time on task". The World Bank study³⁷ (2007) revealed that only 76.3 days a year out of 197 official days are devoted to teaching and learning tasks representing 38.7% of the official time used for direct teaching and learning. Another teacher absenteeism study in 2008 revealed that rural schools in Ghana lose approximately 5.5 instructional hours per week since teachers on average only attend school four days a week instead of the required five days (CDD, 2008). Recent studies by the World Bank (2010) and CREATE also suggest a very high level of teacher absenteeism particularly in the rural areas of Ghana. According to these studies, 20% of teachers were absent on a regular basis while 29% of teachers arrived late to school (CREATE, 2007).

Source: Based on data from GLSS, 2005/06; EMIS, 2008/09. (Cited in World Bank, 2010)

³⁶ The boys performed better than girls in English by 6% and in Mathematics by 8% points based on the 2007 BECE results.

³⁷ Abadzie (2007) Teacher Time on Task study a cross country study by the World Bank... ranks Ghana at the bottom five for teacher time on task.

Table 7 below compares Ghana against other countries using the expected against actual number of days students were engaged in learning.



Table 7: Expected and Actual Number of Days Students were engaged in learning, (WB, 2010)

5.4 The Out of School Problem

There is growing recognition by Government and the development partners that the last 10% of children out of school (over 960,000) in Ghana will likely not access formal education due to long term marginalisation, lack of school structures and endemic poverty rates within their households (Casely-Hayford, and Hartwell, 2010; UNICEF, 2010).³⁸ Recent studies on out of school children by UNICEF (2010) suggest that the majority of children out of school in Ghana are from the three northern regions along with Central and Volta Regions. Children out of school in Ghana are also mainly from rural areas and from high poverty pockets throughout the country but large scale numbers are found in the Northern Region of Ghana. The majority of children out of school at primary level are boys (lower primary) while at the upper primary and JHS levels, the majority of out of school children are girls. (UNICEF, 2010).

Current analysis of the sector suggests that there are several interrelated barriers to children out of school including the following:

- Lack of child rights in relation to socio cultural barriers to education including: early marriage, child betrothal and fosterage systems and practices;
- Economic barriers which include child labour practices which are both child initiated and parent initiated in response to poverty.
- Supply side barriers include: lack of primary schools within 2 kms distance of the community. (Currently there are more than 11% of Ghanaian

Source: Based on Abadzi 2007.

³⁸

Communities which do not have access to primary schools within a 2km distance—based on GLSS5 data).

 Governance and financial barriers are mainly due to: inequitable allocation of resources to areas which need schools and poor targeting of social protection programmes (e.g. Ghana School feeding programmes, school uniform and capitation grants) which could relieve parents of high costs of education particularly the opportunity costs and indirect costs of sending children to school.

5.5 Gender Related Violence in Schools

Reasons for non attendance and drop out particularly at the upper primary and JHS are related to the negative experience of schooling among some children in Ghana. Gender based violence in schools across Africa including Ghana is increasingly being documented as a key factor preventing retention and completion of children particularly girls at upper primary and JHS (Leach and Mitchell, 2006). Acts of gender violence often go unreported and unpunished in Ghanaian schools (Fiscian et al, 2003). Students and parents often do not report incidents of gender related violence and abuse due to fear of victimization, punishment, and stigma and ridicule since violence is often "seen as an acceptable and inevitable part of school life" (Leach and Mitchell, 2006).

There is growing evidence in Ghana that the problems of verbal, physical and sexual abuse in schools is widespread and affects a large proportion of children in school (CRESCENT/Sabaa, 2009; Leach et al, 2003; Fiscian et al, 2003 and Coker-Appiah, eds, 1999). Studies in the early part of 2000 in Ghana suggest that senior educational authorities at regional and district education offices continued to deny and mask the problems of sexual abuse in the schools despite research uncovering a prolonged abusive pattern among some teachers (Fiscian et al, 2003).

Recent studies in Ghana on child sexual abuse in schools suggest that approximately 14% of school children between 14-15 years of age have been sexually abused (CRESCENT, 2009). The study found that the main perpetrators of child sexual abuse include: classmates (89%), teachers (21%) and relatives (13%). The "main causes of child sexual abuse in schools studied were found to be (in order of importance)... household poverty, sexual pleasure, lack of parental care and control, peer influences. (CRESCENT, 2009 p5.)." Only 30% of victims told someone about the abuse and that the abuse was negatively affecting the children's participation in school learning activities; most children reported that they were unable to concentrate in class. This can often lead to children particularly girls excluded from concentration in the classroom and eventual drop out (Leach and Mitchell, 2006; Boakye et al, 1999).

Another related but less documented issue within Ghana is the negative image of women portrayed in the media mainly based on tele-dramas and Ghanaian/Nigerian movies. These negative images have a deep and lasting effect on young girls and children but remain an under documented and under-researched issue. The best evidence of the impact of these media is that communities are banning the usage of "local cinemas" and preventing children from attending at all times of the day. Research in Sierra Leone suggests that these local film venues often play pornographic material and other films with violence and degrading images of women which has a negative effect on school children.

Studies in Sierra Leone on effective strategies to tackle gender based violence in primary schools suggest the need for an official protocol system for children, SMCs and parents to use when such abuses are detected. These protocol systems often demand that NGO's working in the education sector and with communities learn to set up institutional mechanisms with social welfare agencies, the police and judicial systems in tackling the problem particularly when it comes to gender based violence in schools (Casely-Hayford, 2010)³⁹. Much more work is needed in Ghana to first document and provide evidence on the scale of the problem across varied contexts of Ghana. Media should be trained on handling the issues ensuring complete anonymity of victims and education authorities particularly the teaching force should face both legal and professional action in this regard. The teacher code of conduct clearly states the means to prevent and deal with the issue but little traction has been made by gender education coalitions such as FAWE.

5.6 Outcomes to Education

A study on Youth Gender and Citizenship (YGC) in Ghana conducted by Associates for Change in collaboration with the University of Cambridge over a three year period as part of the DFID sponsored research project RECOUP, found that very few youth particularly from northern Ghana are able to complete Senior High School (SHS) due to poverty, lack of social capital and limited parental knowledge about requirements and options in "working" the education system (cultural capital). The study also found that several of the youth who are unable to progress to higher levels of education (e.g. SHS and beyond) are able to fit back into their farming communities after completing JHS. The research evidence in Ghana demonstrates that 18 well endowed SHS's contribute about 65% of the entrants to Ghana's public universities (CREATE, 2007). Social capital and social networking are the main strategies that parents and youth use to ensure access to education and employment. The poor who lack these networks have limited access to higher education which helps reproduce a social class system and further entrenches the intergenerational poverty (Casely-Hayford, 2009).

Over 240,000 children graduate from JHS each year, of which only 40% are able to enter SHS (approx 100,000) and very few enter both formal and informal apprenticeship (less than 5% according to GLSS5). Thus there is a growing mass of youth who are left outside both formal and informal pathways to productive lives. Poor parents after investing in nine years

³⁹ Casely-Hayford (2010) Concern Sierra Leone Education Programme Evaluation, Sierra Leone.

of schooling and finding that their children cannot read, obtain a skill, a job and often go back to the farm or drift to the cities in search of better opportunities are left feeling they have wasted their time and resources (Hunt, 2008).

5.7 Limited External Performance Tracking Using Objective Data sets/ Monitoring Processes

Another key challenge in education research/performance monitoring in Ghana is due to the lack of longitudinal assessment data which is independent, objective and consistent in order to improve performance tracking by parliament and other key stakeholders. Lack of funding for sustained Performance Monitoring and School Performance Appraisal Processes (SPAM) has resulted in a very fragile performance monitoring system at all levels particularly in relation to tracking learning outcomes over the last 15 years. Interviews with several NGO's and government officials suggest that the sector is ready to accept an independent approach to performance tracking alongside the government's yearly annual performance review. Interviews with donors and a review of the literature suggest the need for a data collection process which is independent of MOE/GES to track performance in the coming year.

Communities, parents and SMCs need to be empowered to hold their teachers accountable. There are examples of how CSO's are holding DEO's accountable for results. For instance in the Upper East Region where the district education office through an NGO called Link Community Development (LCD) had empowered the communities to hold their teacher's accountable using community/school generated information it resulted in improved quality education delivery in the district.

The <u>six key issues</u> which emerge from the Political Economic Analysis in Education suggest the need for STAR to assist the CSO's and Parliament focus on the following issues:

- Inequality in resource distribution (finance, teacher resources, quality, access, gender relate, teacher deployment and no school buildings in remote areas). There should be equitable distribution of resources to all the regions of the country.
- Poor learning outcomes of basic school children as a result of less teacher time on task, teacher absenteeism and participation.
- Unaccountable teaching force (lack of supervision, no countervailing power, poor performance and indiscipline). Civil society should be empowered to hold the government, teachers and their unions accountable on issues of teacher deployment, teachers refusing to take postings in the rural and deprived communities of the country, teacher absenteeism and lateness, time on task and many other issues that tend to affect the education sector.
- Direct vested interest groups such as SMCs, parents, children and the youth not well organized, lack entry points and channels for communicating problems in the education system; they need support to be enable them to engage with DAs and at the national levels with MOE/GES, media and parliament. There is need for more structure and institutional formation of SMCs networks and coalitions at the districts,

regional and national levels. This will help make SMCs a stronger CSO with a common voice to hold government accountable.

- Independent performance and monitoring assessments of key education indicators at the basic levels using independent data collection systems and coordination among CSOs.
- Ensuring that educational CSOs are provided long term financing through oil and gas revenue for service delivery and social accountability.

These issues are further broken down in Annex four which suggests some of the key issues which STAR should consider supporting and which CSO's can begin to develop their capacities, synergies within the business cycle and in relation to parliamentary engagement.

5.8 Hard change issues which demand a stronger CSO voice

• Areas with little change: Recent analysis on the education sector suggests there is little on issues of quality (20% literacy P6)... no change with wastage and inefficiencies in the system related to study leave and deployment... (FTI, 2011; whether they should invest in it).

There are still certain pressing issues in the education sector which have seen little change or no political traction. The <u>quality of education</u> in Ghana has not improved over the last 10 years despite heavy investments in the sector. (ESR, 2009). There are still several gaps in the sector that need better targeting and more consistent attention. For instance despite the significant resourcing focused on building educational infrastructure over 11% of communities do not have a school within a 2 km radius (GSS/GLSS5, 2008). According to GNECC, out of the Ghana commitment of building 600 schools per year, the GOG was only able to build 160. There is still the need for the provision of school buildings for communities especially those in rural and deprived areas of the country.

There is little follow up and sustainability related to issues of improved quality. Large scale donor interventions which invest significant funding for quality reform are not scaled up or sustained by Government (e.g. Whole School Development, Quality Improvement in Primary Schools, EQUALL etc). CSO's are not aware of these programmes to provide a voice and ensure that District Education offices provide the needed inputs and follow up when necessary. Parliamentary sub-committee on education are unaware of some of the most important quality improvement programmes running and being funded in the system. For instance they lack information with regards to certain educational policies being implemented such as the National Accelerated Literacy Programme (NALAP) which has brought about significant change at the lower primary level in using a bilingual education approach and instituting a "literacy Period" combining the Ghanaian language and English period together.

<u>"Untouchable" issues by government.</u> There several issues which require long term commitment to change sustained CSO voice and more visibility within the media, district assembly and parliamentary agenda. For instance, there is adequate evidence on the impact

of poor teacher deployment problems, the location of these problems and some of the strategies which CSO's should use to monitor and lobby for MOE reform. MOE's own performance reports suggest that trained teachers are unwillingness to move to rural deprived areas of the country particularly the three northern regions and the western region (ESPR 2006-2010; RECOUP, 2006).

There is also adequate evidence concerning the low levels of "teacher time on task" and the high rates of teacher absenteeism particularly in deprived regions of the country (i.e. with 20% teacher absenteeism and an additional 29-85% teacher lateness (World Bank, CDD and CREATE). With regards to time on task only 2.5 hours is spent a day on teaching and learning, 76.3 days per year devoted to learning with rural areas on average 4 out of 5 days (World Bank, 2008). At least 5.5 hour of instructional time is lost every week in the rural areas.

Another intractable yet important issue is the problem of general abuse of children and gender based violence in schools. There is adequate evidence that children are negatively affected by verbal and physical abuse in Ghanaian schools yet there has been not enough prolonged effort to bring about change in the school system to restrict teachers from using corporal punishment etc. There is also adequate evidence concerning issues of physical and sexual abuses in Ghanaian schools yet there has been little movement by the MOE/GES on systematically addressing this issue (see the next section on the evidence)

5.9 Some of the Current Entry Points

As Ghana grows into a more democratic arena with increased research and analysis being conveyed across the media, entry points for engagement in the education sector are widening. Already education entry points appear to be growing in the party political arena when party manifesto's are drafted and tabled before election time. Some leading educationalists are engaged in making inputs into these manifestos which can be directly translated into action when the parties succeed in winning power. During the last election a debate was organized with the support of Ibis to have the four main parties present their education manifestos and explain to the public on television their priorities, programmes and commitments. Another arena which appears to be underutilized is among the traditional leader councils and the use of faith based platforms which have large and well organised constituencies in Ghana. More work will be needed to explore the potential of these platforms and identify entry points once the issues are identified in the education sector.

6.0 Implications for STAR and Key Recommendations

The political economic analysis in the education sector suggests that a broader more diverse base of education coalitions and platforms around thematic areas is needed at district, regional and national levels. This would mean that issues will likely require stronger relationship building in order to bring about lasting change. This may require workshops at the regional level to bring together local media, research institutions and CSO's working on education issues at community, district, and regional levels to brain storm on potential ways of working with STAR before they actually collaborate and write their proposals.

6.1 The Key Issues:

There are seven key issues which arise from the PE analysis in Education and are informed by recent sector analysis and Ministry of Education performance reviews in the sector (WB, 2010 report; FTI 2010/ 2011; Sawyer, 2010). These include the following issues in order of priority:

- **Quality:** Accountability and <u>poor performance of teachers</u> (absenteeism and low time on task) based on poor learning outcomes at primary and JHS levels (less than 25% of children able to read and write after 6 years of schooling; far fewer children able to achieve basic numeracy competencies (10%)). Inequity in learning outcomes among the poor in rural vs. urban Ghana; among public school children vs. privately schooled children; and between girls and boys.
- **Teacher indiscipline:** High rates of teacher absenteeism and low levels of time on task in Ghana (less than 2.5 hours at school). Very limited monitoring and supervision by District Education offices; no or limited functioning of district education oversight committees; SMC's are still aware of their roles and responsibilities and do not always supervise and oversee schools; there is also evidence of School Performance Implementation Plans being developed by Head teachers alone (SPIPs, capitation etc).
- Equity issues for Ghana: Lack of <u>trained</u> teachers in the most deprived regions of the country (three northern, western etc); Less than 50% of the teaching force in the three northern regions is trained; Trained teachers are unwilling to be deployed to remote rural areas of the country...; Inequitable deployment of trained teachers across the country; inequitable pupil unit costs per child by government resulting in inequitable access to school buildings, and teaching learning materials along with trained teachers; and overall inequitable resource allocations.
- Access: Distance to schools especially in the remote areas of the most deprived districts, lack of school mapping with community not in easy distance of primary school and schools under trees...particularly in the northern region; 11% of communities still not having access to schools within a 2 km radius of the village mainly in northern Ghana (GLSS 5); over 25% of communities not having a school

within their own community. Still over 900,000 children in Ghana out of school and are unlikely to access through conventional formal education systems that require complementary/alternative service delivery systems (UNICEF, 2010; Casely-Hayford, 2010⁴⁰).

- **Gender and abuse:** Growing evidence of gender based abuse in Ghanaian schools particularly in relation to <u>verbal</u>, physical and sexual abuse of children. Corporal punishment in schools widespread and having negative impact on learning outcomes. Limited awareness of teacher code of conduct and limited usage of disciplinary measures.
- **Performance tracking:** There is a critical need for independent performance appraisal of the education sector which allows CSO''s, media and parliament to receive an independent appraisal of the sector performance on an annual or bi annual basis.
- **Resource tracking, usage and delays:** Inadequacy and equity issues, and leakage issues in basic logistical provisions: capitation grant and other text books and logistical provisions are not targeted to the most needy areas of the country; very little oversight by Parliament, District Assemblies, social sub committees; inactivity of district education oversight committees related to targeting resources to the needy areas...

6.2 Change processes in Ghana's education sector

The PE analysis in Education reveals the need to open up more arenas and democratic space to better monitor the government's performance, efficiency and effectiveness in service delivery in the education sector. This would include more monitoring in relation to the <u>budget cycle</u>: allocations and usage of the GETfund, District Assembly Common Fund, and Multi Donor Budgetary Support. At the district level this would require more monitoring of usage and decision making process of District Common Fund expenditures on education and the MP common fund allocations. There needs to be much more CSO representation, consultations and budget tracking of these systems. The budget tracking studies and research processes need to be better harmonised, coordinated and shared among CSO's possibly using a focal NGO/or research institution to drive the process and coordinate budget tracking processes by CSO's in the education sector.

Mobilizing and building institutional strength /constituency based structures to demand for change on learning outcomes of children, teacher absenteeism or gender based violence at the school...... Given the large number of community based organizations working on

⁴⁰ Casely-Hayford et al. currently working on study on the barriers and bottlenecks to Children out of school commissioned by UNICEF Ghana.

education issues and the small numbers of Ghanaian and International NGO's working at the national level – there is limited capacity to engage collectively. STAR should consider: a call for proposals on an issue which will build organizational capacity among constituency based groups such as school management committees, youth associations, and other CBO's who are not yet engaged due to their limited organizational capacity—linking these to research think tanks and larger national NGO's. Larger NGO's could facilitate this process but the result should focus on stronger institutionalized awareness and voice among groups with a direct vested interest in bringing about change. The call should stimulate links with rural media groups (e.g. radio stations) in order to build awareness among the larger population in a district or region on the poor learning outcomes of children in tandem with the work at the national/political levels...(SMC networks and work with parliament)....

STAR should slowly but consistently work encourage CSO involvement on the political drivers at national and regional levels (e.g. political parties, national media, parliamentarians, research think tanks,) and should be involved in addressing sensitive issues of accountability in education (e.g. teachers performance, learning outcomes, inequalities in resource distribution...)

Issues alone with the key "drivers" /stakeholders may not bring about significant change in the education sector. Identifying viable issues along with building strategic governance processes that are already at work and long term institutional structure in education (e.g. district and regional SMC/PTA bodies; creating synergy between research, CSO and media) in tandem with work on the political level may also bring about the desired change.

6.3 Preparing for a Call Focussed on Education Issues

Building momentum for tackling "sensitive issues" within the current political economic context of Ghana will require:

- Greater technical capacity among NGO's to identify current evidence, present research and provide reports to the media, parliamentarians and the district assemblies. The technical training would require more knowledge on the entry points with parliament and the "government business cycle" to ensure that higher qualities of proposals are developed.
- Preparation towards a STAR call for proposal would also require a quick mapping of NGO's and CSOs directly working on education issues across the country: their capacity needs etc.

- CSO's should be required in all the calls to build stronger partnerships with existing think tanks and research institutions to avoid the problem of research duplication and inadequacy in research quality by CSO's gathering evidence⁴¹.
- STAR will also have to carry out more research on issues related to the: the influence, orientation, and agenda setting of teacher unions in Ghana... exploring potential strategies to help bring teacher unions on board issues of accountability, responsiveness and performance.
- STAR will also need to look at supporting research on gender in the media and its impact on girls' education to fully consider a call for proposals which is gender focussed.

NGO's should also be able to <u>share existing best practices</u> such as the upward and downward accountability processes being developed in programmes like TENI and Link Community Development. Best practices in accountability would also include sharing findings/strategies and stimulate better coordination of research among NGO's already engaged in budget tracking and policy change. Best CSO practices which have been evaluated and can assist existing NGO's scale up similar methods is needed; this will require mapping of the approaches and wider exposure and training for potential CSO's wanting to implement similar programming.

Most importantly the strengthening and development of constituency based institutions that can mobilise and represent the "voiceless" on accountability issues in education is needed. The voice at district levels includes: SMC, parents and children who are the direct constituencies who can bring voice to the issues of poor teacher performance, poor quality, inequity and abuses in the system.

6.4 Examples of Enhancing CSO Engagement with the "Business cycle": Policy Formulation, Implementation and Monitoring

For greater accountability and better performance in education service delivery, political leadership needs to be challenged on "sensitive" yet pressing challenges for the population and sector. If STAR was to raise a call for proposals on "teacher accountability and teacher absenteeism: its impact on child learning" some of the approaches which could be addressed in a proposal could be the following:

• Develop a national lobby on professional certification of trained teachers who would have the power to withdraw the certification or impose penalties if teachers do not adhere to the established code of conduct.

⁴¹ Interviews with CSO's and government reveal that research evidence among NGO's is not often seen as reliable or valid by the Government. There is a stronger need for them to work with existing reputable research bodies such as: think tanks, universities and research institutions.

- Strengthen the District Education Oversight Committees to deal with the Teacher code of conduct and teacher disciplinary issues.
- Lobby the Ministry of Education and Parliament for the implementation of a National Inspectorate Board to deal with key teacher issues (contained in the Education Act).
- Establish methods at regional and district levels to address upward and downward accountability of teachers/district education offices using child performance monitoring testing, community score card systems and school performance appraisal or school report cards...
- Strengthen methods of tracking teacher attendance and performance at schools using approaches developed in studies on teacher accountability.

6.5 Increased the Usage of Civil Society Evidence in Policy and Practice through Better Knowledge Management, Research and Information Dissemination

One of the most important needs of the education sector, necessary to ensure sustainability within the STAR programme, is the establishment of a virtual learning website for all CSO's to post their research or link to existing websites which contain Ghanaian Education Research relevant to CSO lobby/ advocacy work in the sector. This website should be facilitated and managed to share documentation particularly on budget tracking, policy research and other evidence based work carried out across the country. STAR should also support a virtual documentation centre for CSOs in education to maximise on existing research to support advocacy work. Through the creation of learning activities/ conferences and sharing events, STAR will create linkages between universities, think tanks and NGOs to maximize the use of existing research studies.

Another process which is needed is for the CSOs in Education to have an annual conference to share their evidence and discuss issues collectively with parliamentarians and the media. The research think tanks and selected CSO's should be able to build strong cases on a specific issue and identify collective lobby strategies to effect change in government. Regular parliamentary subcommittee briefings could also be organised using these and other platforms.

There is a need to address performance and quality issues in basic education. This can be done through independent performance appraisal, publishing the rankings of BECE and WASSCE results by districts and regions, and consulting with teacher unions on issues relating to teacher professionalism and accountability.

6.6 Implications in Relation to Modalities for STAR-Ghana

STAR-Ghana should take these modalities into consideration during their implementation phase;

- A regional incremental approach to address key issues in education particularly teacher accountability. A gradual scale up of calls in different regions at different times to ensure that momentum is built within a region... learn from the first call on educational issues before moving to a more complex call opening up for other regions... to achieve optimum results.
- The issues selected by STAR should also be incremental in terms of complexity to allow civil society to gradually learn how to mobilize collectively when working with the media and parliamentarians.
- Thematic coalition building should be a key focus of STAR calls to ensure CSOs in the education sector build capacity to work with research institutions and media in addressing issues of equity, teacher accountability, quality, and financial accountability.
- The proposals should demonstrate a level of insight into previous programming in order to build on existing governance and educational programming. For instance in some regions where there are signs of governance capacity: the capacities of DEFATS and federated structures (FBO's and SMCs);
- Donor leveraging with the government of Ghana (MDBS triggers) should be used when possible.

STAR-Ghana should adopt these approaches and strategies in order to build the <u>capacities of</u> <u>CSOs</u> in the education sector:

- Strengthen CSOs voice on key educational issues particularly at the district and regional levels.
- Encourage CSOs to build stronger parental and school management committees and child constituencies based on democratic structures.
- Train CSOs to be more effective in engaging with parliamentarians, teacher unions and traditional authorities.
- Provide training to support to help CSOs understand the "business cycle" and parliamentary entry points into tracking the budget and policy making processes.

STAR-Ghana should adopt an approach that encourages proposals which build upon existing entry point systems of engagement (annual education sector review, parliamentary research centre etc) and attempt to develop more entry points at the district and regional levels. Currently the national level analysis suggests that there are not enough CSO's to currently respond to the entry points which are being created through the media and donor leveraging.

In relation to the media a call for proposals in education would require more capacity building of the media by focussing on socially minded media groups to train others. STAR should engage and work in close partnership with media houses particularly at the district levels to educate the populations on the critical issues and sustain the interest of political parties, traditional authorities, unions and FBOs on these issues. The PE analysis also suggests that there is the need for much more capacity building of media agencies in relation to reporting on issues of educational quality and sector performance.

Next Steps

- There needs to be a mapping exercise of current CSO capabilities and weaknesses within the education sector in order to support the forward movement of STAR. This would involve an in-depth mapping of CSO's and build on existing research by the EU and USAID which has attempted this type of study in the past few years.
- There may be a need to carry out a short research on the types of issues that parliamentarians and teacher unions are willing to address and bring about change. This should include interview with the media.
- Explore options for a virtual web site/documentation centre for storing all related research (accountability related) generated by CSO's, and think tanks on education.

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Annex 1: List of Organizations and Officials Interviewed

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Rasmussen	Director	P.O.Box CT 5061	E-mail: ibis@ibiswestafrica.com
		Cantoments, Accra –	
		Ghana.	
		SEND-Ghana	
Benjamin Addo	Programme		
	Officer		
	Mir	istry of Education/	GES
Charles Tsegah	MOE/GES	Ministry of	Phone 0243803386,
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Stephen Adu	MOE/GES	Ministry of	0244256976
	BED Director	Education/GES	
Thomas Quansah	Retired		
	Educationist		
	with the		
	MOE.		
	1	NNED	
Gaskin Dassah	Executive		
	Director		
Abukari	Financial		
Mohammed	Officer		
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	histry of Finan	ce and Economic P	lanning (NIOFEP)
Mr Akoto Danso		Ministry of Finance	
		and Economic	
		Planning.	
	Gha	na Parliamentary C	
Adams		Ghana Parliamentary	Adam
		Centre	Phone: 0243321930
		STAR-Ghana	
Tanko Amidu		STAR-Ghana	
Simon Foot		STAR -Ghana	
	Centre f	or Democratic Deve	elopment
Henry Prempeh		CDD	
		WUSC	
Addae Boahene	Executive	WUSC Ghana	
	Director		

Issues of the Education Sector	Specific Issues to address in the STAR call for proposals	Potential stakeholders involved in the issue/projects	Outputs and Outcomes
1.Poor Learning Outcomes among poor children	 Issue 1: Ineffective and weak upward and downward accountability systems including limited voice of parents and children, SMC and PTA's for engagement/organization and limited responsiveness of senior managers on teacher absenteeism, limited "time on task" and performance of teachers; Issue 2: Limited knowledge of parents and their exposure to poor and unequal learning outcomes of primary children across regions, districts and gendersat family, community, district and even national levels (problems of exposure). Issues 3 : Inadequate and unequal distribution and deployment of teachers, schools and resource inputs particularly in deprived areas of the country (at district and national levels) Issue 4: Limited school supervision and monitoring related to /performance in relation to learning outcomes; Monitoring teacher performance in relation to learning outcomes Gendered and targeted deprivation approaches to 	issue/projects Potential: SMC/PTA's, Teachers, CSO's, Traditional leaders, DA's and DEO's, MPs, Media, Parliament and GES/MOE.	<u>Outcome:</u> Improved quality of education. Increased access, retention and transition of children particularly from rural deprived areas. <u>Outcome:</u> Improved learning and performance achievement particularly among girls and disadvantaged; areas of deprivation;
	improving learning outcomes (e.g. rural vs. urban);		

Annex 2: Key Issues for CSO's to address in the Education Sector

Issues of the Education Sector	Specific Issues to address in the STAR call for proposals	Potential stakeholders involved in the	Outputs and Outcomes
		issue/projects	
2. Weak civil society and		SMC/PTAs, GES, DEOs,	Outputs
constituency based	Issues 4: Limited support for thematic CSO's to	CSOs, Media,	More vocal and visible
organizations mobilizing	mobilize on issues of gender, quality, literacy and	Parliamentarians	SMC/PTA networks across
for educational change;	learning outcomes;		the country;
		CSOs, Networks	
	Issue 5: Limited organizations of constituency based and	DEOs,GES,DEOC,DSTS	More visible and strong
	direct vested interest groups; Weak parent/school	,Parliamentarians, Media,	CSOs and coalitions built
	management structures represented at the district,	SMC/PTA,	in the education sector
	regional and national levels (e.g. weak SMC/PTA	Teachers, Children,	across the country.
	networks).	Parents, and GNAT	
			More CSO thematic
	Issue 6: Growing voice of teachers demanding better		coalitions representing
	remuneration but not tied to performance; and limited		education issues in the
	voice and experience of civil society to engage with teacher unions. Limited government ability to negotiate		media and with parliament.
	for accountability among teachers;		Dialogue between parental
	for accountability among teachers,		representative agencies and
	Limited CSO experience in using media and		teachers at the district.
	parliamentary mechanisms (e.g. subcommittee);		regional and national level;
	parnamentary meenamisms (e.g. subcommutee),		regionar and national level,
			Greater capacity of CSO's to develop performance mechanisms/reporting and indicators;
			Better performance of
			children and deprived area
			schools;

Issues of the Education Sector	Specific Issues to address in the STAR call for proposals	Potential stakeholders involved in the issue/projects	Outputs and Outcomes
3. Transforming the teacher into an agent of change (Address the issues of teacher absenteeism, teacher deployment issues) time on task.	 Issue 1: High rates of teacher absenteeism and lateness resulting in poor Teacher time on task; Issue 2: Few trained teachers in deprived rural areas and inequity in teacher deploymentsignificant problems with teacher deployment; Issue 3: Teacher salaries not tied to performance and proper deployment; Limited and non targeted teacher incentives (e.g. work in rural areas). Issue 4: Government investment in trained vs. untrained teachers using equity and deployment mapping. 	Children, Headteacher, Teachers, Parents, DEOs Community, SMC/PTA,CSOs MOE/GES	Outputs Increased time on task among teachers in the classrooms; Teacher performance tied to increases in salaries and incentives; Outcome: Better quality education among the rural poor.
4. Out of school children and inclusive education	 Teacher verbal and physical abuse of primary children; Gender and girls education safe environments for girls; Limited voice of children particularly girls on issues of abuse, gender based violence; Socio cultural practices which impede on girls and boys access and retention at education; Lack of appropriate infrastructure and training of teachers to handle children with disabilities and other learning challenges. 	GNECC/NNED and District Education for All Teams (DEFATs) Traditional leaders; District Assemblies Ministry of Local Government Children, Head teacher, Teachers, Parents, DEOs Community,	Increased access to quality education at basic level; Decrease in verbal and physical abuse of children in basic schools; Stronger methods of tracking school based gender related violence; Decrease in socio cultural practices against girls;

Issues of the Education	Specific Issues to address in the STAR call for	Potential stakeholders	Outputs and Outcomes
Sector	proposals	involved in the issue/projects	
		SMC/PTA,CSOs	
	Lack of large scale safety net programs for extremely		Outcome: Increased equity
	poor families to sustain and send children to school, (e.g. LEAP, WB: Social works).		in transition among girls;
5. Education Resource	Poor targeting of school level investment in teaching and	MOE/GES, DA's,	Increased transparency
Tracking using equity	learning materials and TLM resources	MOFEP, DEOs, DEOC,	among district, regional
based measures		Donors, Programs,	and national investors and
	Better resource tracking and tracking of trained teacher	CSOs,	beneficiaries of education;
	deployment particularly to deprived areas of the country;	Head teachers,	
		Supervisors, Teachers,	Increased provision of
	Limited transparency of large resource allocation for	Children, MPs	quality education for
	school infrastructure (e.g. GETFUND, DACF, DDF)	Parents, community, LA,	children in deprived areas
	and their targeting mechanisms;	SMC/PTA.	of the country.
	Better targeting and commitment and follow-up on		Outcome: Improved access
	school infrastructure and safety net programming		and performance of
	(uniforms or GSFP etc)		children in deprived areas.
6. Limited <u>external</u>	Issue 1: Poor learning outcomes tracking over time of	Head teachers, Teachers,	Visible and transparent
monitoring and	primary and JHS children	Circuit Supervisors,	learning indicators
performance assessment		DEOs, DTST, GEU,	publicized for population;
of the education sector	Issue 2: Reliability and validity of government reporting	SpED, MOE/GES,	
	on education performance, incentives for favourable	MOFEP, DAs,	Parents and District
	performance(capitation, MDBS triggers etc)	SMC/PTA's, Children	/national stakeholders are
		CSOs, Networks, Media,	better informed of learning
	Issue 3: Lack of credible evidence based research to use	Parliamentarians, A	outcomes;
	for accountability and tracking; lack of co-ordination and		
	collaboration with MOE/GES (PPMED) and research		Alternative data sets
	institutions.		available for advocacy and

Issues of the Education Sector	Specific Issues to address in the STAR call for proposals	Potential stakeholders involved in the issue/projects	Outputs and Outcomes
	Issue 4: uncoordinated information by CSO's on budget and resource tracking systems; Uncoordinated research data base for CSO's to use for advocacy.		comparison in measuring GOG performance in education;
			Improved service delivery among state actors in education:

Annex J. An	alysis of CSOs Ideas and	i Lessons at the Consult	
Key Issues	Northern sector	Southern Sector	Western Sector
Emerging			
Funding modalities	 Donor agencies need to core fund the activities or programmes of CSOs. Majority of the CSOs 	Lack of core funding from donor agencies especially for salaries and administration. Majority of the CSOs	Donor agencies need to core fund the activities or programmes of CSOs. Majority of the CSOs
delivery.	present at these consultative meetings talked of complimenting advocacy with service delivery at the communities.	present at these consultative meetings talked of complimenting advocacy with service delivery at the communities. Low priority for service delivery.	present at these consultative meetings talked of complimenting advocacy with service delivery at the communities.
Short length of funding.	Majority of the CSOs present at these consultative meetings lamented about the short time frame of donor funding and the delays in the release of funds by donors. Funding should extend from 3 to 5 years in order to achieve the desire change in our communities.	Majority of the CSOs present at these consultative meetings lamented about the short time frame of donor funding. Funding should extend from 3 to 5 years in order to achieve the desire change in our communities.	Majority of the CSOs present at these consultative meetings lamented about the short time frame of donor funding. Time frame too short to complete the project. Funding should extend from 3 to 5 years in order to achieve the desire change in our communities.
Service provision	Service provision should be demand driven. As in services provided should be what the beneficiary community wants.	Service provision should be demand driven. As in services provided should be what the beneficiary community wants.	Service provision should be demand driven. As in services provided should be what the beneficiary community wants.
The use of Right Based Advocacy (RBA).	Participants also talked of the use of Right Based Advocacy (RBA). This is seen to be the key tool that will bring about the needed change we are	Participants also talked of the use of Right Based Advocacy (RBA). This is seen to be the key tool that will bring about the needed change we are	Participants also talked of the use of Right Based Advocacy (RBA). This is seen to be the key tool that will bring about the needed change we are

Annex 3: Analysis of CSOs Ideas and Lessons at the Consultative Meeting

	all yearning for in our communities.	all yearning for in our communities.	all yearning for in our communities.
Accessibility and Equity of the fund.	Participants also talked of accessibility and equitable distribution of the funds. They said donor funds are skewed in favour of bigger CSOs and CSOs in the south (compared to the north).	Participants also talked of accessibility and the small level of funding in relation to the projects/ programmes CSO's operate.	Participants also talked of difficulties encounter in accessing the funds and delay in cash transfers due to change of staff in the funding agency.

Annex 4: Key Issues Emerging from the Political Parties Manifestos

Key issues emanating from the manifestos include:

- The duration of the Senior High Schools. While the NDC talk of reversing the 4 year system instituted by the NPP to 3 years, the NPP still maintained that policy. With the CPP thinking of reviewing the 4 year system to see its relevance and find possible ways of reinstating the 3 year system.
- On teacher education, the NDC placed emphasis on expanding teacher training facilities and institutions in order to train more teachers and all teacher training colleges should be under teacher training universities. The CPP will accelerate on-going teaching programmes to increase the number of teachers in the classrooms and at the same time training those already in the classroom.
- The issue of paying teachers was key on teacher motivation and retention. The political parties except the NPP talked of improving the salaries of teachers, improve accommodation and retirement benefits, paying of professional allowances and allowances for teachers working in rural and deprived communities. The NPP only talked of teachers' salaries being increased five times as compared to what they used to receive in the year 2000.
- Under basic education, the political parties except CPP talked of providing more classroom blocks to eliminate schools under trees. This is seen in the NPP constructing 765 new school blocks at basic level, in addition to 150 and 231 3-unit and 6-unit classroom blocks respectively. And NDC constructing almost 1000 schools out of the 4320 schools under trees. Other programmes to boost basic education peculiar to both NDC and NPP manifestos were the school feeding programme, the capitation grant, free school uniforms and free exercise books. The NPP started the capitation grant with GH3.00and the NDC improved it by an increase to GH 4.5. Abolishing of the shift system especially at the JHS level was also an issue of concern. The CPP considered the BECE system as being irrelevant and will consider abolishing it. To them it condemns too many of our children as failures before they have a chance to prove themselves in life.
- With regard to the second cycle institutions, the NDC raised the issue of increasing the number of SHS to increase intake. Also to revamp the science resource centres in selected SHS and make information technology an examinable subject at the SHS level. Under the NPP manifesto 31 schools have been constructed to fulfil their policy of providing one model SHS in every districts, with 25 nearing completion. The CPP is proposing the addition of senior secondary schools to basic education which will be made free for all.
- For technical and vocational education, the NDC talked of improving and upgrading all technical and vocational school infrastructure to appreciable standards. While the CPP talked of adequately resourcing technical and vocational schools under their Accelerated Education Sector. Technical and vocational education will also be made post-secondary to ensure that people going through such education are adequately prepared academically. None was seen in the NPP manifesto.

- With tertiary education, the NDC pledges to establish at least two more public sector ٠ universities located at Sunyani and Ho and improve existing facilities; institute scholarships and bursaries for high performing students; prohibit demands for extra payment for printing, marking papers and other fees; encourage private sector participation in providing hostels. Review remuneration and conditions of service for tertiary faculty; and monitor quality of education by revamping the National Accreditation Board. The NPP government said they established the University of Mines and Technology (formerly KNUST School of Mines) at Tarkwa in the Western Region, the UDS Campus and the two Polytechnics in Wa and Bolgatanga in the Upper West and Upper East regions, respectively. The CPP talked of elevating the Ghana Telecom University College to full university status with international programmes; and expanding and improving the quality of the University of Mines and Technology to attract a bigger share of the international student market while offering first class education to Ghanaians. They will also set up regional campuses for all state universities and other tertiary institutions to improve access and reduce the cost of higher education to households; decentralize special training such as teaching for all universities with an established capacity to offer such training; introduce professional managers with experience managing large private or public organisations to head state universities; and enhance governance through quarterly publication of financial and management reports of tertiary institutions.
- On special education the NDC said they will provide adequate funds to train competent personnel to support special education in the schools to address Ghanaians with disabilities and special needs; collaborate with GES and the UEW to organize teacher training to upgrade skills; improve the supply of logistics for special education on a regular basis; and expand and equip existing special schools and establish new ones.



Annex 5: National Primary Net Enrolment Rate

National JHS Net Enrolment Rate



Access data for 2007/08 for national and the three Northern	n regions
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	Primary			JHS		
			Completion			Completion
	NER	GER	rate	NER	GER	Rate
National	82.9	95	85.5	52.9	78.8	67.7
Upper East	77.2	96.9	78.9	38.2	63.1	51.8
Upper West	77.2	98.1	78.8	48.3	72.7	55.7
Northern	71.8	92.1	79.4	40.5	66.4	55.4
3 Northern						
regions	75.4	95.7	79.0	42.3	67.4	54.3

(Based on EMIS/MOESS, 2007/08 performance report)

	1957-66 Nkrumah (CPP)	1970's Military Coup	1979 -1992 PNDC/ Rawlings	1990's new Democratic dispensation	2000's
Civil society space	Education as a social tool for popular conscientisation of state pioneers	Culture of Silence	Culture of Silence	1983: IMF World Bank regime of structural adjustment; education restructured Late 1990's: PPA, involvement of civil society	First Transition to a new party : HIPC package, GPRSparticipa tory decision making expanding the space of civil society
Power, Policy and Reform Agenda Direction	Expansion of education free universal yet British system of education		1987 Structural change to the system; UBE. Would require participation of private sector	Donor influence and directives, financing Significant expansion of the basic education 1996: fCUBE Expansion of the system, quality etc	2007: White paper outlined key policy directions/ party politics role in setting the agenda technical analysis and direction (ESP)
Drivers of Change	Position of teachers very important to nation building	Brain drain	Brain drain	Teacher Unions Government NGO's, CSO's (service) Media	DA's DEO's SMC's/PTA's

Annex 6: Ghana's Political Economic History and Educational Change

Annex 7: GNECC right to learn and right to know

GNECC has started a project which is realizing interesting results in opening up the space for civil society to engage with the state at the district and regional levels. "The Right to Know, Right to Education (RDK) project is being implemented by GNECC in order to empower citizens to use their right to access information to demand quality basic education by participating in right based budgetary processes, decision making and monitoring. The project is currently operating in five districts across three regions of the country: across Greater Accra, central and western regions. The project empowers SMCS and PTAs and other key education stakeholders at the community and national level to use the Right to Information Legislation and policies to advocate for greater transparency and accountability in relation to quality education service at the local level. At the local level the project strengthens the capacity of SMC' and PTA's to engage with the budget development, implementation and monitoring process at the school and district levels.

Through the support to District Education review and planning meetings, budget hearing sessions, capacity is developed among SMC's to engage with the state at district level, recast the education budgets at the district and national levels to be more user friendly; the project also supports engagement of communities with the MP in order to better track the usage of the MP funds. Interviews with GNECC suggest that the RDK program is opening up space at the district levels for CSO's to ask for budget and educational planning information since the districts are made aware of the need to share information based on Ghana' Right to information (article 21 (1) in the constitution. The project is also building the capacity of the DEO's to involve SMC's /PTA's in education decision making and performance reviews. Other results that are expected are that SMC's and PTAs will be able to influence decision- making of the wider community in the district on education issues, they will also have easier access to developing the School Performance Improvement Plans with head teachers to promote transparency and accountability and that SMC's and PTA's will help use information legislation to access education information at district levels. This project is likely to be a good complement to the CSO work that may be funded through STAR support at the district and national level.