

**POLITICS OF PUBLIC POLICY IMPLEMENTATION IN GHANA: A
CASE STUDY OF THE GHANA EDUCATION TRUST FUND
(GETFUND)**

BY

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DECLARATION

This is to certify that this thesis is the result of research undertaken by Abigail Oppong towards the award of the Master of Philosophy (M.Phil) Political Science in the Department of Political Science, University of Ghana.

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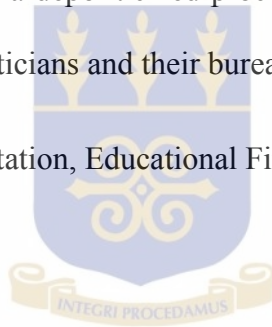
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ABSTRACT

The Ghana Education Trust Fund (GETFund) was established by an Act of Parliament in 2000, Act 581, to promote the development of education in the country. Notwithstanding the well-crafted nature and noble intentions of the GETFund policy, its implementation has suffered setbacks. Analysis of data collected revealed that GETFund has been politicized. Its implementation has generated conflict among competing forces including disagreements, suspicions and an effort to sidestep frontline institutions and individuals tasked with the responsibility to administer the fund. These political interferences the study revealed have undermined the attainment of the objectives of the Fund. Proposals to improve on the implementation of GETFund such as a depoliticized process of application of GETFund would free it from the manipulations by politicians and their bureaucratic collaborations.

Keywords: Politics, Policy Implementation, Educational Financing.



DEDICATION

To God be the Glory

This work is dedicated to my lovely parents Mr. and Mrs. Opong for their continuous support and encouragement in every aspect of my life.



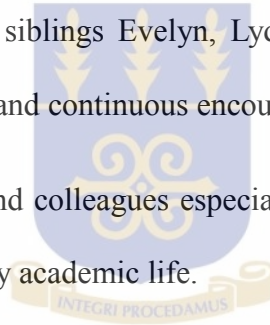
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AGI	Association of Ghana Industries
BOT	Board of Trustees
CEPS	Customs, Excise and Preventive Service
CPP	Conventions People Party
EIP	Emergency Intervention Program
ERP	Economic Recovery Programme
ESITF	Educational Security and Insurance Trust Fund
FCUBE	Free Compulsory Basic Education
FI	Financial Institutions
GEA	Ghana Employers Association
GES	Ghana Education Service
GETFund	Ghana Education Trust Fund
GNAT	Ghana National Association of Teachers
GNUPS	Ghana National Union of Polytechnic Students
GOG	Government of Ghana
GPRS I	Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy
GPRS II	Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy
GRA	Ghana Revenue Authority
GSGDA	Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda
GUSS	Ghana Universal Salary Structure
HED	Higher Education Division

IFIs	International Financial Institutions
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IRS	Internal Revenue Service
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoFEP	Ministry of Finance
MP	Member of Parliament
NCHE	National Council for Higher Education
NCT	.National Council on Tertiary Education
NCWD	.National Council on Women and Development
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NDPC	National Development Planning Commission
NHIS	National Health Insurance Scheme
NPP	.New Patriotic Party
NUGS	.National Union of Ghana Students
NYEP	National Youth Employment Programme
PSI	Presidential Support Initiative
RA	Revenue Agencies
RAGB	Revenue Agencies Governing Board
RB	.Religious Bodies
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SHS	Senior High School
SLT	.Students Loans Trust
SS	Scholarship Secretariat

SUP	Schools Under trees Program
TEEF	Tertiary Education Endowment Fund
URC	University Rationalization Committee
VAT	Value Added Tax
WB	World Bank

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODCUTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Education is an essential ingredient in nation building and a vital component of development. According to Tandberg (2008), higher education provides students with an opportunity for upward mobility and personal development. Moreover, an educated workforce and citizenry stimulate national economic development. Globalization and the changing nature of technology have further brought to light the importance of education especially for developing countries. This is because it plays a key role in the ability of a developing country to absorb modern technology and to develop the capacity of self-sustaining growth and development (Todaro, 2006).

However this very important sector of the society is beset with numerous challenges. Scholars such as Johnstone (1998), Effah (2003) and Atuahene (2006) have identified financial austerity or stringency among others as posing a serious threat to developing effective higher education system in the world. Education financing, especially at the higher level, is a major challenge both in the developed and developing world. The case of Ghana is brilliantly put forward by Effah (2003:343) who noted that ‘... the most serious challenge facing higher education in Ghana ... is inadequate funding.’ This challenge has serious implications for higher education in the country in particular and developing countries as a whole.

The World Bank identifies the lack of sustainable financing as limiting enrolment growth and skewing higher education towards low cost and low quality programs (World

Bank/UNESCO, 2000). As a result, a number of policies have been adopted by different countries, both developed and developing, to deal with the problem. This includes strategies and programs that have been advanced by the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

In the history of most African states (both in the colonial and post-colonial period) the financing of education has been the preserve of the state (Atuahene, 2006). In the immediate post-colonial era, African states had to take up the responsibility to train their nationals who were going to take over from the expatriates the mantle of running state institutions and providing public goods and services (Sanyal, 1998). There was therefore a strong recognition of education as a major tool for socio-economic development in most developing countries including Ghana. This propelled governments to devote significant resources to the education sector.

The strategy of state-financing came to a halt after the 1980's when most developing countries were faced with economic crisis and had to turn to the International Financial Institutions (IFIs), namely, the WB and the IMF for assistance. The WB and IMF aid, which backed the economic reform programs adopted by developing countries (such as Ghana), came with "conditionalities," notably, drastic reduction in public spending (Nelson 1990, Colgan,2002).This was the beginning of the wave of private financing of education in most developing countries.

In Ghana, like most African countries, due to the government's inability to finance tertiary education wholly, the idea of cost sharing was introduced in 1997 through the adoption of the Akosombo Accord (NCTE, 1998). This idea of cost sharing divided responsibility for university funding between the government (responsible for 70 percent of total funding) and 30 percent from three other sources including internal revenue-generation by the university, private donations and students' tuition fees.

However, the introduction of cost sharing policies in the country yielded negative response from the public. The policy was not only politicized and attacked by Ghanaians but it also created severe inequalities making higher education the preserve of the socially privileged (Atuahene, 2006). In the light of this there were various agitations by most groups especially the National Union of Ghana students (NUGS) for the abolition of the policy. As a result, there was a growing recognition among the public for a policy solution to the educational mess (Brenya & Asare, 2011).

Consequently, NUGS came out with an initial proposal for the establishment of an Educational Security and Insurance Trust Fund (ESITF) and Tertiary Education Endowment Fund as alternatives to the cost sharing (NCTE, 1998). The president incorporated this proposal into his annual address to parliament in January 1999 and recommendations were subsequently made by a technical committee regarding its broad objectives and outlines (Harsch, 2000).

The dialogue on funding tertiary education coincided with proposed introduction of a new tax, the Value Added Tax (VAT) in 1995. The proposed VAT was to be charged on the cost or

price of imports, locally manufactured goods and services, at the rate of 17.5%. This sparked off public riots dubbed “kume- preko” meaning kill me completely (Quarshie, 2009). As a result of the public riots, the tax was withdrawn. In 1998 the VAT was reintroduced but at the rate of 10% after several consultations by the government. The 10% VAT rate was approved by parliament.

The reintroduced VAT provided an opportunity to address the question of funding for an educational Trust. The Ministry of Education suggested that an additional 2.5% should be imposed on the VAT to be used as source of funds to support education in the country. After several deliberations by the Ministry of Education and other stakeholders, the funding proposal was accepted. This paved the way for the establishment of the Ghana Education Trust Fund (GET-Fund). Through an Act of Parliament 2000, (Act 581) the Ghana education trust fund was established to address the issues of educational financing in Ghana.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The Ghana Education Trust Fund was established by an Act of parliament in 2000, Act 581, as one of the various government policies that seek to promote educational funding. Thus the objective of the GETFund is to provide finance to supplement the vision of education at all levels by the Government. Money from the fund is to be used for the provision of financial support to the agencies and institutions under the Ministry of Education, for the development and maintenance of essential infrastructure in public educational institutions particularly, in tertiary institutions (GETFund Act, 2000).

The Fund was also to provide supplementary funding to the Scholarship Secretariat to provide scholarship for gifted but needy students for second-cycle and accredited tertiary institutions in Ghana. In addition, it was to operate student loans schemes for students in accredited tertiary institutions and grants to tertiary institutions through loan scheme mechanisms and agencies approved by the Minister and the National Council on Tertiary Education respectively (GETFund Act, 2000).

Notwithstanding the well-crafted nature and noble intentions of the GETFund policy, its implementation has suffered hiccups. The implementation process has been marred with politics. As pointed out by Turner and Hulme (1997) implementation is an arena where those with divergent interests in a policy engage in negotiations over the goals of the policy and conflict over the allocation of resources. Similarly, there are numerous political clashes over the allocation of resources at the implementation stage. Moreover, the implementation stage also witnesses politics based on factions, patron client ties and other affective forms which is highly suited to 'individualized demand on the bureaucratic apparatus for the allocation of goods and services (Grindle, 1980:18). This suggests the politics of implementation especially in developing countries including Ghana.

However, a survey of germane literature portends that although a sizable number of studies have been conducted on the implementation of public policy in Ghana (Aryee, 1992), only few have explored the politics surrounding the implementation of those policies. In addition, studies which specifically examine GETFund as a public policy have centered on evaluation (Atuahene 2006) and the agenda setting stage of the policy process (Brenya and Asare, 2011). For instance, in a study titled 'A Policy Analysis of the Financing of Tertiary Education

Institutions in Ghana: An Assessment of the Objectives and the Impact of the Ghana Education Trust Fund on Higher Education in Ghana', Atuahene (2006) analyzed the fulfillment of the objectives of the fund and its contribution towards higher education development in Ghana since its creation. This clearly reinforces the lacunae in the politics of implementation literature, particularly in relation the GETFund policy. Yet the impact of implementation on the process, content and outcome of policy is real. Therefore the aim of this study is to fill the gap in the literature by investigating the politics in the implementation of GETFund and its impact on the policy process and outcome.

1.3 OBJECTIVES

The main objective of the study is to investigate the impact of the politics of the implementation of GETFund on the policy outcome. The specific objectives of the study are to:

1. Explore the power plays among the actors involved in the implementation of the Fund;
2. Ascertain the influence of politics on the outcomes of the implementation of the GETFund
3. Examine the factors that influence allocation of GETFund projects and scholarship awards;
4. Determine other challenges in the implementation of GETFund; and
5. Propose strategies to deal with implementation bottlenecks.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. Who are the actors at the implementation stage of the GETFund policy?
2. What powers and responsibilities do the actors have?

3. How does the power play affect the outcomes of the implementation of the GETF und policy?
4. What are the factors that influence allocation of GETFund projects and scholarships?
5. What are the challenges in the implementation of the GETFund and how can they be resolved?

1.5 OPERATIONAL DEFINITION

1.5.1 POLITICS

For the sake of this study politics is not restricted to partisan politics but also the issue of Who gets What? When? and How? as defined by Lasswell (1936).

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study will add unto the body of literature on policy implementation as well as education policy studies. This will serve as basis for further research in this field and also provide the needed information for future comparison with other empirical work. It will also inform policy maker on measures to ensure effective implementation.

1.7 LIMITATIONS

Access to information regarding the activities of the Ghana Education Trust Fund was the major difficulty the researcher encountered during the data collection. Certain stakeholders were reluctant to grant the researcher interview and others who did were not forthcoming with the information. However there were others who were more than willing and provided adequate information that was needed for the work.

Another limitation has to do with time. The researcher did not have enough time to undertake

the research since she had to meet a deadline. This notwithstanding the researcher was able to make proper use of the limited time therefore the quality of the work was not affected. The case study strategy which was used for this study is also not in the conventional sense, generalizable. However, it facilitated a detailed and in depth understanding of the study.

1.8 ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

The study will be divided into five chapters.

Chapter one will contain the introduction and background to the problem of financing education in Ghana. This will be followed by the statement of the research problem, objectives to be addressed, the key research questions which the study seeks to answer and the organization of the study. The chapter will be ended with the significance and some possible limitations of the study.

Chapter two will be devoted to the theoretical underpinnings of the study as well as the review of literature relevant to the study of education financing in general and Ghana in particular.

The third chapter presents the methodology of the research. This chapter begins with an introduction, followed by the research strategy to be used that is qualitative research strategy together with the sampling technique to be used. The data collection and sources as well as framework for data analysis are present in this chapter. The validity and reliability and ethics is mentioned here with the limitations and possible problems marking the end of the chapter.

Chapter four presents the details of the evidence or results and discussions under appropriate headings that reflect the objectives outlined in the study.

Summary, conclusions and recommendations derived from the study will be presented in the last chapter which is chapter five.

I.9 LOCATION OF STUDY IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

The study is generally located within the field of Public Administration, a sub field of Political Science with emphasis on policy implementation.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the theoretical framework upon which the study is built as well as review literatures which are relevant to the study. The chapter is divided into two major sections. The first section captioned theoretical framework will consist of the concept of implementation, the theory of implementation where the various models for the study are discussed and then the deployment of the theory to the work. The second section reviews literature on the major issues regarding policy implementation, financing of education both in the developed and developing world. It concludes with a look at the history of funding education in Ghana and then the establishment of the GETFund.

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Theory may be defined ‘as a system of interconnected abstractions or ideas that condenses and organizes knowledge about the social world’ (Mikkelsen, 2005: 157). It is used in explanation (Johnston et al., 2000) and helps us to think through research (Pryke et al., 2003).

Theory plays a very vital role in research, such that without it there is nothing to research (Kitchin and Tate, 2000; Silverman, 1993). Theoretical framework provides a conceptual guide for choosing the concepts to be investigated, for suggesting questions and for framing the research findings (Corbin and Strauss, 2008).

2.2.1 THE THEORY OF IMPLEMENTATION

The theory of implementation is made up of different models for the study of policy implementation. Models according to Dye (2008), is a simplified representation of some aspect of the real world. They add simplicity and clarity to our thinking about politics and public policy, identify critical aspects and relationships about policy problems, and also recommend explanations for public policy as well as estimate its consequences (Scribd, 2012). Therefore implementation models are mental constructs that offer us a better understanding of the formation and implementation of policies (Lester and Stewart, 2000).

The various studies of implementation have generated different models of implementation. These models include the complexity of joint action, the top-down model, the bottom-up and the interactive model.

2.2.2 COMPLEXITY OF JOINT ACTION

Complexity of joint action propounded by Pressman and Wildavsky (1984) refers to the number of actors, in addition to the principal, whose agreement either explicitly or implicitly must be secured before a policy can successfully be implemented (Ayee, 1992). The junction point between the actors is known as veto (Mazmanian and Sabatier, 1983). Therefore there is the presence of multiple actors and perspectives. These actors according to Pressman and Wildavsky (1984) have distinctive perspectives. When a program depends on so many actors and participants, there may be opposing dimensions in the policy process and many clearance points leading to delays and likely failure of the policy. The consequences of different actors with different perceptions are proliferation of veto or decision/clearance points, muddling of objectives due to diverse perspectives, heightened conflict and intergroup rivalry,

divided loyalty, lack of coordination and the diversion of energy in the playing out of a number of loosely interrelated games (Ayee, 1992).

In order to realize decision points, a program may require dozens of clearance actions by a wide range of participants (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1984). Therefore for a probability of agreement by participants by each decision point must be exceedingly high for there to be any chance at all that a program will be completed. For the purpose of the study, this theory will help us to understand the role of actors, actions and relationships in the implementation of GETFund. It will also aid us in identifying the sources of conflict and interference during the implementation of GETFund.

However, the model fails to characterize in a moderately abstract and systematic way the interactions that routinely link the different kinds of institutions or roles normally involved in a process of programme assembly (Bardach, 1975) as cited in Ayee (1992).

2.2.3 DEPLOYMENT OF THEORY

The chapter has mentioned four models of implementation which are top down, bottom up, complexity of joint action and the interactive model. However, for the purpose of this study the researcher made use of the complexity of joint action. The research set out to investigate the politics of the implementation process of the GETFund and its impact on outcome of the policy. The complexity of joint action will help us to understand the role of actors, actions and relationships or power play and their implications for the implementation of GETFund. It will also aid us in identifying the sources of conflict and interference as well as lack of coordination during the implementation of GETFund.

2.3 LITERATURE REVIEW

This section reviews relevant literature on public policy implementation and education financing in the world as a whole and Ghana in particular.

2.3.1 STUDIES ON POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

Policy implementation was viewed as forthright before the 1970's. This is because it was assumed that once a policy was made, implementation would obviously follow suit (Howlett and Ramesh, 1995). The work of Pressman and Wildavsky (1984) came to negate this idea and brought the issue of implementation to the lime light. Therefore Implementation came to be seen as a complex phenomenon and as such could not be 'simply classified as a technical exercise involving calculated choices of appropriate techniques' (Turner and Hulme, 1997:75). Policy implementation has been defined differently by different scholars. According to Pressman and Wildavsky (1984: xxiii), policy implementation may be viewed as a process of interaction between the setting of goals and actions geared to achieve them. Lester et al. (1995:43) also view policy implementation as the connection between the expression of governmental intention and actual result.

Moreover, according to Dunn (2004) implementation is when an adopted policy is carried out by administrative units that mobilize financial and human resources to comply with the policy. Unlike the elaborate definition given by Dunn, Dye (2008) gives a simplified definition yet captured the essence of the concept of implementation. According to him, implementation involves all of those activities designed to carry out the policies enacted by the legislative branch Implementation is a complex phenomenon that can be explained as a process, an output and an outcome. Anderson (2011) in his more recent study defined

Implementation as encompassing whatever is done to carry a law into effect, to apply it to the target population, and to achieve its goals.

Matland (1995) has contended that implementation theories are the result of evolutions over three generations of research. He reckons that the first generation of research ranged from the early 1970s to the 1980s then followed by the second generation from the 1980s to the 1990s. The third generation of research is from 1990 and onwards.

Winter (2003) maintains that first generation studies concentrated on exploration and theory generation. Goggin et al. (1990: 13) on their part argue first generation research specifically focused on 'how a single authoritative decision was carried out, either at a single location or at multiple sites.' Scholarly works of Pressman and Wildavsky (1984) played a significant role in first generation implementation studies.

The second generation implementation studies focused on describing and analyzing the relationships between policy and practice. The work of Elmore (1978) is substantial in this generation.

Elmore (1978) contends that the third generation of implementation studies was championed by the work of Goggin et al. (1990). He intimates that this generation was concerned about making the process of implementation more scientific and therefore moved from theory building to the testing of empirical evidence.

Implementation studies have generally centered on effective or ineffective implementation. Elmore (1978) has advanced four main elements in the effective implementation of policies. According to him, first, there is the need for clearly specified tasks and objectives that accurately reflect the intent of policy. Secondly, there should be a management plan that

allocates tasks and performance standards to subunits. Thirdly, there should be an objective means of measuring sub-unit performance. Finally, there should be a system of management controls and social sanctions sufficient to hold subordinates accountable for their performance (Elmore, 1978: 195). He intimates that a failure of implementation means lapses of planning, specification and control.

There has been the realization that implementation of policies, even when successful involves far more than a mechanical translation of goals into routine procedures. It thus involves fundamental questions about conflict decision making, and who gets what in a society (Grindle, 1980:3). This suggests the existence of politics in the implementation process. Turner and Hulme's (1997) assertion that implementation is frequently a highly political process is consistent with Grindle (1980). The implementation stage, to them, is an arena where those with interest in a policy engage in negotiations over the goals of the policy and conflict over the allocation of resources. This interaction is what these scholars term politics of implementation (Turner and Hulme, 1997).

According to Grindle and Thomas (1989: 218), public policy "results from the conflict, bargaining and coalition formation among a potentially large number of societal groups, organized to protect or advance particular interests common to their members." The implementation process in the developing world is characterized by competition and conflict among individual and groups who have been excluded from the preceding stages of the policy making process and as a result would want to make a last attempt at this stage to pursue their interest by competing for access to scarce resources (Grindle, 1980 ; Smith, 1985). At this stage of the policy process, many political battles are fought between actors who are either

intensely or marginally involved in the implementation over the allocation of scarce resources.

This is further highlighted by Grindle (1980) in her book *Politics and Policy Implementation in the Third World*. Grindle (1980) contends that unlike the United States and Western Europe, policy activity is focused on the output (policy implementation) stage in the third world. Since ‘interest aggregating structures are often weak in the third world, a large portion of individual and collective demand making, the representation of interest and the emergence and resolution occur at the output stage (Grindle, 1980: 15). From the above, two main reasons are used by Grindle (1980) in explaining why policy activity is focused on the output stage in the third world. They are the remoteness and inaccessibility of the policy making process to most individuals and the scarcity of resources and wide-spread needs which sharpen the perception of who is gaining and who is losing from the implementation process.

Moreover, she contends that the implementation phase is the stage where politics based on factions, patron client linkages, ethnic ties and personal coalitions set in. These and other affective forms give one the opportunity to make “individualized demand on the bureaucratic apparatus for the allocation of goods and services” (Grindle, 1980: 18). The implementation phase may, according to Turner & Hulme (1997), be viewed as an arena in which those responsible for allocating resources are engaged in political relationship among themselves and with other actors determined on influencing that allocation. Ayee (1992) mentions delayed politics as a feature of the implementation process in the developing world

2.3.2 STUDIES ON POLICY IMPLEMENTATION IN GHANA

In Ghana like most developing countries there has been growing concern over the implementation of public policies both by government and scholars of public policy. One of the works that have imparted the implementation literature in Ghana is the work of Ayee (1994) titled 'An Anatomy of Public Policy Implementation: Case of Decentralization Policies in Ghana'. In his work, Ayee (1994) employed Complexity of Joint Action and Implementation as Evolution models to explain how implementation of decentralization programmes since the first Republic, under Dr. Nkrumah (1957-1966) to the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) under the then Chairman Rawlings (1981-1992) have kept reoccurring. Specifically, he argued that the implementation of decentralization policies involved the fundamental questions about conflict and who gets what in society. In his work, he contends that strategies, resources and power positions of the actors in the implementation stage are the determinants of the outcome of the conflict and of who gets what, when and how. Thus the implementation of decentralization policies is the product of a political calculus where interests, competing for scarce resources determine the outcome of the implementation of decentralization initiatives. His findings suggested that a large number of state institutions operate with different interest as a result of multiplicity of veto points. Therefore, because the actors have differing perspectives, the chances of implementing decentralization policies in Ghana are low. Using the implementation as evolution model, the study also contends that the failure of successive governments to use failed programmes as a learning process was responsible for the under-achievement of the decentralized stated goals. He concluded that "lack of political commitment, coordination, communication, finance and personnel" keep

recurring (Ayee, 1994:3). The current study employs one of the models employed in Ayee study (complexity of joint action) to explain the politics in the implementation of GETFund.

In the area of health policy implementation, Agbevade (2009) sought to find out the extent to which the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) achieved the aim of increasing access in Ghana using the Ayawaso District Mutual Health Insurance Scheme as a Case study. The study discovered that the NHIS had led to a reduction in the financial burden in accessing health care due to the pre-financing of health care. Thus people pay for their health care cost in advance hence relieved from the shock of having to pay for the cost of health care at point of receiving health care that is the Cash and Carry system.

However, lack of institutional capacity, incapable human resource capacity, lack of efficient and effective management and lack of accountability from the scheme managers was discovered in the study as hindering the accessibility of health care to the residents of the Ayawaso Sub Metropolitan Assembly.

With the institutional model or the theory of public policy making in the context of implementation, the study places institutions involved in the implementation of the NHIS policy at the center of the program success or failure. Thus the NHIS would be effective and efficient when the appropriate institutions with the appropriate capacity to operate are available and vice versa.

2.3.3 GENERAL REVIEW ON FINANCING OF EDUCATION

In the developed countries, financing of education has been the priority of the state since the early stages. This is because of their knowledge in the returns in the investment in Human Capital. The importance of Human Capital investment is brought to light by the historical

overview provided by Adelman (1999). Successful economic development in the 19th century was linked to adult literacy rate of above 50%. The most important factor in explaining the rates of economic growth between countries during the 1960s was the differences in the human capital investments/ additions.

Moreover, the transformations in the economy of East Asian countries have further enhanced the importance of human capital investment. The Asian tigers, as the East Asian countries such as Taiwan, Japan and so on are affectionately called, are noted for their advanced economies all over the world. Scholars such as Tilak (2002) and Abe (2006) have attributed the development of these countries to Human Capital Investment in the early stages.

In recent times, the importance of Human Capital Investment on a country cannot be ignored. However there has been growing debate on social and private returns of education on levels of education. Scholars such as Psacharopoulos (1994) reveal that returns from investments in education are positive at the secondary level but minimal at the higher level of education hence investments in primary education should be emphasized at the expense of higher education. Atuahene (2006) think otherwise. That is the social rate of investment in higher education is more than the lower levels.

2.3.4 EDUCATION FINANCING IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

The importance of education in national development cannot be overlooked. This is evident in the experiences of the developed world. As a result there has been growing recognition of the relevance of education to socio-economic development in most developing countries. Hence government allocates substantial resources to the education sector, through the annual budgets

of relevant state institutions. Various explanations have been advanced by different scholars in relation to state funding of education.

In exploring education in the developing world, Saavedra (2002) outlined the economic rationale for government intervention in the financing of education. According to him, the economic status of citizens, ignorance on the part of most families on the future economic returns of investment in education and the fact that educational investment benefits for the society (widespread literacy, health and fertility control) outweighs that of individual families.

Jongbloed and Koelman (2000) provide different reasons for government intervention in education. They contend that government intervention in the raising of the level of education of its citizens and strengthening of the individual decisions on investment in education and training is in most cases as a result of an imperfect market for education.

Saavedra (2002) acknowledges the fact that even though the actual level of resources a country invest help determine the quantity and quality of education received by citizens; it does not translate automatically into improved outputs and outcomes. He therefore admonishes policy makers to employ adequacy, sustainability and efficiency in considering the amount of resources a country makes on education. Thus, a good education financing system generates an adequate level of funding, while promoting efficiency and equity aimed at optimizing the distribution of education quality and its benefits among members of society.

The intervention of government in the financing of education in the developing world came to a hold with the economic downturn that was experienced in almost all developing countries in the 1980's. Consequently, there have been challenges in the financing of education at all level

especially the tertiary level. Different reasons have been advanced by scholars for the underfunding of education particularly tertiary education.

Johnstone (1998: 2) contends that in most parts of Africa, ‘the declining and unstable economies [which is as a result of worsened terms of trade in less developed/ industrialized countries], expanding populations [which bring about pressure in enrolment especially in the tertiary level], political and social instability and conflict, and oppressive debts are the main factors that have contributed to the pervasive condition of financial austerity. This has consequently limited accessibility to African tertiary education.’

Akin (1994) and Assie`- Lumumba (2002) share in this view. In the words of Akin (1994:17), the political instability in many countries which played out in part on university campuses resulted in university closures “leading to serious erosion of learning in African universities.”

The situation is not different in Ghana as Atuahene (2009) outlines economic and political reasons for underfunding in the country. He specifically mentions a distressed economy as a factor contributing to underfunding. In his view, Ghana’s economy depends mainly on the production of primary agricultural products. This admittedly does not provide adequate income for a country. Moreover, previous political instability and prolonged corruption have had a huge impact on the economy. Apart from the above mentioned reasons, he also attributes underfunding of higher education to the misplaced priority and the misconception of higher education’s role in human capital formation and socioeconomic development as postulated by the World Bank. According to him, this misconception by the Bank was also a major culprit of the current situation in the sector. He concludes that the socialist perception of tuition free education and the unification of university governance and administration under national central government was a possible factor. Atuahene concurs with Ajayi et al.

(1996) that the newly independent governments were more interested in exerting control on the universities especially controlling the administrative side, that is the hiring and firing of senior managers, such as Vice Chancellors.

A more recent explanation of underfunding of higher education was advanced by Ubogu (2011). He attributed underfunding of Nigerian higher education to the economic constraints the country is faced with in recent times. He lays emphasis on the reduction in government revenue as well as chaos in the national economy which has drained the coffers of the country. The collapse of the oil market which is a major source of income to the country together with the task of debt servicing which the government is confronted with was also seen as contributing factors to underfunding of higher education in the country. These situations described above have resulted in a tight government budget who happens to be the statutory financier of higher education in the country like most developing countries. Thus complete deterioration of academic buildings and facilities, overcrowding at universities hall of residence and an understaffed faculty to enhance serious academic engagement at the university are prevalent (Atuahene 2006).

To help curb the problem of underfunding in the education sector, especially higher education, in most developing countries different financing arrangements by different states have been advanced. The most common financing arrangement is the Student Loan scheme. The main purpose of the student loan is to supplement the student's private resources that are difficult to bear as a result of poverty. The student loan scheme is a financial arrangement which allows all students to be entitled to receive a loan. The criteria for receiving a loan differ from one country to the other.

2.3.5 EDUCATION FINANCING IN GHANA

In Ghana like most African countries, the funding of education since the colonial period to the immediate postcolonial period has been the preserve of the state. In the history of most African states, both the colonial and post-colonial period, the financing of education has been the preserve of the state (Atuahene, 2006). During the colonial period, nationals were trained to occupy administrative positions.

In the immediate post-colonial era, African states had to take up the responsibility to train their nationals who were going to take over from the expatriates the mantle of running state institutions and providing public goods and services (Sanyal, 1998). During this era, there was the need for Ghanaians to take over from the colonial masters. This was only possible if they had the requisite knowledge and skills to perform their task. There was therefore a strong recognition of education as a major tool for socio-economic development in most developing countries including Ghana.

During the era of independence, a huge investment was made in education by the state. The first president of the country, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in a bid to increase access to education introduced the Free Compulsory Basic Education (FCUBE). The first educational reform in 1951 that is the FCUBE was responsible for the provision of a compulsory education without the payment of fees at the basic level of education (McWilliams and Kwamena Poh, 1975). The reform was to bridge the north south divide and to bridge the gap between education in the urban centers as against the rural areas.

The reform was consolidated into a law in the 1960's that is the 1961 Act, (Act 87). This reform resulted in a significant increase in enrollment at the basic level of education in the country. There was increase in primary and middle school enrollment rates of about 211.9%

and 141% respectively (Thompson and Casely-Hayford, 2008). Notwithstanding the great strides that were made by the reform, the economic downturn of the 1960's brought about a decline in state funding.

In addition, as part of the government initiatives to cater for the educational needs of Ghanaians during the Nkrumah CPP era, an Education Trust was set up. The government in its quest to ensure national development embarked on a policy of Secondary Education. This policy necessitated an increase in the number of secondary schools in the country (Atuahene, 2006). Hence the Ghana Education Trust (GET) was used in the provision of infrastructure for the Secondary schools in the country. By 1966, there were 105 public secondary schools in Ghana. However, according to Atuahene (2006) this laudable initiative failed to achieve its purpose because it existed without a corresponding strategy to expand facilities at the tertiary level.

Afrifa (1966) also recounted reasons why the GET failed. According to him,

“The Education Trust entered into the preserve of the education department, which had a high reputation during the colonial administration and proceeded to set up secondary schools all over the country, whether or not there was enough student population in the area to fill these schools. Into the already ordered secondary education pattern, nursed and built in the colonial day, was pushed a haphazard program, without any provision for teachers (until hundreds of Russians who did not speak a word of English were rushed into these schools)”.

This means that, the well-crafted policy failed because it was not properly implemented. Priority was given to certain levels of education without due diligence about its impact.

Both governments and military regimes after Nkrumah embarked on state funding of education at all levels until the 1980's. However their efforts did not yield much result as a result of inadequate funds and political instability (Casely-Hayford, 2008).

During the 1980's, like most developing countries, Ghana was faced with economic crisis and had to turn to the international financial institutions for refuge. The World Bank and IMF (which were the leading as far as IFI's are concerned) aid, which backed the economic reform programs adopted by developing countries (such as Ghana), came with "conditionalities," notably, drastic reduction in public spending (Nelson, 1990; Colgan, 2002).

As a result government had to reduce spending in all public services including education. This created serious financial difficulties in the education sector. The intensity of this difficulty led to a stakeholders meeting at the National Forum on Funding of Tertiary Education at Akosombo on the 27th to 28th January, 1997 for remedy. As a result, the idea of Cost Sharing was introduced in 1997 through the adoption of the Akosombo Accord (NCTE, 1998). This idea of Cost Sharing divided responsibility for university funding between the government (responsible for 70 percent of total funding) and 30 percent from three other sources including internal revenue-generation by the university, private donations and students' tuition fees.

However this arrangement yielded adverse reaction from the public. The policy was not only politicized and attacked by Ghanaians but also created severe inequalities making higher education the preserve of the socially privileged (Atuahene, 2006). In the light of this there were various agitations by most groups especially the National Union of Ghana students (NUGS) for the abolition of this policy. They resorted to demonstrations so as to make their

plight known to the government. As a result, there was a growing recognition among the public for a policy solution to the educational mess (Brenya and Asare, 2011).

Consequently, the National Union of Ghanaian Students (NUGS) came out with an initial proposal for the establishment of an Educational Security and Insurance Trust Fund (ESITF) and Tertiary Education Endowment Fund as an alternative to the cost sharing (NCTE, 1998). The suggestion for the setting up of an educational fund was also echoed by other individuals and groups. The president incorporated this proposal into his annual address to parliament in January 1999 and recommendations were subsequently made by a technical committee regarding its broad objectives and outlines (Harsch, 2000).

The dialogue on funding tertiary education coincided with proposed introduction of a new tax, the Value Added Tax (VAT) in 1995. The proposed VAT was to be charged on the cost or price of imports, locally manufactured goods and services, at the rate of 17.5%. This sparked off public riots dubbed “kume- preko” meaning “kill me completely” (Quarshie, 2009). As a result of the public riots, the tax was withdrawn. In 1998, the VAT was reintroduced but at the rate of 10% after several consultations by the government. The 10% VAT rate was approved by parliament.

The reintroduced VAT provided an opportunity to address the question of funding for an educational Trust. The ministry of education therefore suggested that an additional 2.5% be imposed on the VAT to be used as source of funds to support education in the country. After several deliberations by the ministry of education and other stakeholders, the funding proposal was accepted. This brought the GETFund into existence.

2.3.6 THE GHANA EDUCATION TRUST FUND

The Ghana Education Trust Fund was to provide funding to supplement government budgetary allocations at all levels of education (GETFund Act, 2000). The Ghana Education Trust Fund was established by the NDC government as a policy response to the challenge of funding education at the time. This happened at a time when the funding gap in the educational sector was unbearable. This land mark policy initiative (Effah, 2003) is one of the most outstanding recommendations in the funding regime of tertiary education in particular and education as a whole (Atuahene, 2007). The GETFund was established by an act of parliament in 2000, Act 581.

The Act was to establish a Fund to aid with financing of education nationwide, to provide for management of the Fund and other related matters. The Act spells out clearly the object of the Fund. The main object of the Fund is to provide finance to supplement the vision of education at all levels by the government. (GETFund Act, 2000). For the effective attainment of this object, the Act specifies how the monies from the Fund must be expended. Details of how GETFund monies are expended are given below:

- (a) To provide financial support to the agencies and institutions under the Ministry of Education, through the Ministry, for the development and maintenance of essential academic facilities and infrastructure in public educational institutions particularly, in tertiary institutions;
- (b) To provide supplementary funding to the Scholarship Secretariat for the grant of scholarships to gifted but needy students for studies in second-cycle and accredited tertiary institutions in Ghana;

(c) To contribute monies from the Fund towards the operation of student loans schemes for students in accredited tertiary institutions through loan scheme mechanisms and agencies, approved by Minister;

(d) To provide, through the National Council on Tertiary Education, grants to tertiary institutions,

(i) To train brilliant students as members of faculties;

(ii) To undertake research and other academic programs of relevance to national development;

(e) To provide monies to support such other educational activities and programs for the promotion of education as the Minister in consultation with the Board may determine (GETFund Act, 2000:1).

In addition, the Act provides for sources of monies for the Fund as well as composition of the Board of Trustees (BOT) to manage the Fund. The sources of monies for the Fund and composition of the BOT are discussed below:

2.3.6.1 SOURCES OF MONEY FOR THE FUND

The main source of funding of the GETFund is 2.5% out of the prevailing rate of the Value Added Tax which is to be paid by the VAT service to the Fund. Apart from the main source of the Fund, there are other four sources of monies for the Fund outlined in the Act. They include monies that may be allocated from parliament to the Fund, money from investment made by the Board of Trustees (BOT) of the Fund, voluntary contributions, grants, donations and gifts

to the Fund and finally, any other monies that may in any manner become lawfully payable and vested in the BOT of the Fund.

These monies are to be paid into the GETFund account which was to be opened by the BOT of the Fund. In article four clause one [4(1)] of the GETFund Act, the VAT services are obliged to, within thirty (30) days of receipt of VAT revenue, pay directly into the bank account of the Fund.

2.3.6.2 COMPOSITION OF BOARD OF TRUSTEES (BOT)

The president in consultation with the Council of State appoints a seventeen member Board of Trustees that is responsible for the management of the Fund. These members, with the exception of the chairman and the administrator of the Fund, are drawn from the following institutions and organizations: the Ministry of Finance, religious bodies, Revenue Agencies (Governing) Board, Ministry of Education, National Council on Tertiary Education, the established financial institutions, Universities and Polytechnics (in rotation), Ghana National Association of Teachers, National Union of Ghana Students and Ghana National Union of Polytechnic Students in rotation, Association of Ghana Industries, National Council on Women and Development, Ghana Employers Association and Ghana Education Service Council.

These entities had a representative excluding the established financial institutions that had three (3) representatives. It is important to note that the National Union of Ghana Students and Ghana National Union of Polytechnic Students both have a representative therefore the representative rotated among the two groups. The situation is the same for the universities and polytechnics representative.

Also the Act made provision for women representation on the Board in order to represent the interest of women. Thus, provision was made for one of the three representatives of the established financial institutions to be a woman and a representative of National Council on Women and Development who was also to be a woman.

The Board is tasked with the responsibility of managing the Fund; therefore, it has the following powers and functions:

- a) pursue policies to achieve the object of the Fund;
- b) collect or arrange to be collected monies lawfully due to the Fund;
- c) account for the money in the Fund;
- d) contribute in accordance with section 2 (2) (c), monies from the Fund towards the operation of student loans schemes for students in tertiary institutions;
- e) invest some monies of the Fund in such safe securities as it considers financially beneficial to the Fund;
- f) approve and pay expenditure charged on the Fund under this Act and any other enactment;
- g) organize fund-raising activities to raise money for the Fund;
- h) impose such charges as it considers necessary for services rendered by the Secretariat of the Fund;
- i) subject to this Act, exercise and have in respect of the Fund the powers, duties, obligations and liabilities of trustees; and

- j) perform any other function conferred on it under this Act or incidental to the achievement of the object of the Fund. (GETFund Act 2000:3).

The Board is also tasked with the responsibility of complying with the general directives that may be issued in writing to them on matters of policy.

2.3.6.3 EMPIRICAL WORKS ON GETFUND

Atuahene (2006) through the interpretive theory of social constructivism, used qualitative document analysis and interview techniques to investigate the perceptions of university administrators, board of trustees, government officials, and student leadership about the fulfillment of the objectives of the Ghana education trust fund. His study revealed that the GETFund had made a great impact as far as higher education was concerned. He enumerated the achievements of the fund in the areas of infrastructural development, research and faculty development, promoting access to higher education and promoting female education as well as gender equity. He also mentioned the great strides that had been made by the fund in the establishment of the Student Loans Trust (SLT), the provision of scholarships for needy students and in the promotion of science, mathematics and technology education in the country.

However, in his study he observed that the GETFund was used to finance projects under the Presidential Support Initiatives (PSI). He therefore admonished that such practice be avoided since such precedence could lead to future abuse and political corruption. He further noted that, in as much as such projects go to support and develops the institutions, using the GETFund as a political tool by the ruling government could breed political manipulation on the part of the incumbent.

Atuahene (2006) also recommended that the government should avoid meddling in the work of the GETFund Board of Trustees and Administrator. Since the GETFund is financed by tax payers' money, (that is VAT) it is a public fund irrespective of political affiliation and therefore the need to be as independent as possible. The independence according to him means unbridle interferences in relation to the proceeds, management and administration. These observations made by this study motivated the researcher of the current study to investigate the issues of politics of the implementation of the GETFund and its impact on the policy outcome since the previous study was not concerned with that.

Brenya and Asare (2011), in applying agenda setting theory to understand educational policymaking in Ghana drew on a case study on the role of the Asante Traditional Council and rulers in the adoption of the Ghana Education Trust Fund (GETFund). The study highlighted the role of traditional institutions in the provision of education in Ghana. It laid special emphasis on the role of Asante Traditional Authorities notably Otumfuo Agyemang Prempeh, Otumfuo Opoku Ware II and Otumfuo Osei Tutu II in the provision of support for education for their community in the form of provision of fund/scholarship for brilliant but needy students in the community. He contends that these were attributed to the belief in community participation in the provision of socio-economic and cultural development. The study argues that the enstoolment of Otumfuo Osei Tutu II and his activism in championing the idea of a public participation program in financing education was an intervening event that opened the window for a proposal centering on that idea to gain agenda entrance (Brenya and Asare, 2011:90). Otufour Osei Tutu II through his address of officials at different point in time admonish all stakeholders to enact programs that will give the general public the opportunity to contribute to the funding of education. This was to complement the efforts of the

government in the financing of education in the country. This was demonstrated through the establishment of the Otumfour education fund by the Asantehene, Otumfour Osei Tutu II. This intervention as well as the establishment of the fund by the Asantehene, according to the study, played a major role in the entrance and the passage of the GETFund bill by parliament in 2000. Even though the study was concerned with the adoption of GETFund, the current study is concerned with the implementation.

2.4 CONCLUSION

In relation to politics of implementation, the study identified that implementation process in developing countries is characterized by competition and conflicts among diversity of individuals and groups who have been excluded from the preceding stages of policy process. Additionally, with regard to education financing, the literature review has shown the rationale for government intervention in education financing. It was found out that governments intervene in education financing mainly because of the importance of human capital investment to development as well as the result of imperfect market for education. Moreover, the literature review revealed economic and political explanations for under-funding of education. Inadequate funding for education is a function of distressed economy and political instability. Other studies have also focused on the impact of GETFund on higher education development in Ghana. They enumerate achievements of GETFund in areas such as infrastructural development, research and faculty development, promoting equal access to higher education and the establishment of SLT.

From the review of the literature, a yawning gap exists with regard to how politics has affected the implementation of GETFund. The study seeks to fill in the gap in the literature by investigating the impact of the politics of the implementation of GETFund on policy outcome.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Methodology shows how research questions are articulated with questions asked in the field. Improved methodology according to Miles and Huberman (1994) raises confidence to a relatively significant plane and provide a more certain base for action. This chapter discusses the methodology that will be used for the study ranging from the research strategy to the data collection and to the framework for data analyses. The field work experience of the researcher will also feature in this chapter.

3.2 RESEARCH STRATEGY

The study employed the Case Study Research Design. Case Study Design enables researchers to focus on a single individual, group, community, event, policy area or institution and study it in depth, over a period of time. The main limitation of this study is that it cannot be used to generalize to larger populations and applied to different social and political settings. However, these weaknesses are compensated for through an in-depth analysis of the case. Eventhough case studies can generate both quantitative and qualitative data, because it generates a wealth of data relating to one specific case, it has more of qualitative feel to it (Burnham et al., 2004: 53). The study under investigation necessitated the employment of a qualitative research to gather data. Since the case study research design involves an in-depth investigation, there was the need to employ a method that allows the researcher to get a detailed experience of the participants hence the use of qualitative research method.

Qualitative research method according to Denzin and Lincoln (2008:4) ‘*involves an interpretive naturalistic approach to the world*’. That is they study in their natural setting and attempt to make meaning out of it. Qualitative research strategy allows researchers to get an inner experience of the respondents and to determine how meanings are formed (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). It is an effective tool intended for understanding how different stakeholders view issues. This helps to provide diverse perspectives in analyzing the research questions.

The approach also allows the identification of issues from the perspective of the study participants of the researcher and understands the meanings and interpretations they give to behavior, events and objects (Hennink et al., 2011). Notwithstanding the importance of qualitative research method, it has its weakness. It has been criticized for being time consuming (Osuala, 2007).

3.3 DATA COLLECTION

Data collection is an essential task in research work. According to Burnham et al. (2004), the collection of data is crucial to the success of a project. For the purpose of this study, data was collected from both primary and secondary sources.

3.3.1 PRIMARY DATA

Primary data is data gathered by the researcher herself. Based on the sampling technique above, this stage of the inquiry began with the identification of certain individuals with in-depth knowledge on financing of education in Ghana. As a result, data for this research was collected from the Ghana education trust fund, the ministry of education, the Ghana education service and the national council for tertiary education. The views of some members of

parliament, former ministers as well as a member of the parliamentary select committee on education were also sought for.

3.3.2 SAMPLING TECHNIQUE

The purposive sampling technique was used in deciding on the participants for the study. This decision was necessitated by the fact that the researcher needed experts in other words people who had adequate knowledge on the GETFund as a policy. Purposive sampling according to Merriam (1998) is based on the assumption that the investigator wants to discover, understand and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned. Here the sample is selected based on the knowledge of the population, its elements and the purpose of the study (Babbie, 2013). These individuals do not only have a fair idea of the fund but also knows about the genesis of the Fund

3.3.3 SAMPLE SIZE

Twelve (12) experts (persons interviewed has the ability and know-how to speak to the questions that the study sought to address) were interviewed. They are as follows: one person from the ministry of education, two from Ghana education service, one from the national council for tertiary education, three from the Ghana education trust fund, one former education minister, one Member of Parliament, one ranking member of the parliamentary select committee of education and two beneficiaries.

In these cases, the researcher contacted the respondents individually and had a personal conversation with them. The conversation took place in a conducive environment, that is, stress free and friendly atmosphere. This according to Kumekpor (2002) will influence a

respondent's willingness, not only to answer the questions but to provide correct and objective answers and to bear with the interviewer to go through the whole questionnaire.

3.3.4 RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

Primary data for the research was extracted using in-depth interviews. Interview is one of the research instruments used in qualitative studies. An interview, in the words of Kvale (1996:2) "is an inter change of views between two persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest". An in-depth interview in particular is a 'special kind of knowledge producing conversation' (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2006:128). According to Punch (2009) interview is the most prominent data collection tool in qualitative research. In that, it aid in assessment of the perceptions, meanings and definitions of situations as well as constructions of realities of people.

3.3.5 SECONDARY SOURCES

The auxiliary use of the data, according to Johnston et al. (2000: 730), 'allows for both efficiency in data collection and the conduct of comparative studies (across space and time) that otherwise will be impossible.'

The secondary sources include news media, official policy documents and press releases.

The researcher depended on the media to obtain some information on the interactions of the various actors in the policy implementation of the GETFund. Through the press release of the GETFund secretariat, beneficiaries, the ministry of education the researcher was able to gain an insight into some of the unanswered questions during the interviews. Official documents such as the GETFund act and the parliamentary hansards served as another source of

information in an attempt to understand certain issues regarding the GETFund. Other secondary sources of information are research papers, journal articles and books. These data were from the political science and Balme libraries all of University of Ghana, the National Council for tertiary education library, the republic of Ghana parliament library and from other online databases.

3.4 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

Validity and reliability is the hallmark of every good scientific research. Reliability according to Altheide and Johnson (1994) refers to the stability of findings while validity represents the truthfulness of findings. A similar view was shared by Kitchin and Tate (2000). According to him, validity *'concerns the soundness, legitimacy and relevance of a research theory and its investigation'* while reliability may refer to *'the repeatability or consistency of a finding'* (Kitchin and Tate, 2000:34).

3.5 ETHICS

In their book research methods in politics, Burnham et al. (2004) enumerated five basic ethical principles. According to them, the avoidance of harm, veracity which is the avoidance of deception, privacy or autonomy, confidentiality and informed consent which is recommended as an operational principle for the conduct of research are the necessary conditions researchers must consider in embarking on their research journey.

Ryen (2011) also viewed the idea of ethics in scientific research around three main issues, that is, codes and consent, confidentiality and trust. This reinforces the view of Burnham et al. (2004),

Codes and consent has to do with informed consent. Informed consent means “the exercise of free power of choice on the part of human participant, without coercion, deceit, promise of future benefits, or other forms of influencing the participants to act against their better judgment”(Mauch and Birch, 1983). That is the research subjects have to know that they are being researched and give their consent either written or orally. Confidentiality which is the assurance of the privacy of the individual’s identity and earning the trust of the interviewees by upholding to the assurances made are very necessary in a research. This concept applies to any research involving human participation with this research not being an exception.

In the case of this research the researcher provided the respondents with detailed information about the research. Prior to that, permission from the department of political science, university of Ghana was shown to the respondents. Once they were convinced an oral or verbal consent was given by the respondents.

Moreover, the interviewees were assured of confidentiality that is their identities were not be disclosed, it was protected. Therefore the names or positions of the respondents were not displayed in the research paper. The researcher also assured them that all recordings of the interview will be destroyed after the work. So as to prevent people who could recognize the voice from getting hold of it. This was necessitated by the assertion by Lofland et al. (2006) that *“one of the central obligations that field researchers have with respect to those they study is the guarantee of anonymity via the ‘assurance of confidentiality’ used in the research report or will be substituted by pseudonyms.”*

The researcher also made sure that the trust of the respondents was gained by not inviting a third party in the interview and not breaking any of the assurances that were given the

respondents. This was to enable future researchers the opportunity to go into this field of study without difficulties as admonished by Bourois (1992).

3.6 FRAMEWORK FOR DATA ANALYSIS

The data collected was analyzed qualitatively. Specifically a Qualitative Content analysis of the data collected was carried out. According to Schreier (2012) qualitative content analysis is a method for systematically describing the meaning of qualitative material. This is done by classifying material as instances of the categories of a coding frame. Qualitative content analysis was initially developed to analyze and interpret text. However recently it is applied to verbal data such as interview transcripts, emails archival material and so on. Therefore the qualitative content analysis is used when dealing with data that needs interpretation.

Qualitative content analysis is done by translating all the meanings in the material that are of interest to the researcher into the categories of a coding frame. Then classify the successive parts of the material based on the categories mentioned above. That is the researcher must examine the material and decide for each part, where in the coding frame it fits (Stake 2010; Schreier, 2012). An advantage of the qualitative content analyses is that large quantities of data can be analyzed in a precise and systematic way Burnham et al. (2004). Thus it is systematic, flexible and reduces data. However this method has its weakness, according to Burnham et al. (2004), if the categories are very broad, interesting material may be neglected.

3.7 LIMITATIONS

The researcher was limited by the time range within which the research was to be done.

Information from some of the institutions was also not forthcoming. However this did not

affect the quality of the work since secondary data was used to fill the vacuum that was left as a result of the information that was withheld. Another major limitation of this study is that it is not generalizable. Because the study is a case study, its findings can neither be generalized to larger populations nor applied to different social and political settings. However, these weaknesses are compensated for through an in-depth interview.

3.7 FIELD WORK

The researcher set off to the various locations including GETFund secretariat, then to the ministry of education and Ghana education service, to parliament and NCTE on a familiarization tour on several occasions. This was to establish initial rapport with the study population. After establishing some links, permission letters from the department of political science were sent to these institutions by the researcher to seek permission to conduct the research. It is important to note that not all the individuals and institutions granted the researcher the permission to conduct the research. However the individuals and institutions where permission were granted, the researcher booked appointments with the participants of the interview to conduct the actual interview. The date and time of the interview was strictly the preference of the interviewee. This was to ensure that interviewees were comfortable with the scheduled dates and times. Copies of the interview guide were given to the respondents prior to the interview days so as to enable them have ample time to prepare.

On the respective interview dates, the researcher made sure that the interviews were conducted in a serene environment where respondents felt at ease and were able to talk freely without any fear or intimidation from anyone. With the permission of the interviewees, interviews were recorded on tape recorders to enable the researcher capture every important

detail in the conversation. These interviews were then transcribed by the researcher and grouped into manageable themes which would help answer the research questions posed in the research. However, in cases where interviewees were uncomfortable with the tape recorders, the researcher wrote the salient points in her note pad. It is important to note that, in both cases, participants were assured of confidentiality and anonymity with regards to their identities in both cases and in the case of recorded interviews the proper handle of recordings. As a result, the recording tapes were confiscated as soon as transcription was done.

The transcribed version of the data was grouped into themes and the content analyzed qualitatively.

3.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed the methodology which will be employed in this study. The chapter started with the research strategy employed in the study, the data collection techniques as well as the validity, reliability and ethics. The framework for data analyses together with the limitations and field work were also outlined in this chapter.

For the purpose of this study, the qualitative method was employed in both the collection and analyses of data using the purposive sampling technique, data was gathered from the Ministries of Education and Finance and Economic Planning, National Council for Tertiary Education, Ghana Education Service and Parliament. Secondary sources of data such as books were also employed. Issues regarding confidentiality, anonymity and trust were discussed under ethics in this chapter. The limitations as well as researchers field experience ended this chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The GETFund is one of the well-crafted policies towards education financing in Ghana. It was established to supplement the budgetary allocations of levels of education in the country (GETFund act, 2000). However, it has been observed that the implementation of this policy has suffered setbacks. It has been marred by politics. This research therefore seeks to investigate the politics in the implementation of GETFund and its impact on the outcome of the policy.

This chapter presents the findings from the field and discusses the findings vis-a-vis the literature. The findings of the study were extracted from the views of experts in the field through interviews and secondary source of data. The participants of the interviews were selected by employing purposive sampling technique.

4.2 ACTORS AND INSTITUTIONS INVOLVED IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF GETFUND

Both actors and institutions play a crucial role in the policy process even though one may be more important than the other in specific instances. Individuals, groups, classes and states participating in the policy process no doubt have their own interests, but the manner in which they interpret and pursue their interests, and the outcomes of their efforts, are shaped by institutional factors (Sapru, 2010).

In policy process, power is exercised by different individuals and groups who exercise certain influences on the policy process. The key actors in the implementation of the GETFund are the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Finance And Economic Planning, Ghana Revenue Authority, Ghana Education Service, National Council on Tertiary Education and the GETFund Secretariat.

4.2.1 MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

The Ministry of Education (MoE) was established under the Civil Service Law 327 with the mandate to provide relevant education to all Ghanaians. The Ministry performs several functions; these functions include the initiation and formulation of policy options on Education for the consideration of government, initiate and advice on government plans and undertake such research as may be necessary for the effective implementation of government policies. They also review government policies and plans and coordinate and monitor the implementation of sector policies and strategies. Interview data also revealed that the ministry of education is the supervisory body of the GETFund and is also represented on the GETFund Board. It is embedded with the responsibility of giving general directives to the Board on matters of policy which they must comply (Personal communication, 2013)

4.2.2 MINISTRY OF FINANCE AND ECONOMIC PLANNING (MoFEP)

The Ministry of Finance exists to ensure macro-economic stability for promotion of sustainable economic growth and development in Ghana. MoFEP is charged with the responsibility to formulate and implement sound fiscal and financial policies. It also ensures effective and efficient mobilization and allocation of resources and improved public financial

management. Other responsibilities of MoFEP include preparation and implementation of the annual budget and economic and financial statement of Government, management of public expenditure and the development and implementation of financial sector policies. MoFEP has the responsibility of crediting the accounts of the GETFund thirty (30) days after the collection of the Value Added Tax which is the major source of revenue of the Fund. The ministry is also represented on the Board hence is part of the management of the Fund.

4.2.3 GHANA EDUCATION SERVICE (GES)

Ghana Education Service is an agency of the Ministry of Education established in 1974. The Service was established under Article 190 of the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana and then subsequently in the Education Service Act 506, 1995. The mandate of the GES is to co-ordinate national education policy on pre-tertiary education. Thus it is responsible for Basic and Second-cycle education, a critical stage of education for young learners. Notwithstanding the new Education Act (Act 778) passed to enhance structural changes in the Service, its mandate remains the same ¹. This body is responsible for the disbursement of GETFund allocations at the pre- tertiary level and has representation on the Board. Applications for the finance of infrastructure and other educational needs by the Fund, from both the Basic and Second Cycle institutions are channeled through GES for consideration (Personal Communication, 2013).

¹ www.gov.gh.ges

4.2.4 THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR TERTIARY EDUCATION (NCTE)

The NCTE is the body presently responsible for tertiary education policy in Ghana. The body responsible for higher education policy in Ghana had undergone several transformations. Established in 1962, the National Council for Higher Education (NCHE) was entrusted with policy matters relating to universities and other related bodies. The Council was dissolved as a result of change in Government in 1966, and its Secretariat became the Higher Education Division of the Ministry of Education.

In 1986, Government appointed a University Rationalization Committee (URC) to advise on a university sector development plan for Ghana. The URC Report recommended the establishment of an independent tertiary body to advise on tertiary education under which all tertiary institutions would operate, leading to the establishment of the NCTE by an Act of Parliament, ACT 454, 1993 as one of the Article 71 bodies under the 1992 Constitution².

The allocation of resources to the tertiary institutions is the preserve of the NCTE. This body receives applications from the various Tertiary institutions in the country. These applicants are then vetted to ensure that resources are allocated to the right place. The NCTE then provides the GETFund with the list of institutions and their requests for consideration (Personal communication, 2013).

4.2.5 GHANA REVENUE AUTHORITY

The Ghana Revenue Authority (GRA) is a corporate body that was established by an Act of parliament in 2009 (GRA Act, 791) for the administration of domestic tax and customs revenue in Ghana. This body is to replace the Customs, Excise and Preventive Service

² www.ncte.edu.gh

(CEPS), Internal Revenue Service (IRS), Value Added Tax Service (VATS) and Revenue Agencies Governing Board (RAGB) Secretariat. GRA has therefore subsumed the responsibilities of CEPS, IRS, VATS and RAGB. (www.gra.gov.gh). Thus the GRA is responsible for the collection of VAT which is the major source of funding for the GETFund. This body plays a very vital role in the implementation of GETFund since ineffectiveness in their activities can render the Fund inactive.

4.2.6 GETFUND SECRETARIAT

The GETFund Secretariat is the body responsible for the day to day administration of the Fund. The Fund is headed by an administrative head known as the Administrator. The Administrator is appointed by the President in accordance with advice of the Board given, in consultation with the Public Services Commission. The administrator is appointed together with a Deputy Administrator who both holds office based on terms and conditions specified in their letters of appointment. The Administrator apart from being the head of the Secretariat, act as the secretary to the Board. (Personal communication, 2013)

4.3 APPOINTMENT AND POLITICS

The GETFund is a public trust, and as characteristic of all public trusts there is the presence of Board of Trustees in whose hands management lies. The Board is, therefore, responsible for the management of the resources (financial) of the Fund. To some degree, the GETFund, with its independently appointed BOT is politicized. This is because the Administrator who oversees the management of the Fund is appointed by the government (Atuahene, 2006). In Ghana, heads of parastatals are predictably asked to proceed on leave whereas public boards

are dissolved whenever there are political alternations. Appointments of administrators to public institutions change when there is a change in government and the GETFund is no exception. It has been observed that the two parties that have been in power since the implementation of GETFund have brought on board their own Administrators (Personal communication, 2013).

Another controversial issue with regard to the Board is the issue of party chairmen and other staunch party members doubling as Chairman of the Board of Trustees. Under the NPP government, there were instances where a party faithful was made the Board chairman. Under the second Board, the then Northern Regional Minister, the late Alhaji Mustapha Ali Idris was the chairman (GETFund, 2013). The most obvious political situation is when the party chairman doubles as the Board chairman. A case in point is when Dr. Kwabena Adjei, the party Chairman of the ruling NDC was appointed the Chairman of the BOT of the GETFund at the same time in July, 2011 (Personal communication, 2013). This is no doubt a very political issue considering the influential role of the Board chairman. It suggests the politicization of the Board. The study contends that since the BOT of the GETFund is responsible for the management of the Fund, politicization of the Board implies the politicization of the Fund. This has very serious implications as far as the management of the GETFund is concerned. Being the chairman of the ruling party and the Board at the same time, he is well-positioned to influence the process of who gets what, when and how from the Fund in order to prosecute his party's political agenda.

4.4 POWER PLAY IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF GETFUND

Analysis of interactions of intergovernmental actors in implementation is very important in this study. These interactions also help to unravel the politics in the implementation of the Fund. For the purpose of this research, this section examines the interactions between the MoFEP and the GETFund Secretariat, the MoE and the Secretariat with specific reference to the Administrator of the Fund.

4.4.1 THE SECRETARIAT VERSUS THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE

The GETFund is a financing instrument which is supposed to draw 2.5% of VAT as the main source of funding (GETFund Act, 2000). The government has a responsibility of releasing these monies through the MoFEP to the GETFund Secretariat accounts for their operations. The GETFund Secretariat has on several occasions complained of excessive and wanton delays and even in some cases non-release of funds into their accounts. There is thus a perceived ineffectiveness and delay associated with the disbursement of the Fund. Out of the ten people interviewed, eight of them attested to this fact. In an interview with an official at the GETFund, he lamented that there were malicious delays in the release of subventions by the Ministry to the Fund. According to him,

A major challenge of the GETFund is that if you look at the Act, the Ministry of Finance is supposed, on monthly basis, to put in the GETFund account how much 2.5%VAT has been collected. The Ministry has not been that regular in crediting our accounts. So, once the monies do not come in that regularly, it means that we are also not able to service the demands on us as promptly as we would have wished to do (Personal communication, 2013).

An interview with a former Minister of Education also reinforced this challenge. From the interview, it was gathered that the delay or outright non-release of GETFund monies into their

accounts has been a major challenge and continues to be more heightened in recent times. Various implementation studies have revealed the effect of resource constraints on implementation (Grindle and Thomas 1991; Ayee 1992). Grindle and Thomas (1991) established that resources - political, managerial, financial, and technical - are ingredients for successful policy implementation. In the case of GETFund, finance is the life-blood for its operations. The activities of GETFund are consistent with what they receive and so delay or non-release of funds brings their work to a complete halt. Hence the availability of this resource is crucial to the successful implementation of the Fund.

Additional interviews with an official of GETFund revealed that various attempts by the Secretariat to resolve the issue of delays in release of funds have proved futile. However, the Fund has not given up on the fight for what is rightfully theirs. He stated;

We have had high level consultations with the Ministry of Finance and other organizations to resolve the issue of delays but it has yielded no results. However we are not going to relent on our efforts to curb this delay. (Personal communication, 2013)

Apart from the delay in the payment of funds, it is reported that the Finance Ministry does not pay all the 2.5% that is due the Fund. In an interview with an official of the Fund, he intimated that only about half of the anticipated monies of the GETFund are released into their accounts. This makes it difficult for the Fund to meet their targets for the year.

The researcher in a bid to find the reasons for the delays and sometimes non release of GETFund monies had an interviewed an official of MoFEP. The bureaucracy of public service was revealed from the interview as the factor hindering the fast delivery of GETFund monies. This notwithstanding, other reasons such as using the money to finance other party

initiatives by the incumbent in order to score political points have been revealed in interviews with other respondents.

4.4.2 MINISTRY OF EDUCATION VERSUS THE GETFUND ADMINISTRATOR

There have been power clashes between the GETFund Secretariat represented by the Administrator and their supervisory ministry which is the Ministry of Education. It is important to note that the two parties that have been in power since the implementation of the GETFund have seen misunderstandings between the Administrator and the Ministry of Education.

In an interview with a former Education Minister under the erstwhile NPP administration, it was revealed that there have been confrontations regarding GETFund allocations. The use of GETFund resources has been the epicenter of conflicts and controversies between the Fund Administrator and the Minister of Education. According to him, the formula gives a general outline on how the funds should be allocated. The specifics are then left in the hands of the Ministry. There have been instances where monies or infrastructures are allocated to specific schools without due consultations. This occurs in the form of promises by the Administrator to some schools when he is invited to their functions. He also talked about duplicity in the award of GETFund project contracts. He recounted instances where the ministry awards contracts and the same contract is awarded to another company by the Administrator (Personal communication, 2013).

The issue regarding power clashes has not been too different under the NDC government. Interview data revealed confrontations between MoE under the Mills NDC and the GETFund

Administrator. In affirmation, Lee Ocran, a former Minister of Education, under the erstwhile Mills NDC administration in an interview with Citi news revealed his ministry's frustrations and conflicts with the GETFund Secretariat. This featured prominently in the accusation leveled against the Administrator of GETFund by Minister of Education, Lee Ocran of "breaching the law" by awarding contracts without recourse to the Education Ministry and must answer to the president. He was also seen to be failing to release funds to places specified by MoE. According to the minister, "The GETFund Administrator is not a Cabinet Minister. So when decisions are taken at Cabinet he is not privy to (them). Therefore, if the Minister has written to the GETFund Administrator certain monies should be paid into the account of the Scholarship Secretariat it means Cabinet has decided that some social intervention will have to be paid from the GETFund" (Citi News, 2013).

On the other hand, the interviews revealed instances where the Administrator has had confrontations with the ministry over the outrageous prices that are quoted in the finance of some projects. A case in point is when the Administrator refused the finance of projects by the former Deputy Minister of Education. From the interview, it was gathered that the prices involved in the financing of those projects were not in conformity with the stipulated price for projects of that kind. (Personal communication, 2013)

The interaction between the administrator and the ministries affirms the assertion by Turner and Hulme (1997:77) that implementation is frequently a highly political process. It is an arena where those with interests in a policy engage in negotiations over the goals of the policy, and conflict over the allocation of resources. The issue over who have the authority to do what, which goes on between the ministries and the administrator is a clear definition of conflict over the allocation of resources. However, since implementation success depends on

the actors' ability to coordinate their efforts to achieve a shared goal (Pachierie, 2012) confrontation among or between actors is a recipe for implementation failure.

4.5 EFFECTS OF POWER PLAY ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GETFUND POLICY

The availability of resources is crucial to the successful implementation of every policy and GETFund is not an exception. Therefore if the allocation of resources to the account of GETFund by MoFEP delays or not forthcoming, then the Fund cannot operate. Emphasizing the implications of delays for the Fund, another interviewee had this to say:

It has serious implications for us. What it means is that contractors are not able to return to site as promptly as you would wish them to do. Projects delivery goes beyond stipulated time in the contract schedules because we are not able to fund them as early as we want to. The ripple effect of this is that, it adversely affects people's businesses. For instance, suppliers would need to have their monies paid to augment their businesses and if such monies are not paid businesses will suffer (Personal communication, 2013).

There have been numerous complaints that have come from GETFund's contractors and students that are sponsored by GETFund abroad, especially through the media. Contractors are not able to go to sites as promptly as it is expected; others who have the means to do so do not get what is due them as and when it is needed as a result of the delays in payments. Students on GETFund scholarships also whine their awards are not disbursed to them on time. These issues of non-payment of fees and allowances have made headlines on the nation's media for some time now.

A group of students of Coventry University London Campus led by Baba Abdulai Seidu registered their displeasure at the delays in the disbursement of GETFund scholarship to them. The same frustrations were shared by another group of GETFund sponsored students at the University of Dundee, Scotland. In their letter published on January 20, 2013 the students, led by Tahiru A. Hakeem, relayed the kind of frustrations they are going through as a result of their inability to pay for their rents and bills because their allowances are not forthcoming as scheduled. This has been the bane of most GETFund sponsored students this year.

The situation is even worse when Officials of international universities air their disappointment. In an interview with Citi news on Jun 11, 2013, Chris Ham, Senior Credit Controller at Newcastle University, in the UK indicated that efforts to get GETFund to pay the remaining amount of money owed had proved futile. The £20,000 which is owed by the GETFund is as a result of the arrears of the six students studying at the university under GETFund sponsorship (Citi News, 2013).

Organizations earn a reputation by delivering results hence failure to deliver means otherwise. Therefore as an organization, delay or non-release of funds to the GETFund is very problematic.

This was confirmed in an interview with another official (OF GETFund). According to him, *...as an organization, it creates an image or reputation problem for us especially when people have gone beyond their patience levels and can't take it anymore and are making "noise" in the media and all that, it creates reputation problems for us.*

These complaints do not create an image reputation problem for GETFund alone but also the country as a whole.

The change in administrators of GETFund whenever there is a change in government also has effects on the implementation of the Fund. Partisan politics affects the whole set up of any state organization once the executive head is made to proceed on leave (for political reasons) just to be replaced by an appointee in the good books of the new administration. When this happens, most of the programmes and projects are put on hold, some abandoned and new ones started. This partly explains why some projects have not had smooth implementation anytime there is a political transition.

Coordination is crucial in the successful implementation of every policy (Pachierie, 2012). Therefore confrontations between some of the key actors specifically; MoFEP and the Fund Secretariat; MoE and the Fund Administrator, in the implementation of the GETFund policy hinders implementation success. Hence the policy is not able to achieve its stated aim.

4.6 FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE GETFUND ALLOCATION

The disbursements of GETFund funds are done every fiscal year. These monies are allocated to the various educational sectors using what GETFund describes as formula. The allocation formula is prepared by the BOT in consultation with the Ministry of Education. It is then sent to parliament for approval at the beginning of the fiscal year before it can be used (GETFund Act, 2000).

Generally, GETFund allocations are divided into three broad categories. These broad categories are basic which comprise public nursery, primary and junior secondary (now junior high); senior secondary (now senior high) and technical; and the tertiary levels of allocation. There are other aspects such as investment and other related aspects of education such as distance education, school and public libraries and special education to which monies are

allocated (Personal communication, 2013). According to the GETFund Act (2000), the Board prepares the formula taking into consideration the following factors:

- (a) the promotion of the study of Mathematics, Science and Technology;
- (b) the advancement of female education;
- (c) the reduction in the high level of illiteracy in historically disadvantaged areas; and
- (d) the promotion of computer, vocational and technical education and training.

Apart from the factors that are stipulated in the GETFund Act, there are other factors that influence the allocation or disbursement of monies in the Fund. Allocation has been influenced to a large extent by manifestos of parties of incumbent governments as well as the strategies used by the Ministry as stipulated in the development policy document with which the government operates (Personal communication, 2013).

One of the main considerations of GETFund allocations is policy strategy of the ministry of education. The strategic plan of the ministry is normally drawn from the national policy framework in operation during the period. The two parties that have been involved in the implementation of the GETFund have had policy framework within which all the sectors in the nation operated. The new patriotic party operated within the Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS) I and II. The NDC upon taking over political power from the NPP worked with the GPRS II for some time. However, in 2010, under the auspices of the National Development Planning Commission (NDPC), the NDC government introduced a medium term development strategy framework which is the Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda (GSGDA).

Allocations have also to a large extent been influenced by party manifesto of the incumbent. This is what an interviewee calls the priority factor. That is the issues the parties in government give precedence to which are obviously stipulated in their manifestos. The positive change manifesto of the NPP played a significant role in the allocation formula of GETFund (Personal communication, 2013). The positive change was in every sector of the economy, education inclusive. The better Ghana agenda which is in operation now by the NDC government have also had tremendous impact on the drawing of GETFund allocation formula.

The impact of party manifestos on allocation heightened when there was a shift in focus of GETFund allocations from tertiary to pre tertiary. The Emergency Intervention Program (EIP) and also the (SUP) Schools Under trees Program where significant resources are committed to since 2010 are the results of the influence of party manifestos on the allocations of the fund. These two programs, the EIP and the SUP, were meant for the provision of classroom and dormitory facilities for Senior High Schools (SHS) and to reduce the phenomena of students studying under trees respectively (Personal communication, 2013).

The reform in education that made SHS four (4) years which was part of the manifesto promises of the NPP, even though indirectly, affected the allocation of GETFund. In that the new educational system created an infrastructural deficit which called for an Emergency Intervention Program (EIP) that will curb the deficit. Also, Even though the NPP government in its later years made allocations to curb the schools under trees phenomenon, it was not significant. However, in 2010 substantial resources from the GETFund was committed to the schools under trees phenomenon. This is because the better Ghana manifesto promised to

reduce drastically the phenomenon. These issues culminated into the attention on the pre-tertiary level of education. Compare tables 4.1 and 4.2 below:

Table 4.1 GETFund Distribution Formula, 2009

AREA	ALLOCATION	
	(GHC '000)	%
TERTIARY EDUCATION		
Academic Facilities and Infrastructure	38,400	13.96
Scholarships Secretariat	4,000	1.45
Student's Loan Trust Fund	12,100	4.40
Faculty Development and research	2,600	0.95
Special Support for UCC Medical Research	2,500	0.91
Special Support for UDS Medical Research	2,000	0.73
Open/ New Universities	2,000	0.73
Colleges of Education		
Academic Facilities & Infrastructure	10,050	3.65
Staff Development	600	0.22
Sub-total	74,250	27.00
SECOND CYCLE EDUCATION		
	28,675	10.43
Academic Facilities & Infrastructure		
Scholarships Secretary	4,000	1.45
Classrooms for SHS (Deprived & Undeserved Areas)	8,000	2.91
Textbooks	11,500	4.18
Buses for SHS	6,000	2.18
Fencing of SHS	2,000	0.73
VOTEC Centres / Equipment for TVET	1,800	0.65
Special Ministerial Interventions	2,000	0.73
Sub-total	63,975	23.26
BASIC EDUCATION		
Academic Facilities & infrastructure	22,675	8.25
Textbooks	15,500	5.64
Furniture	2,200	0.80
Programmes of Special Education	6,000	2.18
Special Ministerial Interventions	1,500	0.55
Sub-total	47,875	17.41
OTHERS		
MOE and Subvented Agencies	31,250	11.36
GETFund Operational and Projects Monitoring Costs	1,800	0.65
MP's Emergency Projects	6,900	2.51
Monitoring of projects by MPs	690	0.25
Completion of Ongoing Programmes/ Projects	25,000	9.09
National Youth Employment programme	20,000	7.27
Contingencies	3,260	1.19
GRAND TOTAL	275,000	100.00

Source: Minister of Education Memorandum to Parliament, GETFund, 2009

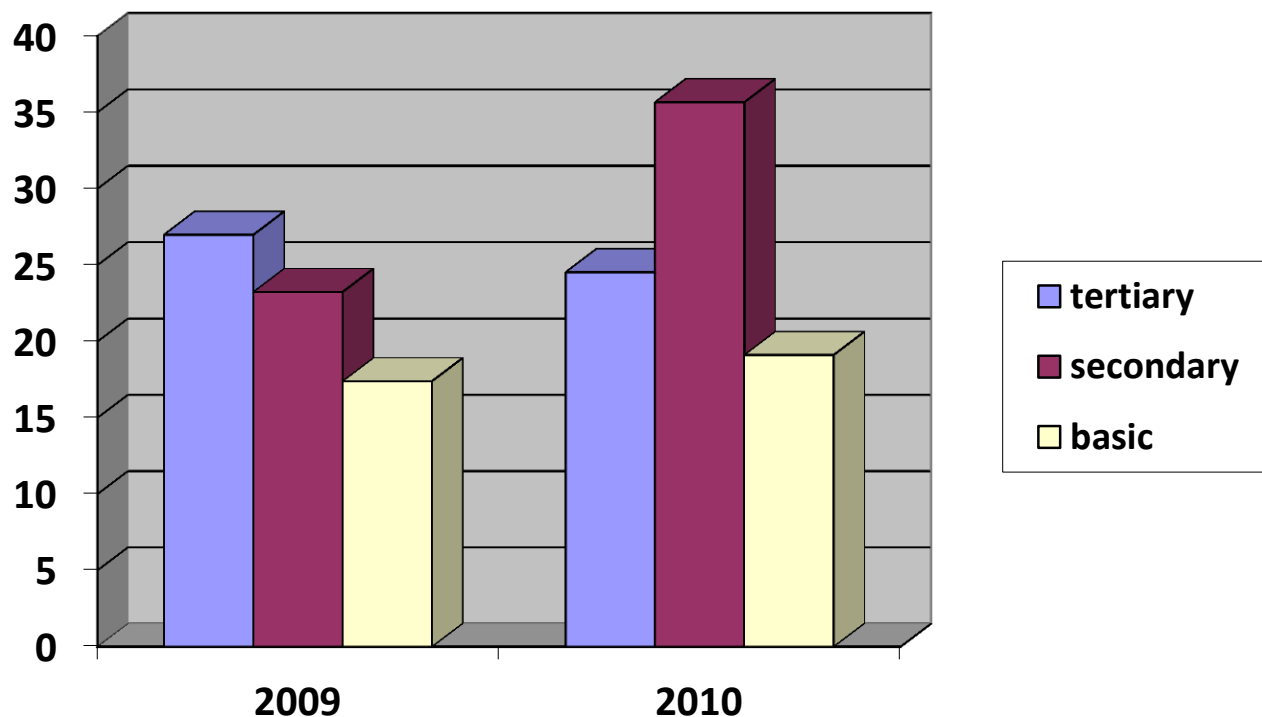
Table 4.2 GETFund Distribution Formula, 2010

AREA	ALLOCATION	
	(Ghc' 000)	%
TERTIARY EDUCATION		
Academic Facilities & Infrastructure	36,000	11.02
Scholarship Secretariat	6,000	1.84
Student Loan Trust	12,100	3.70
Faculty Development & Research	2,600	0.80
Special Support For UCC, UDS Medical Sch.	3,000	0.92
Special Support For Two New Universities	3,000	0.92
Open University	1,000	0.31
Colleges of Education: -		
Completion of Ongoing Projects	15,000	4.59
Provision of Science Equipment	1,500	0.46
Sub-total	80,200.0	24.55
SECOND CYCLE EDUCATION		
Completion of ongoing Projects – SHS	31,519	9.65
Emergency Program for SHS 4 th Year	45,000	13.77
Scholarship Secretariat	4,000	1.22
Classrooms for SHS (Deprived Areas)	8,000	2.45
Furniture	4,500	1.38
Text Books	7,000	2.14
Vehicles	8,000	2.45
Fencing of SHS	1,500	0.46
VOTEC Centers /Equipment for TVET	6,000	1.84
Second Cycle Contingency Fund	1,000	0.31
Sub-total	116,519	35.67
BASIC EDUCATION		
Schools Under Trees' Projects (Ongoing)	7,000	2.14
Construction of Classrooms- Shift System	3,000	0.92
Completion of Ongoing Projects	26,500	8.11
Text Books	10,000	3.06
Furniture	2,500	0.77
Completion of Ongoing Projects – Special education	9,000	2.75
Special Education - National Assembly Center	500	0.15
Teaching of Science at Basic Education Level	500	0.15
Kindergarten Classrooms (Jubilee Projects)	2,000	0.61
Basic Contingency Fund	1,500	0.46
Sub-total	62,500	19.13
OTHERS		
MOE MANAGEMENT& SUBVENTED AGENCIES	28,000	8.57
MASTESS	4,000	1.22
OPERATIONAL COSTS(GETFund)	3,700	1.13
DEBT RECOVERY	22,084	6.76
NATIONAL YOUTH EMPLOYMENT SCHEME	2,000	0.61
CONTINGENCIES		
MPs Emergency Projects	6,900	2.11
MPs Monitoring	790	0.24
Sub-total	7,690	2.35
GRAND TOTAL	326,693	100

Source: Minister of Education Memorandum to Parliament, GETFund 2009.

A comparative analysis of table 4.1 and 4.2 reveals that, in 2010, out of the total amount of GH¢326,693 received by the GETFund, it allocated GH¢80,200.0 which represents 24.55% to tertiary education as compared to 27% (GH¢74,250) in 2009. Secondary education received a sum of GH¢116,519 which represents 35.67% in 2010 as against GH¢63,975 indicating 23.26% in 2009. In the same fiscal year, an amount of GH¢62,500 representing 19.13% was apportioned to basic education as compared to GH¢47,875 representing 17.41% in 2009. The remaining 2.35% which is equivalent to GH¢7,690 was allocated to other costs and contingencies in 2010. This intimates significant increase in annual allocations to secondary and basic education at the expense of tertiary education. This is graphically represented in a figure 4.1 below:

Figure 4.1: GETFund Distribution Formular, 2009 and 2010



Source: GETFund, 2009 and 2010.

Another factor that influences GETFund allocation is the need factor. This means what the education sector is specifically lacking at that point in time and therefore resources must be committed to (Personal Communication, 2013). The GETFund allocations reflect the needs of the Education Ministry.

In spite of the fact that there are formal guidelines and criteria as to the manner in which resources are to be distributed by the GETFund, sight ought not to be lost on the informal factors as well. These include ethnicity, political affiliation and other forms of allegiances. Thus resources are used to shore up the political support base of the party in power. The incumbent in their bid to reward their party faithful for their immense contribution in the elections which they emerged victorious, offer scholarships and contracts to them. Interviews conducted by the researcher highlight the presence of some form of allegiances in the awards of scholarships and contracts. For instance, lists of students are presented from the castle for consideration before other applicants are attended to in the award of GETFund scholarships (Personal communication, 2013). This is consistent with Grindle's (1980:18) assertion that in policy implementation in most third world countries, there is the presence of politics based on "factions, patron client linkages, ethnic ties and personal coalitions that are often the basis of political activity are well suited for making 'individualized demand on the bureaucratic apparatus for the allocation of goods and services.'" This therefore suggests the existence of politics in the implementation of GETFund.

4.7 CHALLENGES IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF GETFUND

The first and major challenge in the implementation of GETFund is financial constraint. From the interview, it was observed that the issue of inadequate funding was. The GETFund is facing serious financial challenges as a result of government's refusal to make the transfers of its share of the VAT collections which has been discussed above. Apart from the main source of funding, as the study indicated early on, there are other sources of funding for the Fund. They are allocations from parliament to the fund, money from investment made by the Board of Trustees of the fund, voluntary contributions, grants, donations and gifts to the Fund and finally, any other monies that may in any manner become lawfully payable and vested in the Board of Trustees of the Fund. However, according to interviews conducted with regard to the issue, these other sources of funding especially the allocation from parliament merely exist on paper (are paper tigers). An official of GETFund noted;

. . . In the Act, you will find that the provision has been made for other monies to be made available to the Fund through parliament. It has never happened (Personal Communication, 2013).

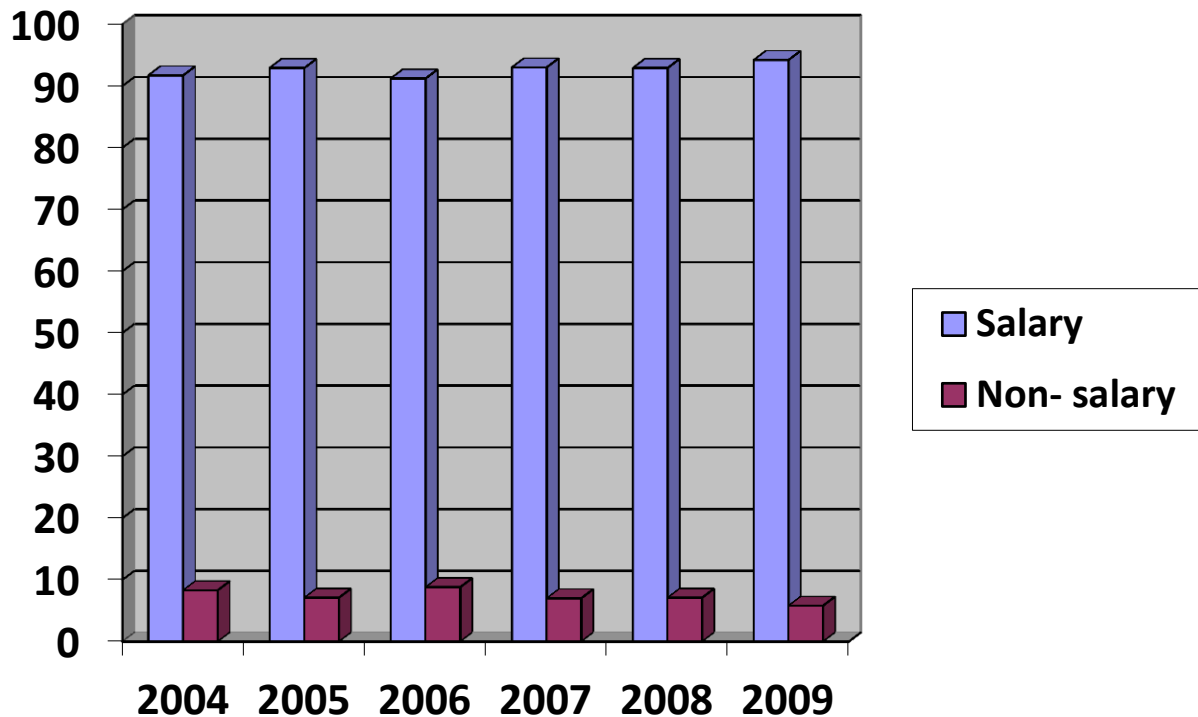
Donations, grants, contributions, and gifts from well-wishers are not forthcoming. An interview revealed that there were records of such donations only in the early days of the Fund. The reasons for the reluctance on the part of these individuals and organizations to donate to the fund are issues unknown to the Secretariat. Interview with the officials of GETFund suggest that attempts have not been made by the secretariat to find out the reasons for the reluctance on the part of the individuals and groups to donate.

Another challenge of the GETFund is the increase in the demand on the Fund. These demands are as a result of the expansion in the number of public tertiary institutions and

secondary schools as well as basic schools today. Basic schools continue to be opened by villages and communities every now and then as the population of the country increase. As the population of the of a country increase, it becomes necessary for educational institutions to also increase so as to accommodate the increasing population. An official indicated that;

The demand on the fund keeps increasing by the year meanwhile the resource envelop is not that much every year. Remember the 2.5% VAT is a function of the general economy and especially how VAT collections go in a particular fiscal year. So it is not a fixed amount of money that you get every year. Even though, since the inception of the fund, every year 2.5% has meant something different and something bigger than the previous year; the problems that the education sector faces also heighten by the year. For instance, from the beginning of 2009 even though government had previously started looking at schools under trees, there still existed over 5000. The GETFund tried to reduce the number but I believe very strongly that a village somewhere has already started a school and that school certainly will be under tree or a shed which would eventually draw on the GETFund. So that is one problem, the demand on the fund keeps going up but the GETFund do not have the bottom less pit drawing money from (Personal communication, 2013).

The GETFund is to supplement government budgetary allocations to education at all levels. However, the fund is rather almost the sole financier of education in the country now which in my view is appalling. It has been lamented by an interviewee that, it looks generally with the coming into force of the GETfund law, Government's support to education has always been referred to the GETFund. Government now is always looking at the personnel emoluments and not that much of infrastructure and other developments (Personal Communication, 2013). Therefore the fund which is supposed to supplement government budgetary allocation to education is the sole financier of education. For this reason the GETFund is unable to accomplish its intended mandate and objectives. Below is a chart showing Government of Ghana (GOG) budgetary allocation to education in terms of salary and non-salary allocations. See figure 4.2.

Figure 4.1: GOG Budget for Education, 2004-2009

Source: 2010 Education Sector Performance Report

From the above chart, in 2004 a substantial amount representing a percentage of 91.7% was allotted to salary while 8.3% went into non salary. Also, in 2005 and 2006 only 7.1% and 8.8% respectively of the total budgetary allocations went into other educational needs other than salary. The situation was not different in 2007 and 2008 as significant percentages of 93.0% and 92.9% respectively were apportioned to the payment of salaries in the education sector. The change in government in 2009 did not change the trend in allocation since the largest percentage of 94.2 was allocated for the payment of salaries in that year.

It is therefore realized from the above chart that nearly all GOG budget allocation to education goes into the payment of salaries and not much of infrastructure as was revealed in the interviews. This confirms Killick's (2008) assertion that, in politics where the desire to

gain and maintain political power is intense, the chunk of government expenditures are spent on salaries and wages to the disadvantage of development expenditures. This means that there is intensity in the rate at which Ghanaian governments are craving to gain and maintain political power. Therefore this act of government with regards to the financing of education is political.

It is important to note that, apart from the growing demands on the Fund by institutions, the interviews revealed that there has been additional pressure on the resources of the Fund because it is gradually drifting away from its original mandate. An interviewee registered his displeasure about the way GETFund has been used to sponsor other government projects such as National Youth Employment Programme (NYEP) (Personal communication, 2013).

In 2008, for instance, an amount of GH ¢ 16,302,000 representing 10.0% of GETFund resources was allocated to volunteer/community teachers under the NYEP. Also, GH ¢ 20,000,000 representing 7.27% and GH ¢ 2,000,000 representing 0.61% of GETFund allocations in 2009 and 2010 respectively were allocated to NYEP. (Refer to tables 4.1 and 4.2).

Atuahene (2006:220) in his study also observed that, the GETFund was used to finance the PSI under the Kuffour led NPP administration. This according to him meant using the GETFund as a political tool by the ruling government, and therefore could “breed political manipulation on the part of the incumbency.”

In a speech delivered at the opening of the 59th Annual New Year School at the University of Ghana, Legon, Emmanuel Adow-Obeng also expressed concern over the financial demands being made on the GETFund. He was particular about the pressure emanating from demands

which the Fund was originally not supposed to support. He mentioned specifically the monies allocated to MPs to support education in their constituencies and the proposal to use part of it to support youth employment under the NYEP. He therefore called on stakeholders of education to ensure the preservation of GETFund's original purpose so as to prevent the fund's support to its original benefactors from diminishing (Graphic Editorials, 2008). This point was reiterated in an interview with a former education minister. The interviewee conveyed his personal disagreement with falling on the GETFund money for things that are outside their domain such as NYEP. He stated that issues like this would weaken the Fund and they may not be able to meet their mandate (Personal communication, 2013).

Moreover, in the 2009 allocation formula to parliament, it was observed that the 'other' allocations were even more than the allocation for each of the sectors. From the formula, 27.00%, 23.26% and 17.41% was allocated to Tertiary, Secondary and Basic levels of education respectively. While 'OTHERS' which comprises MoE and Subvented Agencies, GETFund Operational and Projects Monitoring Costs, MP's Emergency Projects, Monitoring of projects by MPs, Completion of Ongoing Programmes/ Projects, National Youth Employment programme and Contingencies had 32.32% (See table 1.0). These derail the Fund from its original purpose, hence not able to commit funds into the original things they are supposed to fund.

4.8 CONCLUSION

The study identified the main actors and their responsibilities in the implementation of GETFund. Some of these actors, from the study, have had several confrontations between themselves. These confrontations or power play have had adverse effects on the outcome of

the GETFund policy and therefore must be curbed through coordination. The result of this study therefore corroborates the Complexity of Joint Action model, in that, the multiplicity of decision points as well as the manipulations and conflicts of actors have contributed to a gap between the stated aims of the GETFund and the outcome. These manipulations and conflicts among actors of GETFund suggest that there is minimal distinction between politics and administration. The power positions, the strategies as well as the resources of the actors determine the outcome of who gets what (Ayee, 1994).

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The Ghana education trust fund has been seen as a land mark policy that would supplement the budget of education at all levels. However, it was observed that the implementation of the policy have been marred by politics. The study therefore sought to investigate the politics in the implementation of this policy. In doing so, the study sought to achieve the following objectives.

1. Explore the power plays among the actors involved in the implementation of the Fund;
2. Examine the factors that influence allocation of GETFund projects and scholarship awards;
3. Ascertain the influence of politics on the outcomes of the implementation of the GETFund;
4. Determine other challenges in the implementation of GETFund

To achieve the above, interviews were conducted at MOE, MOFEP, GETFund, NCTE, GES and parliament employing the purposive sampling technique in the selection of the participants.

This chapter as the name depicts summarizes the various findings that were discovered in the study and then draw conclusions from it. In addition, recommendations to the various stakeholders on how to improve upon the implementation of the fund are presented in this chapter. The chapter ends with suggestions on further research into the area of study.

5.2 SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

This section summarises the findings from the preceding chapter. The following were observed with regards to the objectives sought to be achieved by the study.

5.2.1 POWER PLAYS AMONG THE ACTORS INVOLVED IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FUND

The study revealed that there are confrontations between most of the actors involved in the implementation of the GETFund. However for the purpose of the study, the interactions between the secretariat, the ministry of education and the MOFEP were captured. It was discovered that these confrontations are the result of multiple decision points as expressed in the Complexity of Joint Action.

5.2.2 THE INFLUENCE OF POWER PLAY ON THE OUTCOMES OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GETFUND

The study showed the existence of wanton and excessive delays and in some cases non-release of the funds to the Secretariat for its operations making it very difficult for the Fund to allocate resources to institutions. This resulted in delays in the payment of both contractors and students on GETFund scholarship. The above study showed the frustrations these students had to endure in the hands of their Land Lords. This in turn creates a bad reputation for the GETFund as an institution.

5.2.3 THE FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE GETFUND ALLOCATION

The study revealed that GETFund allocations over the years have been influenced by a number of factors. The first factor considered in the allocations is that which is stipulated in the act. The Board among other things is expected to take into consideration the promotion of the study of particular subjects, advancement of female education and reduction in the high level of illiteracy in historically disadvantaged areas in the preparation of a formula that is to be submitted annually to Ghana's Parliament for approval.

Apart from the above mentioned point, from the data gathered on the field, it was observed that a plethora of factors also assume importance in the allocation or disbursement of monies in the Fund. The fund's allocations have been influenced heavily by the party manifestos of incumbent governments. As noted earlier, the New Patriotic Party operated within the Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy I and II while the National Democratic Congress upon assuming power worked with the GPRS for some time and then introduced the Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda (GSGDA). It was thus observed that, the issues a party in government gives precedence to usually influence the allocation or disbursement of monies in the Fund. Shifts in focus of GETFund allocations from tertiary to pre-tertiary education through the EIP and also the SUT clearly illustrated the role party manifestos and policy visions play in the allocation or disbursement of funds by the GETFund.

5.2.4 OTHER CHALLENGES IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF GETFUND

The GETFund is plagued by financial constraints despite the availability of other sources of funding such as grants, voluntary donations and gifts. There is also an increase in the demand on the Fund owing to the number of public tertiary and secondary schools. The increase demand on the Fund has also been attributed to the use of the Fund for purposes other than the its original purpose such as PSI and NYEP. Again, it was discovered from the study that a greater percentage of the Government budgetary allocation to the education sector are used in the payment of salaries and wages and consequently refer every educational infrastructural development. Thus the Fund which is to supplement government's budgetary allocations to the education sector is almost the sole financier of education in the country.

5.3 CONCLUSION

It is without doubt that the GET Fund is a well-drafted policy in terms of education financing in Ghana. However, the implementation of the policy is marred with politics, altering its intended outcome. Governments continue to shift the focus of the Fund to fit their priorities. The re-constitution of the board emphasizes the political dimension which undermines the workings of the secretariat. Again, the power clash between actors and the delays in the release of the fund undermines the viability of the fund. It is therefore imperative to find solutions to challenges. The next section gives recommendations for effective implementation of GETFund.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

Following from the above findings, the study proceeds to make some policy relevant recommendations as well as recommendations for future research.

The findings of the study suggest that delays and non-release of funds by MoFEP is a major impediment on the implementation of GETFund. It is therefore imperative to address this issue. The researcher recommends that MoFEP should comply with the provisions of the GETFund Act which stipulates that within 30 days of receipt of VAT revenue, the Ministry pay directly into the bank accounts of the GETFund Secretariat what is due them.

Also, the government should try as much as possible to find other means of funding their initiatives such as the NYEP to avoid undue pressure on the fund. This will give the secretariat the opportunity to utilize the funds in a manner that will be of direct benefit to the education sector.

In addition, the researcher recommends that the appointment of the Administrator and the Chairman of the Board of Trustees should be reserved for citizens who have considerable knowledge relating to the development of education and administration in Ghana and not based on party affiliations.

The researcher also recommends legislation from parliament to make the GETFund an autonomous institution or authority devoid of any political infiltration in its leadership. When this is done, the Administrator of the GETFund will not be subjected to any political control or lose his position when a different government assumes office.

The researcher further recommends that, there should be more studies about GETFund and its policy implementation in Ghana. These studies should be done quantitatively in order to

measure the progress of the Fund and the politics surrounding the disbursement of GETFund contracts.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

GETFund Distribution Formula, 2008

AREA	ALLOCATION	
TERTIARY EDUCATION	%	(GHC '000)
Academic Facilities and Infrastructure	12.3	20,000
Scholarship Secretariat	3.1	5,000
Student Loan Trust	4.9	8,000
Faculty Development and research	1.8	3,000
Special Support for Medical Studies	1.8	3,000
Special Support for Telecom University	1.2	2,000
Open Universities	1.2	2,000
Colleges of Education	5.0	8,200
Sub- total	16.6	27,050
BASIC EDUCATION		
Basic Education Contingency Fund	2.5	4,000
Academic Facility and Infrastructure	16.8	27,323
Sub- total	19.2	31,323
MISCELLANEOUS		
MOES MANAGEMENT & SUBVENTED AGENCIES	1.2	2,000
PROMOTION OF SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY	1.2	2,000
SPORTS DEVELOPMENT IN SCHOOLS	1.2	2,000
DISTANCE LEARNING	1.0	1,700
OPERATIONAL COSTS (GET Fund)	0.6	1,000
APPRENTICESHIP	3.1	5,000
VOLUNTEER/ COMMUNITY TEACHERS (NYEP)	10.0	16,302
2006 VAT SHORTFALL	12.3	
Sub- total	30.7	50,002
CONTINGENCIES		
MPs Emergency Projects	2.1	3,450
Emergencies	0.0	0
Sub- total	2.1	3,450
GRAND TOTAL	100.0	163,025

Source: Minister of Education Memorandum to Parliament, GETFund 2008 Distribution Formula

Appendix B

GETFund Distribution Formula, 2011

AREA	ALLOCATION	
	(GHC '000)	%
TERTIARY EDUCATION		
Academic Facilities and Infrastructure	37,000	9.82
Scholarships	11,000	2.92
Students Loan Trust	14,000	3.71
Faculty Development and research	3,000	0.80
Special Support for UCC, UDS Medical Sch.	2,000	0.53
Special Support for UDS Staff Accommodation	500	0.13
Special Support for UG College of Health Sciences	500	0.13
Special Support for two new universities	3,000	0.80
Special Support for School of Fisheries- UCC	1,000	0.27
Open University	100	0.03
Land Compensation	300	0.08
Colleges of Education:-		
<i>Completion of ongoing Projects</i>	15,998	4.24
<i>Library Books</i>	2,500	0.66
Sub- total	90,898.0	24.12
SECOND CYCLE EDUCATION		
Completion of ongoing projects- SHS	10,000	2.65
Emergency Programme for SHS 4 th Year	30,000	7.96
Scholarship Secretariat	22,000	5.84
Senior High School Subsidy	30,000	7.96
Classrooms/ Dormitories for SHS(Deprived Areas)	2,500	0.66
Furniture for Emergency SHS Structures	8,000	2.12
Textbooks	1,800	0.48
Vehicles for SHS	7,000	1.86
Fencing of SHS	200	0.05
Second Cycle Contingency	3,000	0.80
VOTEC Centres/ Equipment for TVET	1,000	0.27
Other Special Intervention programmes	3,757	1.00
Sub-total	119,257	31.64
BASIC EDUCATION		
Construction of Classrooms (Shift System) Ongoing	1,000	0.27
Textbooks including Braille Materials & Equipment	1,000	0.27
Furniture	3,000	0.80
Institutions of the Handicapped – Ongoing	1,500	0.40
Institutions of the Handicapped – New Projects	500	0.13
National Assessment Centre – Special Education	300	0.08
Jubilee Kindergarten Projects	300	0.08
School Uniforms and Free Exercise Books	10,000	2.65
Capitation, BECE Subsidy	36,000	9.55
Completion of ongoing projects	8,500	2.26
Completion of ongoing projects – Schools under trees	49,850	13.23
Basic Contingency	2,500	0.66
Sub- total	114,450	30.37
OTHERS		

MOE MANAGEMENT & SUBVENTED AGENCIES	7,800	2.07
COMPLETION OF WAEC INT. HEAD OFFICE BUILDING	5,760	1.53
MASTESS	2,000	0.53
OPERATIONAL COSTS (GET Fund Secretariat)	3,615	0.96
2010 SHORTFALL	20,000	5.31
RECOVERIES	4,000	1.06
Sub- total	43,175	11.46
CONTINGENCIES		
MPs Emergency Projects	8,050	2.14
MPs Monitoring	1,050	0.28
Sub- total	9,100	2.41
GRAND TOTAL	376,880	100

Source: Minister of Education Memorandum to Parliament, GETFund, 2011.

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW GUIDE

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

POLITICS OF POLICY IMPLEMENTATION IN GHANA: A CASE STUDY OF THE GHANA EDUCATION TRUST FUND (GETFUND).

I am an M. Phil Part II student in the Department of Political Science, University of Ghana, Legon, researching on the topic “Financing Higher Education In Ghana: A Case Study Of The Ghana Education Trust Fund (GETFUND)”. This interview guide is designed to enable me collect data to carry out my research on the above topic. It is important to note that the research is purely for academic purpose and all information will be treated as confidential. Thank you.

1. Who are the actors in the implementation of GETFund?
2. What are their powers and responsibilities?
3. What is the relationship between the GETFund Secretariat and the other actors?
4. What is the formula for allocating funds and what is the philosophy behind it?
5. Who controls the disbursement of the Funds?
6. What are the policies and procedures for accessing and expending the Fund?
7. What are the qualifications and requirements for accessing the GETFund?

8. What are the challenges that the management and Board of Trustees face in administering and managing the fund?
9. In general what do you consider to be the overall impact of the GETFund since its establishment in developing higher education?
10. Can you give me the list of members of the Board of Trustees from 2001 to 2012 and the organizations they represent?

Thank You.