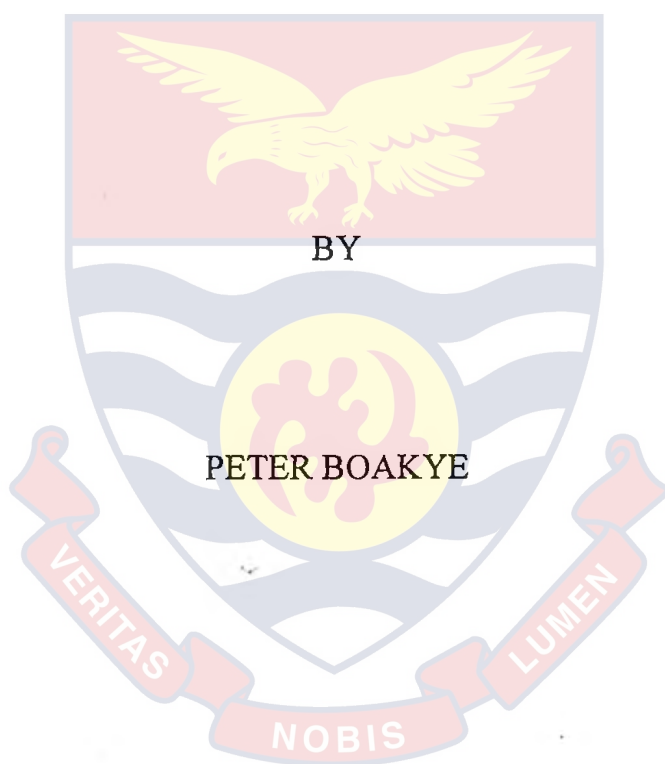
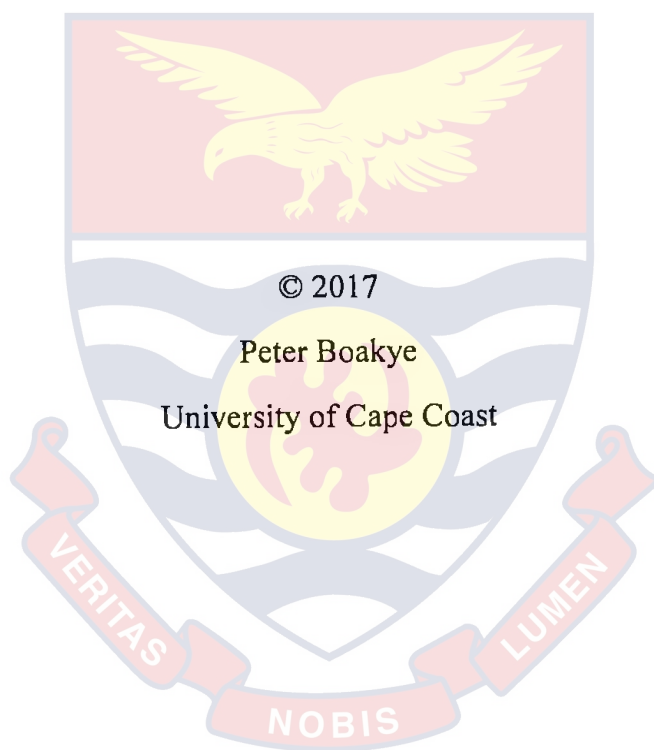


A HISTORY OF POLITICS IN EDUCATION IN GHANA: 1852-2008



Thesis submitted to the Department of History of the College of Humanities and Legal Studies, University of Cape Coast, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy degree in History


MARCH 2017



DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own original research and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

Candidate's Signature: 

Date: 16-03-17

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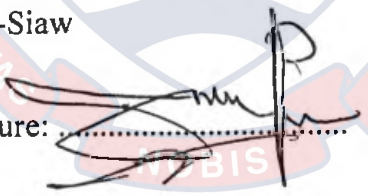
Supervisor's Declaration

We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

Principal Supervisor's Signature: 

Date: 16/3/17

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Date: 16-03-17

Name: Professor James A. Opare

This thesis interrogates the politics of governments that shaped and directed the formulation and implementation of educational policies and reforms in Ghana from 1852 to 2008. Using various sources such as archival documents, old newspapers, white papers, articles, books, and through the use of the qualitative method of historical studies, the thesis examines the visions of such governments in their efforts to achieve accelerated socio-economic growth and emancipation and how education was used to achieve such goals. Furthermore, the thesis discusses how the pre-colonial and colonial philosophies were applied to education in the Gold Coast. It notes that some of the educational interventions of the early European nations, missionary societies and colonial government which introduced and spread Western education such as sending brilliant students overseas for further studies, supplying of free school materials, introducing industrial and vocational programmes in the curriculum are still relevant for governments to draw lessons to shape their educational policies. Moreover, the thesis explores how education was reshaped during the post-colonial era and how Ghanaian leaders linked education to the nation's development and its socio-economic emancipation. This called for the expansion of education at all levels—basic, secondary, tertiary and the establishment of various education committees to advise governments on the clear focus of education. This, resulted in frequent educational restructuring and reforms, especially in the 21st Century, where education was used for the realization of the national developmental goals of poverty alleviation and wealth creation.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.C.	Asquith Commission
A.C.N.E.T.A.	Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa
A.D.P.	Accelerated Development Plan
A.F.R.C.	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council
A.M.E.Z.M.	African Methodist Episcopal Zion Mission
A.R.P.S.	Aborigines Rights Protection Society
B.M.S	Basel Missionary Society
B.W.A.C.	British West African Colonies
C.A.	College of Art
C.A.C.E.	Central Advisory Committee on Education
C.C.C	Cape Coast Castle
C.D.P.	Consolidated Development Plan
C.D.W.F.	Colonial Development and Welfare Fund
C.E.	Church of England
C.E.C.S.	Commissioner for Education, Culture and Sports
C.E.E.	Common Entrance Examination
C.F.P.F.S.U.S.G.	Committee on the Future Policy for Financial Support for University Students in Ghana
C.P.P.	Convention People's Party
C.R.	Charter of Revolution
C.R.D.D.	Curriculum Research and Development Division
C.S.I.R.	Centre for Scientific and Industrial Research
C.T.V.E.T.	Council for Technical and Vocational Education and Training
E.A.	Education Act
E.C.	Elliot Commission

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E.P.	Eastern Province
E.R.C.	Education Review Committee
E.T.C.	Emergency Training College
F.A.O	Food and Agricultural Organization
F.C.U.B.E.	Free and Compulsory Universal Basic Education
F.D.P.	First Development Plan
F.Y.D.P.	Five Year Development Plan
G.A.S	Ghana Academy of Sciences
G.C.	Gold Coast
G.E.T.	Ghana Educational Trust
G.E.T.Fund	Ghana Education Trust Fund
G.M.S.	Ghana Medical School
G.N.A.T.	Ghana National Association of Teachers
G.T.S.	Ghana Teaching Service
H.E.D.	Higher Education Division
I.C.T.	Information and Communication Technology
I.C.U.E	International Commission on University Education
I.U.C	Inter-University Council
J.H.S.	Junior High School
J.S.S.	Junior Secondary School
J.S.S.I.C.	Junior Secondary School Implementation Committee
K.C.T.	Kumasi College of Technology
KG	Kindergarten
M.E.	Ministry of Education
N.C.B.W.A.	National Congress of British West Africa
N.C.H.E.	National Council for Higher Education
N.C.P.U.E.	National Council for Pre-University Education

N.D.C.	National Democratic Congress
N.G.M.	North German Mission
N.G.O.	Non-Governmental Organization
N.I.B.	National Inspectorate Board
N.L.C.	National Liberation Council
N.P.P.	New Patriotic Party
N.R.C.	National Redemption Council
N.T.	Northern Territories
N.T.C.	National Teaching Council
O.A.U.	Organization of African Unity
O.C.C.	Open Community College
O.U.	Open University
P.N.D.C.	Provisional National Defence Council
P.N.P.	People's National Party
P.P.	Progress Party
P.R.A.A.D.	Public Record and Archives Administration Department
P.S.	Progress Scholarships
P.S.C.	Phelps-Stokes Commission
P.T.A.	Parent Teacher Association
P.T.O.	Poll Tax Ordinance
R.C.	Revolutionary Charter
R.C.M.	Roman Catholic Mission
S.C.D.F.U.I.G.	Special Committee on the Delimitation of Functions of University Institutions in Ghana
S.D.A.	Seventh Day Adventist
S.D.P.	Second Development Plan
S.H.S.	Senior High School

S.P.E.	Sixteen Principles of Education
S.P.G.	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
S.S.S.	Senior Secondary School
S.Y.D.P.	Second Year Development Plan
T.S.	Torridzonian Society
T.T.C.	Teacher Training Colleges
T.U.C.	Trade Union Congress Training
U.C.C.C.	University College of Cape Coast
U.C.G.C.	University College of the Gold Coast
U.E.S.	University Entrance Scholarships
U.G.	University of Ghana
U.R.C.	University Rationalization Committee
U.R.P.	University Rationalization Policy
W.H.O.	World Health Organization
W.P.	Western Province



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background to the Study

This work, provides a comprehensive study of the history of politics in education in Ghana from 1852 to 2008.¹ The starting point of the thesis, 1852, witnessed the passage of the first educational ordinance in the Gold Coast (Ghana). This was when the chiefs, the British and the people of the Gold Coast formed a Legislative Council and introduced the Poll Tax scheme of one shilling per head annually. The Legislative Council tasked itself with the provision of social amenities and developmental projects after payment of the British officials and stipends for the chiefs. This development led to the promulgation of the 1852 Education Ordinance in the Gold Coast (Ghana) which will be discussed in chapter two.

Education has its etymology in the Latin word “educare” which means to ‘bring up’ or ‘educate.’ It appears that philosophers and sociologists are more interested in defining the term ‘education’ than experts in the field of education. Such definitions see education as the transmission of acceptable knowledge and culture by the society to learners. Philosophers and sociologists who have been interested in defining education include Dewey, Peters. Whitehead and Durkheim.

¹ The ideologies and philosophies of the various actors of education especially governments influenced and shaped the direction of educational development in Ghana in relation to their intentions for the passage of educational policies and ordinances. Thus, various governments starting from the pre-colonial, colonial and through to post-colonial periods directed education based on their political ideologies, goals, hopes, promises, and aspirations than general framework and guidelines for all actors of education development in Ghana to follow. To this end, David R. Morrison states that “... a political process is involved in educational policy-making.” See Morrison, *Education and Politics in Africa: The Tanzanian Case*. London: C. Hurt & Company Ltd., 1976, p. 17.

Thus education is the act or process of inculcating or imparting knowledge to individuals (learners) who have agreed to undergo that kind of indoctrination. Here, the indoctrination refers to the culture of a particular group of people that consists of belief systems, language, mode of dressing, eating habits, customs, convention, heritage and religion. Education and culture thus go hand-in-hand. Education deals with the impartation of the culture of a group of people who live in a specific geographical area.

The foundation upon which this study rests is the need to underscore how the politics of various actors, who contributed to educational development in Ghana, largely influenced and directed education policies they formulated and implemented. Such critical scrutiny covers pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Ghana in order to ensure an appreciation of the problem under study. Formal education (Western) was started in pre-colonial Ghana in 1529 by the Portuguese. This was spearheaded by King John III of Portugal. Education in the Gold Coast (Ghana) therefore, was an off-shoot of the European exploration of West Africa which was principally motivated by commerce.²

Apart from the Portuguese, other Europeans such as the Dutch, the Danes and the British also contributed to the spread of Western education in the Gold Coast. By 1874, when the Gold Coast came under colonial rule, the only European nation in the country was Great Britain. For close to a century 1874-1957, the development of education was in the hands of the British. An exploration and evaluation of their contribution to education is therefore

²McWilliam, H. O.A. & Kwamena-Poh, M.A. *The Development of Education in Ghana*. London: Longman Group Ltd, 1975, p. 17.

invaluable to the history of Ghana. With decolonization in the Gold Coast, education development passed into the hands of Ghanaians and thus it is necessary to discuss post-independence education in the country.

Statement of the Problem

Many scholars such as Harber Clive, David Morrison and Philip Foster have undertaken studies in the field of politics in education. Such studies, however, concentrate on unique problems which merited such academic studies to be largely undertaken such as tracing governmental politics that influenced the education of Tanzania and politics in education in some African countries like Togo and Sierra Leone. So far, there is no single study or work that has traced politics in education in Ghana from 1852 up to the end of President J. A. Kufour's administration in 2008. Many studies hardly venture into the post-Nkrumah era as they only discuss events of educational development in the pre-colonial and colonial Gold Coast (Ghana).

Moreover, the politics in education in Ghana raises some puzzling questions. One of such questions is: Why did the expansion of access to education at all levels slow down in the pre-colonial and colonial Gold Coast but increased rapidly during the post-colonial period? This puzzle has provoked numerous questions which require a comprehensive study to answer. These questions include: (i) What was the focus of pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial education in Ghana? (ii) How many schools were built by the pre-colonial and colonial governments? (iii) Which resources did the pre-colonial and colonial governments allocate to education? (iv) Did the pre-colonial and colonial

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governments provide education to develop the totality of the indigenes or was their education to assist them in exploiting the resources of the colonized? (v) Why did Gordon Guggisberg and Alan Burns ignore free and compulsory education in the Gold Coast? (vi) What was the nature of pre-colonial and colonial education in the Gold Coast? (vii) Which educational policies and ordinances were introduced by the pre-colonial and colonial governments? (viii) Why was education linked to rebuilding of Ghana after independence? (ix) Why did mass, compulsory and fee-free education become hot issues after independence? (x) What led to the mushrooming of educational commissions and committees in the post-colonial period? (xi) Why were efforts made to shorten the duration of education in Ghana? (xii) What motivated the restructuring and reforms of the education system in the post-independence era up to J. A. Kufuor's regime? (xiii) Why was education linked to wealth creation and poverty alleviation in the 21st century? These questions and how the various governments worked on them constituted their politics in education and therefore merited serious academic investigation as these have not been answered.

Major works on educational development such as McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, Philip Foster, Bagulo Bening, C. K. Graham and C. G. Wise that deal with the world, Africa and even West Africa, do not, on the whole, discuss such questions. Even the few that discuss some aspects such as Harber Clive and David Morrison are concentrated on different countries. Also, early studies which capture the history of education in Ghana such as Ralph Wiltgen, Hans Debrunner, Noel Smith, F. L. Bartels give a mere account of the origins of

educational development and rather dwell extensively on the work of missionary societies that operated on the Coast of Ghana during the pre-colonial and colonial periods.

Other important studies that discuss educational development in Ghana either end before decolonization or those that go beyond independence lacked certain relevant details due largely to the objectives which the authors set out to achieve.³ These studies, though relevant, do not discuss the questions under scrutiny that formed the political ideologies of various governments that influenced and significantly directed the formulation and implementation of certain educational policies which were undertaken. They do not also discuss the development of education in the second, third and fourth republics of Ghana. There is, therefore, a problem that has emanated from a big vacuum due to the fact that not much is known about politics in education in Ghana. What is more worrying is the fact that works that touched on post-colonial education development either do not discuss or provide information on the questions raised above particularly from the post-Nkrumah period through to the Fourth Republic of Ghana.

There is, therefore, little knowledge about the philosophies and policies that guided and shaped the direction of education development in Ghana. This study therefore traces the political philosophies, ideologies and policies of the pre-colonial and colonial governments. It also brings to light the politics of the post-independent governments, both civilian and military, that influenced their educational policies and reforms.

³ These authors were Kimble, Graham, McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh.

This work critically reviews works relevant to the area of study. To undertake a comprehensive study in a history of politics in education in Ghana, there is the need to review scholarship and academic literature that offer deeper historical perspective on the narration and analysis of the socio-political and economic history of the country. Such review is significant as it helps the researcher to appreciate the findings and conclusions of authors in the field of educational studies. From the review of the literature and the existing scholarship, it is obvious that there is no major work that has been done on politics in education in Ghana that explored the period in question. No literature on educational history in Ghana explored politics of governments that influenced educational philosophies, ideologies, policies and directions during the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods, especially up to the end of J. A. Kufuor's administration.

Philip Foster explores educational development in relation to social change.⁴ His work is categorized into two main parts with an introduction. Part one analyzes the historical background of education in Ghana while part two delineates education in the contemporary era especially the first decade of self-government and independent Ghana. The whole work is discussed in 322 pages. His work is an attempt to contribute to academic literature on education due to the relative lack of research on Western education and its ramifications on African societies. Foster's major objective in this work is to carefully examine the social,

⁴ Philip Foster, *Education and Social Change in Ghana*. London: Rutledge and Kegan Paul, 1965.

economic and political implications and, consequences that manifested in the process of transfer of formal education institutions from the colonizers to the colonised.

To achieve this objective, Foster discusses the functional consequences of educational transfer, educational development prior to 1800, expansion of educational facilities in relation to the role of the Christian missions, the curricula of the early schools and African reactions and attitude to formal education, prospects of the schools in terms of career opportunities, the nature of the educated group, the intervention of the British government in the field of education and its policies on education, formal education and nationalism, demands for education especially in the rural areas, challenges of colonial educational policy, the first decade of education under self-government and independence, and ending with the analysis of secondary education in the country.

Foster notes that Ghana's contemporary educational system portrayed little divergence from its former colonizers, the British, in relation to structural similarities and, argued for a profound functional transformation in the educational system. This, he is convinced, would mitigate replication of metropolitan models at the structural level and enable education to be adapted to and, couched by the desires and aspirations of indigenous social groups. The Afro-European contact has resulted in the Westernization of education that has been largely responsible for the complex relationship between the schools and other aspects of social life, particularly in the field of social discipline. He attributes the cause of this to the colonial powers who he described as "an elite

possessing certain caste-like attributes.⁵ <https://rucc.edu.gh/xmdui> It is this conception of the colonial powers that provided a useful framework on which Foster built the analysis of his work and conceptualized the history of education and social change in Ghana.

Foster's bibliographical works and reference materials indicate that he adopted the qualitative methodological approach to the study of education and social change in Ghana. Although his work explores significant contextual framework on education development which has been useful to this study, it only ends at the administration of the First Republic in Ghana in 1966. Also, unlike this study, Foster's work does not directly discuss politics of various governments that influenced and directed certain education policies formulated and implemented in the Gold Coast (Ghana) from 1852 to 2008. Thus, while Foster's work only discusses the development of education in Ghana up to 1966, this study explores how politics influenced and shaped the direction of education in Ghana up to 2008.

Other major works on educational history are C. K. Graham,⁶ H. O. A. McWilliam and M. A. Kwamena-Po,⁷ and R. B. Bening.⁸ These works directly discuss education developments from the point of view of the various scholars who authored them. Unlike Bening's work that deals exclusively, though not in isolation, with the history of education in northern Ghana from 1907 to 1976, Graham, and McWilliam and Kwamena-Po give a systematic account of the

⁵ Foster, P. op. cit. p. 4.

⁶ C. K. Graham, *The History of Education in Ghana From the Earlier Times to the Declaration of Independence*. London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1971.

⁷ H. O. A. McWilliam and M. A. Kwamena-Po, *The Development of Education in Ghana*, 1975.

⁸ R. B. Bening, *A History of Education in Northern Ghana 1907-1976*. Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1990.

origins of formal education starting right from the indigenous system of education before the arrival of the Europeans on the coast of present day Ghana in the fifteenth century.

Graham's work explores issues that related to the systematic and gradual development of education in Ghana. He traces the attempts by the early European nations such as the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Danes, the British and, especially, the missionary societies like the Basel, the Wesleyan, the Bremen and the Roman Catholic in pioneering formal education in the Gold Coast. The work of the early European nations, as Graham notes, laid the foundations for primary, middle, secondary, technical and later university education in the country. He argues that formal education in Africa in general, and the Gold Coast in particular, reached its ceiling with the establishment of university institutions. In the case of the Gold Coast, for example, the University College of the Gold Coast and the Kumasi College of Technology were set up. The title of Graham's book implies that he ended at the attainment of independence in Ghana in 1957. It does not also examine the development of education in the post-independent era, particularly, during the military regimes in Ghana. Thus, the development of education in post-colonial Ghana is not the focus of Graham's work.

McWilliam and Kwamena-Po focus on major aspects of educational history in relation to informal education in Ghanaian societies, origins of formal education that started in the castle schools, work of the missionary societies, education ordinances and policies, education under Sir Gordon Guggisberg, education in the 1930s and during the Second World War, education under

independent Ghana, and the beginnings of university education in Ghana. Their principal objective was to provide an outline history of Ghana's educational system for teacher trainees, administrators and anyone who has interest in the schools and colleges. This made the authors record only historical facts, with the hope that readers would discuss and find solutions. As they explore the facts, McWilliam and Kwamena-Po implicitly presented some issues that related to politics in education. This provides significant benchmarks to this study and guides the researcher in his study of politics in education in Ghana. They note that the underlying reason for education, whether indigenous or Western, is to train and produce useful members in societies. As such, the indigenous education system in Ghana has its main purpose of inculcating good moral behavior, discipline and good health in the young members of the community. This vision of traditional African education was to be shelved following the introduction of formal education, which came with its attendant European culture.

Formal education in the fifteenth century, as McWilliam and Kwamena-Po saw it, was to replenish the ever-dwindling staff of the European trading nations and to increase their efficiency. Thus, formal education became a mere by-product of the European trading nations' effort to firmly plant Christianity in the Gold Coast. The effect was the condemnation and replacement of African culture through the schools of the early Europeans. Obviously, there was a shift from the indigenous politics which was intended to inculcate African heritage, culture, customs and traditions in the young ones through priesthood, chieftaincy, hunting, craftsmanship and state-drumming training to the Western politics of

education which emphasized numeracy and literacy at its initial stages. The Western educational politics that influenced, shaped and directed their educational policies is discussed in this thesis.

Bening, on the other hand, discusses aspects of educational history, particularly, in relation to northern Ghana, such as the spread of education in the area, educational reforms and administrative policy from 1926 to 1943, staffing and training of teachers from 1906 to 1957, development of primary and post-primary education between 1943 and 1958, political evolution and educational development, secondary education, university education and colonial legacy and educational development in northern Ghana. Unlike Graham, and McWilliam and Kwamena-Po, Bening touches on all aspects of education in northern Ghana. However, his work is found to be limited in scope, and in content as far as the development of educational history in Ghana as a whole is concerned. This is because he does not discuss education development in other parts of Ghana. This is not a fault of his because Bening's main objective was to carefully undertake a study of education in the northern parts of the country.

In spite of these limitations, particularly in discussing only the history of education in northern Ghana, Bening has provided a window upon which the systematic and gradual development of education, especially in northern Ghana, can be appreciated. This, to a larger extent, has contributed significant literature to education in the northern parts of Ghana. His work, as it stands, is the most dominant work on a history of education in northern Ghana. His arguments, especially on the politics and economics in colonial education has revealed to this

researcher that Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg's inability to establish primary and higher education in the north was largely dictated and influenced by political and economic reasons, which he attributed to administrative disruption and wanting the north to serve as a source of cheap labour for the exploitation of natural resources in Ashanti.⁹ Thus, Bening's work contributes to this thesis because some of the issues he has discussed widened the perspective of the researcher.

Equally significant are the works that showed the growth and development of university education in Ghana. Major works in this field are K. O. Kwarteng, S. Y. Boadi-Siaw and D. A. Dwarko,¹⁰ F. Agbodeka,¹¹ A. Girdwood,¹² and Takyiwaa, Gariba and Budu.¹³

Kwarteng, Boadi-Siaw and Dwarko provide a comprehensive history of the University of Cape Coast within fifty years of its inception. Apart from the fact that the authors dwell extensively on the history of that university by critically analyzing and discussing issues such as legal, administrative and physical structures, financial administration, estate management, health services and associations, academic developments from 1962 to 2012, the challenging moments of the university, the social life of the institution as well as the notable

⁹ See Bagulo R. Bening, *A History of Education in Northern Ghana, 1907-1976*, pp. 1-16.

¹⁰ K. O. Kwarteng, S. Y. Boadi-Siaw and D. A. Dwarko's *A History of the University of Cape Coast: Fifty Years of Excellence in Tertiary Education: 1962-2012*. Cape Coast: University of Cape Coast Publishing Service, 2012.

¹¹ F. Agbodeka's *Achimota in the National Setting: A Unique Educational Experience in West Africa*. Accra: Afram Publications (Ghana) Ltd., 1977 and *A History of University of Ghana: Half A Century of Higher Education (1948-1998)*. Accra: Woeli Publishing Service, 1998.

¹² A. Girdwood, *Tertiary Education Policy in Ghana, An Assessment: 1988-1998*. Accra: Woeli Publishing Services, 1998.

¹³ Takyiwaa, Gariba and Budu, *Change and Transformation in Ghana's Publicly Funded Universities*. Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 2007.

achievements, problems and the future of Ghana's third university, they also explore the circumstances that led to the establishment of university education in the Gold Coast. They argue that the establishment of Ghana's first University, the University College of the Gold Coast, presently the University of Ghana, Legon in 1948, emanated from at least half a century of continued pressure from the people of Ghana through organizations such as the Aborigines Rights Protection Society (1897-1946), the National Congress of British West Africa (1920-1930) and the Gold Coast Youth Council (1938-1945).¹⁴

These associations were under the leadership of Gold Coast intellectuals such as John Mensah Sarbah, Casely Hayford, Dr. J. B. Danquah and Kobina Sekyi. These cultural nationalists, according to Kwarteng et al, spearheaded the demand for higher education in the Gold Coast. These demands culminated in the establishment of the University College of the Gold Coast and the Kumasi College of Technology in 1948 and 1952 respectively. The authors also examine primary, vocational and secondary education in Ghana from 1951 to 1966. They note that Kwame Nkrumah, the leader of the Convention Peoples Party (C.P.P.) developed an educational policy which was intended to expand access to children of school-going age through the adoption of an Action Plan that guided, directed and shaped such policies in the field of education.

Although Kwarteng, Boadi-Siaw and Dwarko look at education under Kwame Nkrumah, they did not treat it in much detail since their main focus was on the history of the University of Cape Coast. Even so, they have provided important insight into education during the leadership of the first president of

¹⁴ K. O. Kwarteng et al, *A History of the University of Cape Coast*. p. 1.

independent Ghana. This tremendously serves as a significant reference material in the study of politics in education in Ghana, especially during the administration of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and, on history of higher education in Africa.

Girdwood's work¹⁵ also provides information on the history of higher education in Ghana. His main focus, in that work, was to provide an external perspective and assessment of the effectiveness of tertiary education policies within a period of ten years, from 1988 to 1998. Girdwood made this analysis of tertiary education in relation to White paper reforms within the period under review. Significant issues he explored within the fifty-two pages of his work are the Tertiary Education Project (1993-98), unification of higher education into a single tertiary education sector, the quality and relevance of teaching and learning in tertiary education, the PNDC policy for higher education, the underlying assumptions of the PNDC policy framework, policy priorities, directions and the mechanisms of change, utilization of human capacity and management systems, tertiary students and transition to democratic Ghana, expansion of tertiary education and the role of polytechnic students.

Unlike other works in the field of higher education in Ghana, Girdwood made an extensive use of tertiary education policy frameworks, guidelines and white papers in his effort to assess tertiary education in the ten-year period. He argued that tertiary education reform programmes undertaken by Flt. Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings represented "a sustained attempt to define the place of tertiary education within the Ghanaian economic and political landscape."¹⁶

¹⁵ Girdwood, *Tertiary Education Policy in Ghana: An Assessment, 1988-1998*.

¹⁶ Girdwood, A., op. cit. p. 2.

Although Girdwood does not directly discuss politics in education in Ghana from the pre-colonial to post-colonial periods which is the focus of this thesis, he has provided significant policy frameworks, guidelines and political influences under the PNDC regime that shaped and directed the future of tertiary education in Ghana. His work has largely demonstrated to this researcher that politics, and especially political ideologies of various governments, have indeed influenced policies in higher education to their present state. His work therefore assisted the researcher in exploring the issues further and finding out the ramifications of such influences, especially in post-independent Ghana.

Agbodeka¹⁷ systematically traced the origin of university education in the world. He talked about the demands by intellectuals for higher education in the Gold Coast and the subsequent establishment of university education in the country. Like Kwarteng et al, Agbodeka also explored the academic, legal, administrative, and physical developments, as well as the social life, successes and challenges of Ghana's premier university. He also discussed how the university became independent from the University of London in 1961 among other related developments.

Agbodeka¹⁸ also analyzes a history of education in Ghana. He starts this work by discussing the economic and social circumstances in the Gold Coast in which Achimota emerged in 1924. In his account of education before Achimota, Agbodeka noted that a majority of Gold Coasters were under the spell of

¹⁷ F. Agbodeka, *A History of University of Ghana: Half A Century of Higher Education (1948-1998)*.

¹⁸ F. Agbodeka, *Achimota in the National Setting: A Unique Educational Experiment in West Africa*.

traditional education before the introduction of Western education. He argued that while traditional education trained people in the arts of farming and craftsmanship, particularly, in the areas of blacksmithing, woodworking, weaving and pottery, Western education largely side-stepped agricultural and industrial education that was needed to promote the country's economic activities.

This problem was attributed largely, to the curriculum of Western education. It was found to be too bookish. It also made them semi-educated and disdainful of manual labour. The author meticulously discusses education development in the Gold Coast under Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg by paying particular attention to Achimota's Kindergarten, Lower and Upper Primary, Secondary, Teacher Training and University classes. Unfortunately, both works of his either dwell on the history of the University of Ghana or the significant developments that took place in Achimota College since those issues were the focus of his study. This study however traces a history of politics that influenced education development in Ghana.

Takyiwaa, M., Gariba, S. and Budu, J. discuss history of higher education, particularly, university education. They argued that accelerated economic growth and drastic social change that Ghanaians expected at independence led to the setting up of higher educational institutions intended to produce graduates in the fields of science and technology. The main objective of the authors was "to offer an opportunity for self-directed reflection by universities, and potentially by administrators of whole higher education systems so they could examine their values, mission and relevance without pressure from

outside sources.”¹⁹ The strength of their work lies in the fact that not only do they analyse the critical paths that had to be adopted in reforming university orientation, governance, content and impacts, but also that the authors suggested strategies for scaling up best practices intended to bring educational transformation in Ghana’s higher institutions.

The methodological strategies adopted by the authors are worth noting. They used interviews and Focus Group Discussion made up of academics in universities, both private and public, as well as polytechnics in Ghana. Clearly, Takyiwaa et al explored ways of revamping higher education to meet the ever changing needs of society. This was their principal motive. They did not, however, discuss the politics of various governments that influenced policies formulated and implemented in the areas of primary, middle, technical, secondary and higher education during the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods in Ghana. This thesis addresses these issues.

Dzobo²⁰ contributes to scholarship and history of higher education, specifically university education in Ghana. His article mainly concentrates on university education, particularly in relation to national development. Dzobo has discussed in his work the philosophy of university education in tropical Africa, training of high-level man power, intermediate personnel and economic growth, agriculture and national development and, education for social development. He has argued that the four great enemies of Africa were poverty, disease, ignorance

¹⁹ Takyiwaa, M. et al, op. cit. p.2.

²⁰ Dzobo “The University and National Development in Ghana”, in the *Ghana Journal of Education*. Edited by the Ministry of Education Vol. 1 No. 1, Accra: Ministry of Education Publishers, September, 1969, pp. 9-16.

and fear. He has, however, identified education as the only remedy for these ills, and noted that in most parts of Africa education holds the key to development in the fields of social structure, economics, politics and religion.

In his opinion, a nation's life largely rests upon the meticulous training of its citizens, both men and women, a phenomenon solely produced by its organs of education. This conviction of Dzobo made him conclude rather hastily, without considering other significant factors, that "the ultimate aim of university education is to produce a certain quality of man and a certain quality of social life."²¹ Dzobo's work has enriched the analysis and narrative of this thesis, especially, on issues regarding political influences in the country that affected certain policies formulated and implemented during the post-colonial period in Ghana.

Kufour²² discussed the origins of universities in the world, their aims and objectives, and the role of the universities in Ghana. Unlike Kwarteng et al and Agbodeka's book, Kufour's work is a skeletal study of university education. In that work, Kufour argued that African universities should, as a matter of urgency, introduce subjects, courses and programmes of national concern and validity in African universities. This, as he posits, was due to the roles which the universities play in meeting universal acclaim and techniques.

²¹ Dzobo, N. K., "The University and National Development in Ghana", in the *Ghana Journal of Education*, Vol. 1 No. 1, September, 1969, p. 15.

²²F. A. Kufour, *The University in a Nation of Crisis*.

Other scholars such as K. B. Maison²³ strongly oppose this idea of Kufour. K. B. Maison²⁴ argued, following the thoughts of Casely Hayford and Edward Blyden, who conceptualized African Universities as institutions which should only espouse the indigenous African world view. Maison, also quoted Kwame Nkrumah as categorically stated in 1956 that “we must in the development of our University bear in mind that once it has been planted in African soil it must take root amidst African traditions and culture.”²⁵

Bartels, Asiedu-Akrofi and Yankah share a common discourse on the history of education development in Ghana. Bartels²⁶ talked about education in Ghana. Although those works do not capture issues that are directly related to politics in education, and especially, educational development in the post-independence period, Bartels explored almost all aspects of the Gold Coast educational history in the first half of the nineteenth century. He raised significant issues which helped the researcher a great deal in the writing of this thesis. These are the beginnings of the European cultural contact and education, the Poll Tax Ordinance of 1852, the British Imperial policy of financing education in 1852, the First Education Ordinance of 1852, the first, second and third phases of development of Mfantshipim School. These works though did not discuss politics of governments that influenced and shaped the direction of education in Ghana

²³Maison, K. B., “The Re-emergence of Ananse: Re-inventing African Universities through indigenous Knowledge Systems,” in *Polishing the Pearls of Ancient Wisdom: Exploring the Relevance of Endogenous African Knowledge Systems for Sustainable Development in Postcolonial Africa*, edited by D. D. Kuupole and De-Valera N. Y. M. Botchway, Cape Coast: University of Cape Coast Publishers, 2010, P. 76.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶F. L. Bartels, *Gold Coast Education: Its Roots and Growth*, Accra, 1957. *A Record of the Beginnings of Mfantshipim*, Great Britain, 1951 and *The Beginning of Africanisation: The Dawn of the Missionary Motive in Gold Coast Education, Rev. Thomas Thompson 1751-1951*.

especially in the post-colonial period, they provided relevant information on education development in the Gold Coast up to 1950.

A. Asiedu-Akrofi²⁷ looked at education in Ghana. He begins his discussion by giving a short historical outline of how education developed in Ghana. He observes that the origins of formal education in Ghana were basically due to the European contact, both the early merchants such as the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Danes, the British; and the missionary societies like the Basel, the Wesleyan, Bremen, Roman Catholic and AME Zion. He strongly argued that the establishment of schools during the eighteenth century was a mere footnote to the European commercial activities, a phenomenon, Asiedu-Akrofi attributes to the demise of many early schools that were established. He identifies Sir Gordon Guggisberg as a chief protagonist whose administration in the Gold Coast from 1919 to 1927 witnessed a significant partnership between the missions and the government.

Asiedu-Akrofi also provided skeletal discussion on the curriculum of primary, secondary, teacher training and university education in Ghana. His work needs to be expanded to incorporate fresh ideas, especially, political, philosophical and ideological underpinnings of the various actors of Gold Coast (Ghana) education development and how these issues directed and influenced policies and decisions taken by such actors.

²⁷ A. Asiedu-Akrofi's "Education in Ghana" in *Education in Africa: A Comparative Survey* edited by A. B. Fafunwa and J. U. Aisiku, London: George Allen & Unwin Publishers, 1982.

Yankah²⁸ also discussed education and literacy in relation to governance.

Relevant issues raised in the work include state policy to mitigate the adverse effect of illiteracy, the challenge of multilingualism in Ghana and the paradigm of street wisdom in contemporary governance. He equated illiteracy to disease and advocated its immediate eradication from all societies, especially, the Ghanaian society. He observed that, without education and literacy individuals find it difficult to understand the complexities of modern society. Yankah argued that education holds the key to success and development, and has pointed out formal education as being effective in literacy acquisition than the informal one.

But on another trajectory, this claim of his sharply contrasted that of M. K. Antwi,²⁹ who had argued that “Education is a function of any society and that society evolves its own system of education purposely to produce people to play adult roles as useful members in their environment.”³⁰ This therefore underscores the need for education to reflect significantly the culture and aspirations of the society in which it is given. These works, even though not directly related to this thesis, have shaped the researcher’s thinking of both formal and informal education in Ghana as they demonstrated to him how the general education development took shape in the Gold Coast.

²⁸ K. Yankah, *Education, Literacy and Governance: A Linguistic Inquiry into Ghana's Burgeoning Democracy*, Accra: Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences Publishers, 2006.

²⁹ M. K. Antwi, “Early Development of Education in Ghana.”

³⁰ *Ibid.* p. 1.

Hubert O. Quist³¹ discusses secondary education and other significant related issues in relation to the implications of globalization for secondary education, relationship between secondary education, nation building and modernization, secondary education reforms and its challenges. His main objective in that article was to address the discontinuities between secondary education, nation-building and national integration, and also to analyze the problems associated with secondary education in Ghana. He used both horizontal and vertical integrative frameworks in the analysis of the work.

Quist's work is divided into three parts. The first part delineates the profile of secondary education while the second and third parts examine the challenges of secondary education development, and its prospects as a vehicle for sustainable nation-building and national development at the dawn of the twenty-first century. He has noted that secondary education in Ghana was started by the missionary societies, hence resulting in the schools being structured on the British model, consisting of five years of Ordinary Levels and two years of Sixth Form studies leading to Advance Levels.

Quist has categorised secondary education in Ghana under three main traditions. These are Achimota, Mfantsipim and national school traditions. He has observed that while the Mfantsipim tradition was assimilated and re-appropriated in ways that blended Western and Ghanaian cultural elements, that of the Achimota tradition sought to combine, unsuccessfully, a British elite school model with an American school model. The third tradition, that is, the national

³¹ Hubert O. Quist, "Secondary Education in Ghana at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century: Profiles, Problems and Prospects" published in 1999, pp. 246-440.

school was started in the post-colonial period under Dr. Kwame Nkrumah with the establishment of the Ghana Education Trust (GET). The national school tradition was aimed at inculcating a sense of nationalism in Ghanaian students by building and increasing access to secondary education in Ghana. This was greatly facilitated by the Accelerated Development Plan for Education (ADP) in 1951 and the Education Act of 1961. These ambitious programmes expanded access to education at all levels and brought state control of all pre-university institutions in the country. Quist has consistently argued that the colonial government only saw secondary education as a tool for ensuring the success of colonial subjugation and, an efficient bureaucracy, and that the colonizers never pursued secondary education for national development.

Also, Quist has explored in that work two main policies that underpinned the development of secondary education in Ghana during the colonial and the post-colonial periods as education for adaptation and education for citizenship. As Quist noted, the main objective of post-colonial secondary education was largely to promote education for nation building and modernization of Ghana. This sharply contrasted with that of colonial education in Africa and for that matter, Ghana, whose main focus was geared towards the success of European hegemony and economic exploitation.

In spite of Quist's contribution to secondary education in that article, his work was found by this researcher to be too narrow in content and scope as far as development of education in Ghana in general, and secondary education development in particular, are concerned. For example, Quist's analysis on

secondary education in colonial and post-colonial Ghana is based on his so called “three main traditions” of secondary education by selecting only Achimota, Mfantsipim and Ghana National College in his discussions and assessment, and thereby succeeding in sidelining other traditions, particularly in northern Ghana. Even so, the interesting thing about Quist’s work is that he has greatly exposed the present researcher to some of the colonial and post-colonial educational politics that have directed, influenced and shaped secondary education in Ghana.

Other significant academic literature and scholarship that touched on history of education development in Ghana, particularly during the colonial period include S. K. Odamtten, J. J. Crooks, R. E. Wraith, and Ibrahim. Odamtten³² presented a comprehensive and detailed work of missionary activities in Ghana up to the 1880s. His main objective for producing that work was to present the facts and analysis of the events in relation to the contribution of the Christian missionaries to the development of Ghana in order to help readers understand the situation as it was. In light of this, Odamtten has discussed the early European enterprise in the Gold Coast, the arrival of the Missions, their challenges, their role in community development schemes, the economic and social transformation of the Christian Missions, the period of the crisis of the missionaries as well as their opportunity for consolidation.

Odamtten’s evaluation of early European activities has shown that the latter came to exploit the natural resources of Africa. It also reveals the fact that even Western education brought into Africa by the Europeans was meant to fulfill

³² S. K. Odamtten, *The Missionary Factor in Ghana’s Development up to the 1880s*. Accra: Waterville Publishing House, 1978.

their missions, particularly, of giving the products Western training to become priests and teachers, who would promote the European culture. It is thus argued in this thesis that the European civilizing mission in Africa was basically as a result of exploitation and domination as they were not directly concerned about the latter's development. Odamtten also explained that the African Christian converts felt that they were socially apart, separated themselves from their communities and began to champion Christianity and Western civilization. Thus, Odamtten's book, although it ends in 1880, the author has meticulously discussed the coming, spread, work, activities, contributions, and developments of the missionaries in the fields of economics, social, religion and politics.³³ His work significantly assisted the current study, especially, with regards to issues relating to the work of Christian missionaries in the Gold Coast. However, this present thesis differs from Odamtten's work in the sense that it delineates and analyses politics that influenced the actors of education in the Gold Coast be the European merchants, missionaries, colonial governments, civilian governments and military governments from 1852 to 2008.

J. J. Crooks³⁴ also provides significant information of the activities that took place in the Gold Coast up to the 1870s. His work is based on primary documents that covered dispatches, letters, decisions, meetings, minutes, invitations, appointments, legislations, agreements, assumption of duties, resignations, ordinances, policies, disaffection of the indigenes, disputes,

³³ Particularly, the Basel, the Wesleyan, the Bremen, the Roman Catholic and the A. M. E. Zion missionary societies.

³⁴J. J. Crooks *Records related to the Gold Coast Settlement from 1750-1874*. Dublin: Browne & Nolan Ltd., 1923.

invasions, correspondence, expenditures, incomes and other significant related issues of the Gold Coast. This researcher found the records related to Gold Coast settlement by Crooks to be refreshingly informative, especially the significant extracts from dispatches of the governors in the Gold Coast, and therefore helps this present study, as it provided first-hand information on issues that took place in the Gold Coast from 1750 to 1874.

R. E. Wraith³⁵ has also demonstrated how education took shape in the Gold Coast from 1919 to 1927. Among significant issues Wraith explored in that work are the work of the Educationists' Committee of 1920, Miss Caroline Phelps-Stokes Commission, the 1925 Education Ordinance in the Gold Coast, Guggisberg's Sixteen Principles of Education, establishment of trade schools in the Gold Coast and setting up of the first government secondary school, Achimota in the Gold Coast. Wraith argued that Guggisberg's administration witnessed a drastic social change in the Gold Coast, particularly, in the field of education. Unlike Crooks' and Odamtten's work, which deal with Gold Coast records and Mission histories respectively, Wraith has indeed shown the systematic development of education during the time of Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg in the Gold Coast. In spite of this, Wraith's work was found to be limited in scope and content in relation to the general development of education in the Gold Coast, especially, as that work dwells extensively on only Guggisberg's contribution to education development in the Gold Coast. Nonetheless, Wraith has provided significant benchmarks upon which this current study was built.

³⁵R. E. Wraith, *Guggisberg*. London: Oxford University Press, 1967.

Ibrahim Mahama³⁶ further demonstrates significantly the relationship between education and social change in the northern territories in Chapter Six of that work. He argued that developing a nation, especially Ghana, without education is, “likened to reaping where one has not sown.”³⁷ In his observation, it took the British more than a decade to open one elementary school in Northern Ghana. Thus, although Mahama’s work is very short as it is made up of only ten pages, he has discussed the beginnings of education in Northern Ghana in relation to social change in the twentieth century. His work assisted this current study, particularly, in relation to literature concerning educational development in northern Ghana during the colonial period. However, he did not discuss how politics of governments influence education in Ghana as this was not his objective.

Other scholarly works which have largely covered the beginnings of education in the Gold Coast (Ghana), are written by religiously inclined scholars in their efforts to give account and trace the development of the missions. Such works include H. W. Debrunner, F. L. Bartels, N. Smith and R. M. Wiltgen. These works largely concentrate on mission histories and implantation of Christianity in the Gold Coast and, especially, its ramifications on the indigenes. These books also dwell extensively on the accounts of the pioneer missionaries in the Gold Coast between the fourteenth and the nineteenth centuries.

They have particularly explored the white man’s religion in Africa, and overlooked the issue of cultural dichotomy between Europeans and Africans.

³⁶ Ibrahim Mahama *A Colonial History of Northern Ghana*, Tamale: Gillbt Printing Press, 2009.

³⁷ Ibid. p. 110.

Although those works do not directly capture issues that related to the politics of education in Ghana from the second half of the nineteenth century to the twenty-first century, which is the focus of this study, they nonetheless explore important issues in relation to the beginnings of education development in the Gold Coast. Such works have helped the current study in tracing the antecedent of education development in the Gold Coast to 1852.

For example, in Ralph M. Wiltgen³⁸ explored the activities of the early European merchants and the missionary societies up to 1880. Issues discussed by Wiltgen in that work include the Portuguese period in the Gold Coast; School Programme of King John III; and the work of the Protestant missionaries from 1737 to 1880. He traced the beginnings of merchant schools in the country starting from the Portuguese period. He notes that through the support of the Portuguese kings, Joao de Santarem and Pedro de Escobar landed on the Gold Coast in 1471.

In 1482, the Portuguese built the Elmina Castle to serve purposely as a warehouse where they could keep their goods. King John III ascended the throne of Portugal in 1521.³⁹ He did not want the Elmina Castle to remain only a trading post. As Wiltgen points out “He wanted to give them (people in the city of Sao Jorge da Mina) not only merchandise for their gold but also the benefits of intellectual and spiritual goods.”⁴⁰ As a result, on February 8, 1529, King John III of Portugal instructed Estevao da Gama, the Governor and Captain of the Elmina

³⁸ Ralph M. Wiltgen *Gold Coast Mission History 1471-1880*. USA: Devine World Publications, 1956.

³⁹ *Ibid.* p. 15

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

Castle to teach Africans how to read and write. This was the origin of formal education in the Gold Coast. Other European merchants such as the Dutch, the Danes and the British, as Wiltgen notes, also provided education for the indigenes following the collapse of the Portuguese attempt from 1637 onwards.

Wiltgen also discusses the efforts made by the Protestant missionaries in the fields of evangelization and education. The missions began to come to the Gold Coast with the appearance of the Moravian Church in 1737. They were followed by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in 1752. The next four missionary societies that came in the nineteenth century were the Basel, the Wesleyans, the Bremen and the Roman Catholics. After their arrival, all these missions contributed significantly to the development of education in the Gold Coast. Thus, though Wiltgen's work is a mission history, he has given a significant account of education development in the Gold Coast. This helped the researcher in tracing the background of Gold Coast education from 1852 which is the starting point of the current study.

Like Wiltgen, F. L. Bartels⁴¹ has also given an interesting account of the work of the Wesleyan Mission. He has traced the origins of Gold Coast education tracing it to the Portuguese period. He notes that King John III of Portugal ordered the Governor of the Elmina Castle to begin to teach Africans reading and writing so that they benefit from European education and civilization. To this effect, children were taught in Portuguese. Later, other European nationals also participated in Castle School Education in the Gold Coast. They included the Dutch, the Danes and the British.

⁴¹ F. L. Bartels, *The Roots of Ghana Methodism*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1965.

Bartels offered a vivid description of the activities of the Christian missionary bodies, especially, the Wesleyans, as his work basically delved into the *Roots of Ghana Methodism*. He noted that two missions namely, the Moravians and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel were the first to arrive in Ghana in 1737 and 1752 respectively. They were followed by others in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Bartels only provides a brief discussion of the activities of the other missions and dwells extensively on the work and activities of the Wesleyan Mission in the Gold Coast (Ghana).

The details Bartels has provided about the Methodist Church in Ghana has contributed significant literature and widened the scope of the researcher. However, Bartels' work concentrates on the work of the Wesleyan Mission. It does not, for example, discuss the contribution of the Colonial Governors to the development of education in the Gold Coast. It does not also look at post-colonial educational development in Ghana since those issues were not the focus of F. L. Bartels.

Noel Smith⁴² provided a classic study of the activities of the Basel mission in the Ghanaian Society. In his observation, the Basel Mission operated in Ga, Krobo, Akuapem, Kwahu, Akim, Asante to mention but a few. He has thus explored into detail, the contributions, success and challenges of the Basel Mission in all the areas they operated in Ghana which assisted the researcher significantly. He did not, however, discuss political influence in educational decision-making and policies in the country.

⁴²Noel Smith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana, 1835-1960: A Young Church in a Changing Society*. Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1966.

Hans W. Debrunner⁴³ like Smith, also concentrates on the activities of the Bremen Mission. According to him, Rev. Lorenz Wolf took the initiative of the Bremen Mission. It first started its work at Peki. Rev. Lorenz Wolf started a school with fourteen boys on 8th February, 1848. Pupils were taught biblical history, reading, writing, arithmetic and singing. English language was used as a medium of instruction in the Bremen schools. One of the early beneficiaries was Jan Tutu, a thirteen year-old boy of the king and one of the pioneers of Bremen schools. This school had to be closed down in the early days of 1850 due to financial constraints and ill health of the Bremen missionaries. Wolf's wife came to Peki in April, 1850 and reopened the school. In 1857 other Bremen missionaries namely, Bernhard Schlegel and John Wright came to assist in the work of the Bremen Mission. Initially, the Bremen Mission opened four stations at Keta, Ho, Ayarko and Waya. The field was later expanded by the Bremen missionaries. Debrunner has indeed, contributed substantial literature and significant facts about the work of the Bremen Mission. His work is the dominant work in the history of the activities of the Bremen Mission. In spite of this, his focus was not on how politics influenced educational decisions and policies in Ghana up to 21st century.

Apart from these, there are other scholarly works that have explored the political, social and economic issues and aspects of the history of Ghana. Some of these works directly and indirectly captured significant issues about the development of education in Ghana, as part of the effort of the authors to discuss

⁴³ Hans W. Debrunner, *A Church Between Colonial Powers: A Study of the Church in Togo*. London: Lutterworth Press, 1965.

the events that took place in Ghana. The current researcher therefore did not hesitate to consult such works. Among the impressive and inexhaustible works of such political and economic histories of Ghana include C. C. Reindorf,⁴⁴ David Kimble,⁴⁵ Dennis Austin,⁴⁶ A. A. Boahen,⁴⁷ Adamafio Tawiah,⁴⁸ A. Francis,⁴⁹ O. Aluko,⁵⁰ D. E. K. Amenumey,⁵¹ J. G. Amamoo,⁵² J. Appiah,⁵³ S. R. B. Ato Ahuma,⁵⁴ D. Basil,⁵⁵ T. Jones,⁵⁶ K. Kesse-Adu,⁵⁷ D. M. McFarland,⁵⁸ K. Nkrumah,⁵⁹ P. Nugent,⁶⁰ A. K. Ocran,⁶¹ P. T. Omari,⁶² K. Shillington,⁶³ K.

⁴⁴ Reindorf, C. C., *History of the Gold Coast and Asante (Third Edition)*. Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1985

⁴⁵ Kimble, D. *A Political History of Ghana: The Rise of Gold Coast Nationalism 1850-1928*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963.

⁴⁶ Austin, D. *Politics in Ghana 1946-1960*. London: Oxford University Press, 1970.

⁴⁷ Boahen, A. A., *Ghana: Evolution and Change in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. London: Longman Group Ltd., 1975., *Mfantshipim and the Making of Ghana: A Centenary History, 1876-1976*. Accra: Sankofa Educational Publishers, 1996.

⁴⁸ Adamafio, T., *By Nkrumah's Side*. Accra: Westcoast Publishing House, 1982.

⁴⁹ Agbodeka, F., *Ghana in the Twentieth Century*. Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1972.

⁵⁰ Aluko, O. *Ghana and Nigeria 1957-1970: A Study in Inter-African Discord*. London: Rex Collings, 1976.

⁵¹ Amenumey, D. E. K., *Ghana: A Concise History from the Pre-Colonial Times to the 20th Century*. Accra; Woeli Publishing Services, 2008.

⁵² Amamoo, J. G. *Ghana: 50 Years of Independence*. Accra: Jafint Enterprise, 2007.

⁵³ Appiah, J. *The Autobiography of an African Patriot*. New York: Praeger, 1990.

⁵⁴ Attoh Ahuma, S. R. B. *The Gold Coast Nation and National Consciousness (Second edition)*. London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1971.

⁵⁵ Basil, D. *Black Star: A View of the Life and Times of Kwame Nkrumah*. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1973.

⁵⁶ Jones, T. *Ghana's First Republic 1960-1966: The Pursuit of the Political Kingdom*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1976.

⁵⁷ Kesse-Adu, Kwame. *The Politics of Political Detention*. Accra: Ghana Publishing Corporation, 1971.

⁵⁸ McFarland, D. M. *Historical Dictionary of Ghana*. New Jersey: Scarecrow Press Inc., 1985.

⁵⁹ Nkrumah, K. *I Speak of Freedom: A Statement of African Ideology*. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1961.

⁶⁰ Nugent, P. *Big Men, Small Boys and Politics in Ghana: Power, Ideology and the Burden of History (1982-1994)*. Accra: Asempa Publishers, 1995.

⁶¹ Ocran, A. K. *Politics of the Sword: A Personal Memoir on Military Involvement in Ghana and of Problems of Military Government*. London: Rex Collings Ltd., 1977.

⁶² Omari, P.T. *Kwame Nkrumah: The Anatomy of an African Dictatorship*. London: C. Hurst & Company, 1976.

⁶³ Shillington, K. *Ghana and the Rawlings Factor*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1992.

Vieta,⁶⁴ and E. D. Ziorklui.⁶⁵ These works assisted the researcher great deal as they shaped his understanding of social, economic and political issues of Ghana. Also, the political, social and economic issues the authors have explored are significant to this study because politics in education could not be studied in isolation, without reference to other relevant aspects of the history of Ghana. However, these works did not discuss the visions, ideologies and aspirations of governments that influenced the formulation of educational policies and decisions in Ghana.

Major scholarships and literature that critically examine politics in education and, especially education development in Africa and West Africa include C. Harber, D. R. Morrison, and C. G. Wise. Harber Clive⁶⁶ discusses the influence of politics in African education under two main sections. Section One deals with the following themes: Political Culture and Political Socialization; Education and Political Socialization; Schools and Political Learning; Theoretical Perspective on the Nature of Education Development; Education and National Unity in Nigeria; Political Socialization and Political Education in Kenya; The Political Dimension of Education for Self Reliance in Tanzania; Development and Political Attitudes in relation to the role of Schooling in Northern Nigeria; Political Education in Zimbabwe and Schooling for Bureaucracy in Africa. Section Two of the book also reviews published research on politics in African Education in some African countries namely, Botswana, Cameroon, Guinea, Mali,

⁶⁴ Vieta, K. *The Flagbearers of Ghana: Profiles of One Hundred Distinguished Ghanaians*. Accra: Ena Publications, 1999.

⁶⁵ Ziorklui, E. D. *Ghana: Nkrumah to Rawlings*. Accra: Em-Zed Books Centre, 1993. Also, *Rawlings/Kufour: Positive Defiance VRS Positive Change*. Accra: EM-ZED Books Centre, 2004.

⁶⁶ C. Harber, *Politics in African Education*. London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 1989.

Togo, Zaire, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Sierra Leone, South Africa and Zambia. Harber's work is a significant study in the field of politics in education in Africa and is made up of one hundred and ninety-seven pages.

Harber notes that societies have varied values, attitudes and beliefs which he equated to culture. He sees socialization as the process of social learning and that one significant manifestation of culture is the attitude and values of individuals towards politics in their respective societies. Harber, thus argued that politics is a characteristic of every society and that it emanated from disagreements among individuals. He related the attitudes and values of individuals towards politics to political culture, which according to him, is directed and shaped by the society's history, geography as well as its social and economic structures. He identifies various orientations such as the notion of citizenship, attitudes towards political deviation and dissent, participations in major political offices and the concept of political change as the constituents of political culture in African politics. In his observation, the function of schools in political education in Africa has been sporadic and patchy to many participants in the field. Harber sets out to rectify this through a comprehensive evaluation of the relationship between education and politics in Africa.

Harber postulates that few developing nations in Africa began to appreciate the political content of education in the mid-1960s. This phenomenon, in his assessment, led to the development of a clear ideology of education which emphasized things students learnt outside the official curriculum. In his view, the

official curriculum also transmitted political and social values in relation to subject to be studied by students and the views of the authors of the various textbooks in African schools. He argued strongly that African education system and for that matter, schools in Africa, often reflected both government policies for education and the present ideological orientations and values of the traditional African societal politics, which can be contradictory though. To this end, Harber stated categorically that, "Schooling and politics are therefore inextricably linked in all societies."⁶⁷

Apart from these, Harber Clive discusses political education which largely formed an important part of the syllabi of Tanzania, Northern Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Cameroon, Guinea, Mali, Togo, Zaire, Ivory Coast, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Sierra Leone, South Africa and Zambia. In all these African countries, Harber points out efforts being made to de-orientate their citizens of colonial politics in education and the revival of the interests in the indigenous politics of African countries. This has largely necessitated the introduction of courses on nationalism in their syllabuses. The intention was to whip up the interest of citizens in national consciousness and national unity. These have resulted in the introduction of Civics and History, particularly, post-colonial history in schools, such as secondary and higher education.

One particular section of Harber's work which speaks directly to Ghana's educational history, and particularly, politics of education in Ghana was his review of education in that country under Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. Interestingly, Harber dedicates only six pages to this discussion. This aspect is relevant as it

⁶⁷ Harber, C., op. cit. p. 3.

answered a question that forms part of the bigger question of the thesis, and is therefore discussed in detail.

In his approach to educational history of Ghana, Harber dwells extensively on secondary works, particularly, the works of Smock (1975) and Chazan (1976) to present his analysis. Quoting Smock, Harber notes that Kwame Nkrumah utilized the education system in the early years of independence to instill a sense of patriotism and loyalty in Ghanaians. This reached its climax with the establishment of the Young Pioneer Movement in Ghana in 1960. This Movement was primarily aimed at fostering national integration and harmony. It then became an avenue through which Ghanaian students were indoctrinated about the political ideologies and dogmas of Kwame Nkrumah, popularly known as Nkrumahism.

Moreover, in its effort to achieve political integration in Ghana, the Ministry of Education in the Kwame Nkrumah Administration made subjects such as Civics and History important part of the curriculum at the secondary schools level. Citing Smock, Harber observes that the content of history books rather exposed Ghanaian children to an analysis that strongly reflected Euro-centric ideas, and argued that historical chronologies should concentrate on the role of the nationalists in the development of that country in an era of decolonization. Harber also discusses the strategies adopted by the National Redemption Council (NRC) to influence the people and spread its political philosophies and ideas in Ghana. The medium in which this took place was the creation of the Centre for Civic Education by the N. R. C. which deliberately taught Ghanaians respect and tolerance as a new religious basis for its political ideas.

A critical scrutiny of Harber's work has shown that he has contributed substantial knowledge to history of politics in education in Africa. However, his work lacked detail and significant information, a situation which has made Harber's work limited in scope and content. This has largely emanated from the fact that firstly, he conducted a brief survey of politics in African education in about twenty countries across the continent within a space of only ninety-seven pages. Secondly, with the exception of few instances such as his case studies conducted in Nigeria, Kenya, Tanzania and Zimbabwe, his work was largely based on secondary works of other authors. He thus, does not have much insight into the politics in education of the African countries he discussed.

In his review of published research on politics in African education in countries such as Botswana, Cameroon, Guinea, Mali, Togo, Zaire, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Sierra Leone, South Africa and Zambia, Harber dedicated less than six pages to those discussions, while that of Togo, Mali and Zaire were less than three pages. The important question to ask is, how can politics in education in a whole country such as Togo, Mali and Zaire be discussed in less than three pages? A good response to the question is that Harber's focus was to give a brief account and review of politics in education in African countries. There is, therefore a vacuum of knowledge on politics in education in African countries as far as Harber's work is concerned, justifying the need for a study such as this.

My thesis departs from Harber's work in the sense that it discusses politics in education in Ghana during the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods

from the historical point of view. Also, unlike Harber's work, which largely placed emphasis on subjects such as Civics and History adopted by many African countries in the school curriculum with the aim of de-orientating their citizens from European politics, my thesis discusses and examines the influence of politics on educational policies in Ghana by the colonial governments, civilian governments and the military governments from 1852 to 2008. In spite of this, Harber Clive has provided significant information that served as a point of reference, particularly in relation to politics in education in African countries.

David R. Morrison⁶⁸ has shaped the current researcher's understanding of the conceptual, theoretical, contextual and philosophical ideologies of politics in education in Africa. Using the Tanzanian experience as a case study, Morrison has critically delved into politics in education in Africa. His main objective for producing that work was to explore how politics or political ideas had influenced, directed, and/or shaped educational policies in the Tanzanian formal school system from the colonial period to the post-colonial. His focus was on educational decision-making within the context of general political change, particularly from colonial governments to independent African governments.

Morrison portrays education as the key to modernization and rapid economic growth in third world countries. He also argues that formal education is largely responsible for the inculcation of the requisite skills and attitudes needed for social and economic change in Africa. In his observation however, political influence was identified as having the most pervasive effect on the formal

⁶⁸David R. Morrison *Education and Politics in Africa: The Tanzanian Case*. London: C. Hurt & Company Ltd., 1976.

education system in Africa. As a result, he stated categorically that politics and education shared a similar relationship in circular fashion. This was particularly based on his assessment that “...schooling influences the formation of political norms and values and provides one of several qualifications for office holding; on the other hand, a political process is involved in educational policy-making and in public controversies over certain policies.”⁶⁹

Morrison points out that the distribution of educational opportunities has a significant influence on class formation that largely mitigated social cleavages that especially affect politics in relation to ethnicity, race, religion and geographical location. He also saw the problem of inadequacy of a well-educated local manpower and the role of the newly independent African leaders of changing colonial structures and curricular to ways that assist post-colonial policies and goals as significant factors that reinforced the political saliency of education in Africa. The role of politics in education therefore has resulted in a close link with education to politics in relation to the development and formation of attitudes, values and personality.

As Morrison points out, agents of education such as teachers, parents, Christian churches, educational administrators and some political leaders who intended to bring about social change were themselves products of the colonial educational systems. Consequently, some of them who became suspicious of efforts by the newly independent leaders to tamper with the existing system did not actively perform their roles largely due to their fear of the new system likely leading to decrease in educational opportunities. With the attainment of

⁶⁹ Ibid. p. 17.

decolonization in Tanzania, one of the first things the leaders of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) did was the abolition of formal racial discrimination. This was intended to increase access and offer Africans the opportunity to formal education in Tanzania, especially when parents and the citizens became highly convinced that a strong economy and education held the key to wealth in the country.⁷⁰

Morrison notes that prior to the introduction of formal education in Tanzania, the indigenous education system taught the children about food production, the supernatural and social histories of the family, clan and ethnic group. During the early stages of formal education, Tanzanians felt suspicious especially as it condemned their traditional institutions, belief systems and culture. This explained why the initial recruits were mostly made up of families of freed slaves and the outcast in society. Opportunities provided by formal education in relation to being employed by the colonial administration enabled the indigenous people to gradually develop interest in the formal school system. There was a slow growth in African education facilities before World War II. One reason was the great depression that resulted in the closure of schools staffed by European teachers.

Upon the attainment of independence however, the focus of education shifted to the African point of view. This began with the creation of the Ministry of Education and a Planning Section. These steps largely reflected the desire of newly independent African governments to ensure economic and social transformation. Therefore, in 1962, the Tanzanian National Assembly passed

⁷⁰ Ibid. pp. 17-30.

legislation that established the Unified Teaching Service (UTS), a body that became legal employers of teachers in Tanzania. In the estimation of Morrison, the newly independent African governments were well positioned to shape, direct and influence Tanzania's education system based on their visions, philosophies and especially political ideologies.

David R. Morrison has demonstrated the impact of politics in Tanzanian education. He critically analyzes all the educational policies as well as actors of educational decisions and policies, their short term and long term objectives, their significant values, their philosophies and the political ideologies of Tanzania's education during the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods. However, one striking difference of Morrison's work and this thesis is found in the geographical spaces - Tanzania and Ghana. Also, unlike Morrison's work that ended in the early years of 1970s, this study ends in 2008, covering fresh and current data on politics in education in Ghana, particularly the inconsistencies in the duration of the educational system by governments especially during the fourth republic. This confirms the assertion by Morrison that education is inextricably linked to politics.

C. G. Wise⁷¹ has also written an elegant work on education. The most important aspects explored by the author include the Castle schools, the birth and growth of mission education, the development of secondary education in the Gold Coast, government policy on education in the Gold Coast, the introduction of education departments, expansion of education and its challenges, teachers in the

⁷¹ C. G. Wise, *A History of Education in British West Africa*. London: Longmans, Green and Co Inc., 1956.

twentieth century, development of local educational administration in Sierra Leone, Nigeria and the Gold Coast and higher education in the Gold Coast.

He observes that the earliest schools in the Gold Coast were established by the Dutch (1644) at Elmina, the Danes (1722) at Christiansburg and the British (1752) in Cape Coast. According to Wise, the first school established by the Dutch West India Company was intended to offer education to mulattos—children of Europeans with African mothers. The children were to study the Dutch culture especially, their religion and language. From the eighteenth century, the Asante kings began to develop interest in Castle School education. Consequently, they sent boys and girls to the coast to be given European education.⁷²

The Danish school in Christiansburg was also purposely established to train mulatto children. The first teachers were soldiers. The first pupils of the Danish schools were all boys intended to be trained to become literate mulatto soldiers. From the 1760s girls were admitted into the Danish schools. They were mainly trained in the domestic arts. Pupils were provided with clothes designed in the European style. From 1765 onwards, the Danish government began to feed the pupils and to pay the teachers' salaries.⁷³ This made the government introduce the Mulatto Fund in 1788. Public worship was made compulsory for all the staff in the Danish schools. It was to ensure the sustainability of worship in the Danish schools that led to the invitation of the Basel Mission to the Gold Coast in 1828.⁷⁴

⁷² Ibid. pp. 1-2

⁷³ Ibid. p. 2.

⁷⁴ Ibid. pp. 2-3

The Gold Coast settlements became dependencies of Sierra Leone in 1821 under the administration of Sir Charles McCarthy, who founded a school at Cape Coast. Wise has observed that it was during the governorship of Sir Charles McCarthy that a government school system for all the British forts in West Africa was established. An illustration was the old Cape Coast Castle School that survived in the Colonial School system and, became well-known as the nucleus of a public school system in the Gold Coast.

According to Wise, the Second World War greatly affected education development in West Africa, especially the British West African Colonies of Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, Nigeria and the Gambia. After the war, the British West African colonies strongly demanded the establishment of schools, especially, higher education institutions in the colonies. This agitation culminated in the expansion of elementary schools and the establishment of university education such as in Ibadan in Nigeria, and the University College of the Gold Coast in the Gold Coast both in 1948.

Wise has thus, critically discussed the development of education in British West Africa. His main focus was to trace how education developed in the British West African colonies starting from the merchant schools and the missions. He does not discuss the beginning of education in detail, especially in his effort to trace the development of education in the Gold Coast, particularly in his account of the work of the Portuguese. Here, Wise provides scanty information, as if the Portuguese did not even participate in the provision of education. The author traces the beginning of Castle school education in the Gold Coast to the Dutch in

1644, instead of the Portuguese who started formal education on the coast of Elmina in 1529. Thus, Wise's work is limited in scope and content. Moreover, Wise only gives an account of the beginnings of education development in British West Africa during the pre-colonial and colonial periods. His work, for example, ends in 1950.

My thesis differs from that of Wise in the sense that it starts from 1852, the year the First Education Ordinance was promulgated in the Gold Coast and ends in 2008, the year president J. A. Kufuor's administration ended. It also delves into politics in education of the various actors in the Gold Coast during the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods so as uncover what such actors did to shape education in the country.

A. B. Fafunwa⁷⁵ contributes to the literature on education in Africa. He observes that every society has its own unique system of training and educating its citizens, in relation to the goals and methods of education which differed from country to country. In ancient Greece for instance, education was to enable graduates become mentally and physically well-balanced, while the Romans focused on oratory and military training.⁷⁶

In old Africa, people of good behaviour, the noble, the hunter and the warrior were considered well educated. This made Fafunwa conclude that the main guiding principle of education in Africa was functionalism. Hence, African education was expected to induct citizens appropriately into the society. Particular emphasis was thus laid on social responsibility in relation to moral and spiritual

⁷⁵ A. B. Fafunwa, "Some Guiding Principles of Education in Africa," in the *West African Journal of Education*, Vol. XV No. 1, published in February 1971.

⁷⁶ Ibid. p. 5.

values, job orientation and political participation. The curriculum was made up of participatory training through demonstration, imitation, rituals, recitation, ceremonies, farming, fishing, cooking, weaving and carving. Recreational subjects were taught through jumping, dancing, drumming, racing and balancing, while legends, history, proverbs, riddles, poetry, and storytelling were intended to develop the intellect of citizens. Indigenous education in Africa carefully blended character training, physical training and vocational training with intellectual training.

He described formal education in sub Saharan Africa, north of the Limpopo, as a polyglot of systems instituted by the French, the British, the Portuguese and the Spanish. The introduction of new methods of education in relation to content, administration and organization has resulted in conflicting goals of education in Africa. Fafunwa is of the view that the main problem of African education has to do with the question of curriculum. He notes that the curriculum of African education should reflect the environment of African societies.

Thus Fufunwa provides relevant information on the education system in Africa, where the environment, according to him, should form an integral part of the curriculum. His article provided the philosophical and cultural understandings of education in Africa for this study. His work, however, differs from this thesis in the sense that it dwells extensively on traditional African education as compared to the present study which looks at politics in education in Ghana from 1852 to 2008.

Objectives of the Study

The study set out to achieve the following objectives:

1. Trace the ideologies and visions for the introduction and spread of Western education in the Gold Coast (Ghana) by the European nations and Missions;
2. Examine the nature of pre-colonial and colonial Western education and the framework within which these operated in the Gold Coast;
3. Discuss the ordinances and policies which were introduced in the educational system in the pre-colonial and colonial periods;
4. Trace the number of schools built in the pre-colonial and colonial periods as well as the resources which were allocated to education;
5. Highlight the philosophies which informed Guggisberg's educational intervention in the Gold Coast;
6. Assess the general philosophy which underlie pre-colonial and colonial education in the Gold Coast;
7. Discuss why Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah rapidly expanded access to education at all levels in the country or trace why the Accelerated Development Plan (ADP) for Education was adopted by the first Prime Minister and later, President of Ghana;
8. Dissect the politics that shaped the direction and influenced the restructuring of the educational system during the post-Nkrumah era, especially during the military regimes in Ghana;
9. Discuss the reports of the various Educational Commissions and Committees in the post-independence period;

10. Provide a comprehensive literature, from the historical perspective, on the political (governmental) influences on educational development in the Gold Coast (Ghana) in the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods.
11. Assess the directions, policies and interventions of the educational system in Ghana during the administrations of Flt. Lt. J. J. Rawlings and J. A. Kufuor.

Methodology and Sources

The study adopted the appropriate historical and methodological approaches as its research design. The qualitative method, which is the critical description, analysis, examination and interpretation of data was employed. Significant documents and materials explored for the study were archival documents relating to education, old newspapers, relevant secondary works, articles, memoranda, educational committee and commission reports and recommendations, white papers issued by governments on education, various party manifestos, educational journals, circulars from Ministry of Education and the Ghana Education Service, etc. In relation to the pre-colonial and colonial politics in education in Ghana, the researcher dwelt extensively on the documents and materials stated above.

To obtain these primary materials first of all, the researcher mobilized various educational commissions and committee reports which contained their recommendations largely from libraries.⁷⁷ Such documents obtained included: Report by the Director of Education on His Visit to Educational Institutions in the

⁷⁷ Such libraries were Sam Jona's Library at the University of Cape Coast, the University of Ghana Main Library (Balme Library), the Institute of African Studies library, University of Ghana and George Padmore Research Library on African Affairs, Accra.

United States, 1922; Report of Education in Africa: A Study of West, South and Equatorial Africa by the African Education Commission, under the Auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and Foreign Mission Societies of North America and Europe by Thomas Jesse Jones, Chairman of Commission, 1922; Report of the Committee on Higher Education August-November 1946; Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies—Second Report 1947-1949; Report of the Committee set up to Review the Salaries and Conditions of Service of Non-Government Teachers, 1954; Report of the Commission on University Education, December 1960-January 1961; Report of the Commission appointed by the Executive Council of the National Liberation Council to Advice Government on the Future Policy for Financial Support for University Students in Ghana, 1967; Report of the Sub-Committee Appointed by the National Redemption Council to make Recommendations on the Financing of Higher Education, 1974; Final Draft Report of the University Rationalization Committee, Commissioned by the Ministry of Education, 1987; Meeting the Challenges of Education in the Twenty First Century: Report of the President's Committee on Review of Education Reforms in Ghana, 2002. The content of some of these reports included the medium of instruction in schools, proposal for a new structure and content of education, the need for a new education reforms, objectives and philosophies of education, etc. To ensure the objectivity, validity and reliability of these reports and their contents, other methods such as the review of old newspapers, scrutiny of archival materials and interviews were used to cross-check the authenticity of such reports.

Secondly, cabinet memoranda, white papers issued by governments expressing their acceptance or otherwise of education commission and committee reports and recommendations, party manifestos and Ministry of Education reports and extracts were also gathered and utilized. These documents largely contained original ideas and the politics of the various governments which issued them. Examples of such documents obtained for the study were Cabinet Memorandum on the Interim Council for University of Cape Coast, by Kojo Botsio, Chairman of National Council for Higher Education; Statement by the Government on the Report of the Commission on University Education: December 1960-January, 1961; White Paper on the Commission of Enquiry into the University College of Cape Coast; White Paper on the Report of the Education Review Committee (Together with the Recommendations in Brief of the Education Review Committee and the Report of the Special Committee on Delimitation of Functions of University Institutions); White Paper on the Report of the Committee of Inquiry (Student Disturbances), 1978; White Paper on the Report of the Education Reform Review Committee, 2004.

Others were Progress Party Manifesto, 2nd August, 1969; Agenda for Positive Change: Manifesto 2000 of the New Patriotic Party; Manifesto 2008 for a Better Ghana of the National Democratic Congress; Minutes of the Central Advisory Committee on Education, Second Session, 1957, held in the Ministry of Education, Accra, on Thursday, 26 September; Extracts from Conference of Regional Education Officers-September 4th to 5th 1957; New Structure and Content of Education for Ghana, 1974; Second Development Plan of Ghana,

1959-64; Progress of Education in the Gold Coast, 1953; Education Report of Ministry of Education for the Years 1958-1960, (January 1958 to August 1960); Accelerated Development Plan for Education, 1951; Seven-Year Development Plan of Ghana, 1959; Seven-Year Development Plan: Annual Plan for the Second Plan Year 1965 Financial Year, 1965; Vice-Chancellor's Annual Report of the University of Ghana, 1961-1962; Vice-Chancellor's Annual Report of the University of Ghana, 1963-1964.

These documents were obtained from libraries, especially the Rare-Room Pamphlet boxes at the University of Ghana main library (Balme Library) and the Institute of African Studies library, University of Ghana. Others were also acquired at the University of Cape Coast main library and George Padmore Research Library on African Affairs in Accra.

Not only these, but information was also gleaned from archives, old newspapers and relevant secondary works. Archival materials in particular, helped to enrich the study since they provided primary sources of data. Public Records and Archives Administration Department (PRAAD) in Accra and other regional branches were consulted for information. Surprisingly many of the primary documents especially Education Committee reports and recommendations, white papers, circulars from the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Education reports, minutes of meetings of the Ministry of Education, education reforms and ordinances, vice-chancellors' annual reports could neither be found at PRAAD headquarters in Accra nor the regional branches such as those of Cape Coast and Sekondi-Takoradi. These materials were, however

obtained at the university libraries. The archives lacked relevant primary documents which hindered the work of researchers. Efforts should thus be made to ensure that all significant materials are kept in the archives.

Moreover, old newspapers especially the *Daily Graphic*, the *Ghanaian Times*, the *People's Daily Graphic*, and the *Weekly Spectator* were used in the study. These papers reported on issues concerning all aspects of education in the country such as workshops and seminars on education, various education reforms, education committee reports and recommendations, articles on education restructuring as well as education and health. Some of the headline articles of the newspapers used in the study included; “salary hold-up,” “new year school forum for frank discussion,” “guidelines for 5-year development plan,” “3-years of N.R.C. rule,” “let’s work harder-Kutu,” “charter of redemption,” “education to be re-structured,” “what is revolutionary discipline?,” “literacy day,” “new educational set-up—2500 to retrain,” “education in Ghana—government steps up provision,” “contradictions in our primary schools,” “need for career advance,” “loophole in education,” “role of teachers in building a united Africa,” “student power and politics,” “junior schools report out soon,” “S. M. C. to handle varsities,” “national development lies in youth training,” “proposed junior secondary schools—3000 schools to be converted,” “role of the Presbyterian Church in education,” “attendance books for all teachers,” “Evans-Anfom—new education boss,” “education and development,” “kids learn by reading,” “help educate poor kids,” “success of JSS programme,” “type of teachers Ghana needs,” “training of teachers,” “feverish preparations for JSS,”

“new school year begins,” “my first day at school,” “integration of instructional technologies in the classroom,” “science and maths teachers needed,” “Capitation grant forum,” “strategies to improve standards of education,” “support of science education,” “education reform takes off,” “educational reform at last,” “education reform 2007,” “students attend maths vacation camp,” “new school reform begins,” “teachers urged to support reform,” “reform 2007 at glance,” “regional reports on education” and “president lauds teachers’ efforts.” These headline articles of the newspapers reportage on education contained reference to original primary documents which helped to enrich the quality of the thesis. They also facilitated the research especially in the gathering of information as they were easily acquired at the archives and university libraries. Apart from these, the headlines articles of newspapers quoted, brought to the fore or demonstrated largely how politics of governments influenced and shaped the direction of education in Ghana up to 2008.

Secondary sources such as books, articles, journals, unpublished thesis and magazines that were found to be significant to this study were also used.⁷⁸ These works have however been duly acknowledged at both the footnotes and the bibliography.

With respect to post-colonial politics in education particularly, the military regimes and the third and fourth republics of Ghana, in addition to archival documents and other relevant educational materials, interview was also

⁷⁸ For significant secondary works used in the study refer to the review of literature in this chapter, pp.6-47.

used. This helped to fill in gaps that exist in the materials to ensure fair analysis and critique of information that was made available to the researcher. People who witnessed Kwame Nkrumah's administration through to the second, third and fourth republics were identified and interviewed.

In all, twenty-eight knowledgeable educationists and stakeholders of education were interviewed. Such personalities included former Ministers of Education, former Director Generals of Education, former Regional, Metropolitan, Municipal and District Directors of Education, former Metropolitan, Municipal and District Chief Executives, former Assembly Men and Women, former Members of Parliament as well as former Regional Ministers. Others also included former vice-chancellors, professors, lecturers, students, headmasters, the elderly and other citizens of Ghana. The information obtained from informants was critically scrutinized and cross-checked with other sources in order to ensure its validity, reliability and authenticity. Such information from informant helped demonstrated conspicuously that the philosophies, ideologies, visions and aspirations of government have largely influenced and shaped the formulation and implementation of educational policies and decisions in Ghana, especially the post-colonial period and hence, assisted tremendously in the study of politics in education in Ghana.

Significance of the Study

The study would be useful to students, lecturers, stakeholders in education, historians, researchers and the general public. Policy-makers, educationists and

policy implementers could also derive immense benefits from the study since it discusses “A History of Politics in Education in Ghana, 1852-2008.” This study therefore traces the ideologies and philosophies of the various governments which influenced and directed the formulation and implementation of educational policies, ordinances, interventions and reforms in Ghana up to 2008. This would enable politicians and legislators appreciate the need to adopt a common educational framework and structure for all governments to follow and thus end the inconsistencies in all aspects of the educational system in the country. It would also assist such policy-makers to make references to such policies and interventions in order to influence future educational policies and decisions to the benefit of the country.

Moreover, this study would be a guide to social workers and researchers, especially, the Ministry of Education and students in the area of the development of education in Ghana, who want information on education ordinances, policies, reforms, higher education as well as various education commissions and committees’ reports and recommendations. It would also be a source of information on the social, political and intellectual history of Ghana.

Organization of the Study

This study is divided into seven main chapters. Chapter One consists of the introductory section and has been further divided into seven sub-themes, namely, Background of the Study, Statement of the Problem, Literature Review, Methodology and Sources of Data, Objectives of the Study, Significance of the Study and Organization of the Study.

Chapter Two traces the Politics of Pre-colonial Education in the Gold Coast. Key issues discussed in the body of Chapter Two are Antecedent to Education up to 1852, Origins of Western Education in the Gold Coast (Ghana), Trend of Mission Education in Ghana and the Nature and Direction of Colonial Government Education in Ghana, 1852-1900. It discusses both indigenous education and western education and, especially what motivated a shift from indigenous politics to western politics of education up to 1900.

Chapter Three discusses Colonial Philosophies and Ideologies of Education up to 1950. Here, issues such as the Appraisal of the Focus of Colonial Education in Ghana, Assessment of Gordon Guggisberg's Educational Provision, Colonial Focus of Secondary Education in Ghana—Achimota School, Post-Guggisbergian Education in Ghana, Higher Education and Nationalism—Demands for Higher Education in Ghana and the Establishment of University Education in Ghana. It largely assesses the colonial philosophy and its impact on education at all levels up to 1950.

Chapter Four deals with Education under Internal Self-government and the Administration of the First Republic (1951-1966). It discusses the direction and focus of post-independence education in Ghana, the Accelerated Development Plan of Education, the Second Development Plan 1959-1964, Politics in University Education under the CPP Government, International Commission on University Education in Ghana (1960-1961), Implementation of the Recommendations of the Commission on University Education, Establishment of the University College of Cape Coast, Making the Existing University Colleges

Independent, Africanization of the University Staff, Establishment of the Institute of African Studies, Establishment of National Council for Higher Education. The chapter demonstrates how Ghanaian shaped and directed their education to reflect their aspirations.

Chapter Five examines the post-Nkrumah era to the end of the Third Republic. Key issues discussed are Pre-University Educational Focus of the First Military Regime in Ghana, 1966-69, Higher Education in the First Military Regime, Education under Dr. Kofi Abrefa Busia and the Educational Focus and Direction of the National Redemption Council (NRC). The chapter shows how issues of globalization and the need for socio-economic emancipation directed education in the post-Nkrumah era.

Chapter Six traces the Trend and Direction of Education under Ft. Lt. J. J. Rawlings and J. A. Kufuor. It discusses issues such as the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) 1981-1991, the 1987 Educational Reforms of Ft. Lt. J. J. Rawlings, the Junior Secondary School System (JSS), Second Cycle and Tertiary Education, University Rationalization Policy, President Kufuor's Educational Intervention in Ghana, John Agyekum Kufuor's Education Reforms of 2007—Basic Education, Secondary Education, Teacher Education and Higher Education. This chapter interrogates the focus of education in the last quarter of the twentieth century and how education was linked to the national developmental goals of poverty alleviation and wealth creation in the 21st century.

Chapter Seven discusses the outcome of the findings of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

POLITICS IN EDUCATION IN GHANA, 1852-1900

Introduction

This chapter explores the politics that led to the development of Western education in the Gold Coast (Ghana) starting from 1852 to 1900¹. The chapter traces the background to the promulgation of the First Education Ordinance in the Gold Coast in 1852. The aim is to discuss the introduction and spread of formal education in the Gold Coast. To this end, the nature of education in the Gold Coast prior to the peoples' contact with the Europeans, ideological underpinnings that motivated the introduction of Western education and the attempts made towards its consolidation up to the eighteenth century are discussed. Using relevant archival documents and secondary works, efforts are made to discuss the philosophies and ideologies that directed and influenced educational policies and interventions introduced in the Gold Coast from 1852 to 1900.

Antecedents to Western Education up to 1852

Two major significant issues discussed under this sub-title are the indigenous Ghanaian education system and the origins of Western education up to 1852. Euro-centric writers such as Frederick Hegel, A. P. Newton and Hugh Trevor Roper equated history, education and civilization to writing, and hence

¹ In this study the pre-colonial rule in Ghana ends in 1900. This is based on the fact that even though the Gold Coast Colony was incorporated into British Colonial Rule in 1874, it was not until 1901 that the Ashanti and the Northern Territories were also officially annexed and hence completing the process of colonialism in Ghana.

formal education.² This claim has been opposed by A. Babs Fafunwa, Chancellor Williams and M. K. Antwi.³ The Euro-centric assertion watered down the civilizations of most African countries such as Ghana, the Gambia, Mali, Togo, Nigeria and many others and relegated them to an ahistorical status. This thinking by the Europeans was largely unfair to the African. Africans had their unique mode of training and education in relation to their culture and environment.⁴ K. A. Busia corroborates this idea when he notes that “Every community [Africa] had its way of passing on to the next generation its own culture, its own way of life. This is education in its broad social context”.⁵

Understandably, the main goal of education whether informal or formal, is to produce people who would become useful members of the society in which they live.⁶ Fafunwa strongly holds the view that educational goals and methods of approach differed from country to country and attributed this phenomena to the environment.⁷ The Romans, for example, tilted their education towards oratory and military training. The differences in relation to the goals and approaches of education among societies made Harber Clive conclude that attitudes and values

²J. Ki-Zerbo, “General Introduction” in *General History of Africa I: Methodology and African Pre-history*. Edited by J. Ki-Zerbo, California: Heinemann Publishers, 1981, p. 30.

³ These were some of the African scholars who strongly kicked against the assertion of Euro-centric writers that African communities had no form of education and history before the onslaught of the Europeans.

⁴ Interview with Kobina Abaidoo, Aged 63, Rtd. Graduate Teacher, Abura Dunkwa (Central Region), 01-07-15.

⁵ Busia, K. A., *The Challenge of Africa*, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1962, pp. 79-80.

⁶ Owusu, M. A. S., “The Mis-Education of the Ghanaian: A Critique of the Ghanaian Education System,” in *Challenges of Education in Ghana in the 21st Century*, edited by D. E. K. Amenumey, Accra: Woeli Publishing Services, 2007, p. 91. Also, Interview with K. Y. Boafo, Aged 81, former Ambassador to Soviet Union, Accra, 30-09-10.

⁷ Fafunwa, A. B., “Some Guiding Principles of Education in Africa”, *West African Journal of Education*, Vol. XV. No. 1, Ibadan, Institute of Education Publishers, 1971, p. 5. See also, Antwi, M. K., “Early Development of Education in Ghana” in *Introduction to Education in Ghana*, edited by Aboisi, O. C., and Amissah, B. J., Accra: Sedco, 1992, p.1.

of African citizens are responsible for the formation of political cultures which are largely shaped and directed by the history, geography, and socio-economic structures that influence the operation of the society's political institutions.⁸ Every country in the world has its unique political culture and Ghana is no exception. It is, in fact, this aspect of the society that enables it to have certain political orientations in relation to education, religion and economics.⁹

Ghana's educational development first began as an informal one. It did not follow any formal rules and structures. The major objective was to train and prepare children to become good citizens. Its political philosophy was an all inclusive education.¹⁰ Indigenous Ghanaian education was offered for all children in the society. There was therefore, no discrimination as the entire natural environment became the classroom for the transmission of knowledge.¹¹ Learning was through observation. Children acquired knowledge through watching, listening and doing or participating.

There was no discrimination in the process of learning since the problem of each individual became the problem of the family and for that matter the whole society. That was why apart from the training given by parents and the elderly, the society also had its cherished values which socialized the child. To this end, K. Y. Boafo described the indigenous Ghanaian education as "human and ecological concepts in which the society and the environment took precedence in its

⁸ Harber, C., *Politics in African Education*. London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 1989, p. 1.

⁹ K. Y. Boafo, op. cit. Also, interview with Col. (Rtd.) Passah Braimah, Aged 85, a former Military Officer, Laterbiokorshie, Accra on 10-02-09.

¹⁰ Kobina Abaidoo, op. cit. Also, Col. (Rtd.) Arhin Rocques, M., Aged 93, Police Officer, Accra on 11-01-10.

¹¹ Interview with Nana (Dr.) Kobina Nketsia V, Omanhene of Essikado-Sekondi, and Lecturer Department of History, University of Cape Coast, in Cape Coast on 02-12-10.

knowledge dissemination”¹² The home, which marks the child’s first contact of socialization, acted as the main educational agency. This was the place where ‘culturing’ the child first began. This phenomenon in totality has been equated to ‘culture’ which is the encapsulation of politics, society, economics and science.¹³

K. Y. Boafo noted that, the society and environment took precedence in knowledge dissemination.¹⁴ Ademu-Wagun Zacchaeus sees the goals and philosophy of education whether indigenous or Western as a means of shaping or reshaping our beliefs, values, assumptions and judgements.¹⁵ He, as well as Sophia Akuffo, says that education is one of the greatest up-lifters in societies.¹⁶ As a result, a society’s culture, traditions, customs, norms, heritage and taboos were inculcated in children. W. Lewis also points out that school is a miniature society where pupils are indoctrinated into the behaviour patterns of the larger society.¹⁷

Children acquired the domains of development: Cognitive, Affective and Psychomotor. These domains were especially developed in children through the indigenous knowledge system of education. These three domains of development, however were bound together in indigenous Ghanaian education. Children actively engaged in games and activities such as *duah*, which has the call and

¹² K. Y. Boafo, op. cit.

¹³ K. B. Maison, “The Indigenous African and Contemporary Education in Ghana: The Challenge of the 21st Century”, edited by Amenumey, D.E.K., in *Challenges of Education in Ghana in the 21st Century*, Accra, Woeli Publishing Service, 2007, p.28.

¹⁴ K.Y. Boafo, op. cit. Also, interview with Dr. Justice Atta Addison, Aged 92 years, Takoradi, on 10-10-10.

¹⁵ Ademu-Wagun, Z. A., “Education for Social Change,” in *Ghana Journal of Education* edited by E. K. Baah-Gyimah and S. A. A. Djoletto, Vol. 2 No. 4, Accra: Ministry of Education Publishers, October, 1971, p. 36.

¹⁶ Sophia Akuffo, “Towards Sex Equality,” *Daily Graphic*, Tuesday, 7th January, 1975, p. 5.

¹⁷ Lewis, W., “Structure in the New Curricula,” in *the Ghana Journal of Education*. Vol. 1 No. 3, Accra: Ministry of Education Publishers, April, 1970.

response technique as follows: *Duah* (tail) *oh duah*,...*duah*, *Okusie* (Rat) *duah*..., translated, tail oh... oh tail, tail, rat tail... ; asking children to name characters in rivers; telling Kweku Ananse stories; children throwing stones; children climbing trees; children making drawings on the ground; and children practising how to prepare food (*Nkuro*), which greatly helped in the development of the three domains.¹⁸

To a large extent, individuals acquired knowledge of the culture of the society through curiosity. The essence of understanding the culture, especially the rituals, was to make individuals become conscious of who they are. This was intended to enable children acquire relevant skills to function well in all activities of the society's social life.¹⁹ On this issue, Nana Kobina Nketsia V identified three realms of knowledge dissemination among the Akans within the parameters of the indigenous education system. First, the mind generated thoughts which led to knowing, *Hu*; secondly, knowing led to things beyond perception, *Wonhu*; and thirdly, perception also led to things beyond thought, a state of awareness, *Waben*.²⁰ According to Nana Kobina Nketsia V, a child became academically good during the last stage.²¹ These trainings took two main forms—formal and informal training—the former that required expertise included chieftaincy, priesthood, hunting, drumming, weaving, herbal medicine, blacksmithing,

¹⁸ Nana Kobina Nketsia V, op. cit. Also, Peter Boakye, "A Biography of Nana Kobina Nketsia IV." M. Phil Thesis submitted to the Department of History of the Faculty of Arts, University of Cape Coast, 2013, p. 36.

¹⁹ Ibid. Peter Boakye. pp. 36-37.

²⁰ Nana Kobina Nketsia V, op. cit.

²¹ Ibid.

woodworking and pottery. The latter form also included household chores, cooking, farming and fishing.²²

Apart from its numerous benefits such as the inculcation of educational and moral values in children, the indigenous Ghanaian education had some challenges. It lacked written accounts through the use of figures and letters.²³ This situation was likely to impede the progress and development of the societies. The indigenes adopted Western education in the course of time. There was, therefore, a modification in the underlying philosophical and ideological underpinnings of education to the indigenous Ghanaians.²⁴

The challenges of indigenous education make it easy for one to understand the motivating factor for the shift. Three factors are thus raised to explain the shift. First, products of education, in the estimation of indigenous Ghanaians, should be functional all societies. Thus the issue of globalization becomes significant. As a matter of contention, it was not possible for any society such as the Gold Coast, to live in isolation and to depend on itself. It was also true that indigenous Ghanaian education concentrated on the specific cultures of each ethnic group such as Akan, Ewe, Ga-Adangbe and the Mole-Dagbani. This means that traditional education could not act as the tool for the creation of a modern nation that transcends its ethnic components.

²² McWilliam, H. O.A. & Kwamena-Poh, M.A. *The Development of Education in Ghana*. London: Longman Group Ltd, 1975, pp. 4-6. Also, refer to Kimble, D. *A Political History of Ghana: The Rise of Gold Coast Nationalism 1850-1928*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963, p. 61 and K. Y. Bofo, op. cit.

²³ McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, *The Development of Education in Ghana*, p. 9.

²⁴ Ibid. K. Y. Bofo

For example, it was difficult for children who lived in Asante Dwaben²⁵ to be integrated into the Mole-Dagbani culture. Here, children only learned by participating in cooking and weaving; undertaking recreational subjects such as dancing and jumping; as well as intellectual training like proverbs, riddles and story-telling. This training was all based on one's immediate environment.²⁶ Obviously, the environment posed a great challenge to indigenous education in Ghana. As it could be argued, its products became worse off as they could not function in other societies. Agbodeka and Bartels are of the view that this challenge caused the drift to Western education.²⁷ The drift was done in order to make products receptive to social change and modernization in other societies.²⁸

Moreover, the shift was made possible by the introduction and spread of Christianity in indigenous Ghanaian societies. Converts were taught how to read and write. This was done to enable the converts read the Christian texts such as the Bible to facilitate their understanding of the Christian religion and Western civilization. It is thus argued that once the indigenes converted willingly to Christianity they adhered to all the tenets of the new religion. This implied a shift towards Western culture and subsequently, Western education.

Education was therefore provided by the missionaries as part of the Christian life. Thomas Osei Bonsu notes that the missionaries wanted to change

²⁵ Asante Dwaben was one of the city-states that founded the Asante kingdom. It is situated about 20 miles east of Kumasi. The King of Dwaben is regarded as the head of the Oyoko Clan that founded Kumasi and often Asante chiefdoms.

²⁶ K. Y. Boafo, op. cit.

²⁷ Francis Agbodeka, *Achimota in the National Setting: A Unique Educational Experience in West Africa*. Accra: Afram Publications (Ghana) Ltd., 1977, p. 2. See also, F. L. Bartels, *The Beginning of Africanisation: The Dawn of the Missionary Motive in Gold Coast Education*, Rev. Thomas Thompson 1751-1951, Cape Coast: Methodist Book Depot, p. 11.

²⁸ Ibid.

the attitude and behaviour of the indigenes especially their hostile attitude towards the Europeans.²⁹ The missionaries also isolated the converts to live in separate communities and this inevitably linked converts to the culture of the Europeans. As McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh point out, “since in most places the only education available was in mission schools, it tended to produce two worlds, separating the literates from the rest of the community.”³⁰ As a result, the converts found themselves in schools.

There is also the question of the early beneficiaries of Western education. These people were well-trained by the missionaries in various professions such as teaching, masonry, pottery-making, weaving, brick-making, blacksmithing, food-farming, carpentry and furniture-making. The living standard of the products was accordingly improved to the extent that some became teachers and catechists. Such people included Philip Quaque, J. E. J. Capitein and Theophilus Opoku,³¹ and in the estimation of Thomas Osei Bonsu, a change in the lifestyles of such individuals attracted their compatriots and motivated the shift to Western education.³² Thus, it became significant for a shift from indigenous Ghanaian education to Western education. The latter trained individuals to reflect modern changes and therefore produce the right type of trainees required by modern society.

²⁹ Interview with Honourable Osei Bonsu, former Assistant Headmaster (Administration) Collins S. H. S. Agogo and former Municipal Chief Executive, Asante-Akyem Central, Aged 63, Agogo, 28-11-15.

³⁰ See McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, op. cit. p. 34.

³¹ See Maureen O. Iheanacho, *Theophilus Opoku: Indigenous Pastor and Missionary Theologian, 1842-1913*. Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2014, p. 1. Also, McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, op. cit. pp. 18-21.

³² Osei Bonsu, op. cit.

Origins of Western Education in Ghana

The introduction and spread of Western educational politics in sub-Saharan Africa was through interactions with Europeans such as the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Danes, the British, the Germans, the French and the Spanish.³³ Historically, the Europeans first came to the West African Coast (Guinea Coast) during the second decade of the fifteenth century,³⁴ but touched on the shores of the Gold Coast in the late fifteenth century, precisely, 1471. Nationals from Portugal were the first to arrive on the coast of modern Ghana in 1471.³⁵

Upon their arrival, they actively engaged in trading activities. The trade of the Portuguese brought them to other villages apart from Shama, especially Edina, where they were attracted due to the gold they found. This explains why they named Edina *A-Mina*, which in Portuguese meant “The Mine.”³⁶ For the period of ten years, (1471 to 1481), the Portuguese concentrated mainly on trade politics especially the exploitation of gold on the Coast of Edina. The benefits of the coastal trade culminated in the building of the castle St. George da Mina in 1482. The castle served as a warehouse for their goods. Also, they built it to protect themselves from attacks by the people on the coast of Ghana. Apart from these, it

³³ C. G. Wise, *A History of Education in British West Africa*, pp. 1-3. Also, McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, *The Development of Education in Ghana*, pp. 17-26.

³⁴ See F. L. Bartels, *Gold Coast Education: Its Roots and Growth* in Public Records and Archives Administration Department, PRAAD, Accra:/SC.23/1098, No. 164, p. 7.

³⁵ Johann de Santarem and Pedro de Escobar were the first Portuguese explorers to arrive on the Gold Coast. They were accompanied by the captains of the ships, Martin Fernandes and Alvaro Esteves. See PRAAD, Accra: SC.23/1098, No. 164, op. cit. p. 9., Ralph M. Wiltgen's *Gold Coast Mission History, 1471-1880*. Illinois: Divine Word Publication, 1956, p. 2., Hans W. Debrunner, *A History of Christianity in Ghana*. Accra: Waterville Publishing House, 1967, p. 16., S. K. Odamtten, *The Missionary Factor in Ghana's Development up to the 1880's*. Accra: Waterville Publishing House, 1978, p. 12. See also, Philip Foster, *Education and Social Change in Ghana*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965, p. 39.

³⁶ Ibid. p. 2., See also, PRAAD, Accra: SC.23/1098, No. 164, op. cit. p. 9.

is suggested that the Elmina Castle was built to facilitate economic exploitation of the coast of southern Ghana.³⁷

The First School in the Gold Coast (Portuguese)

In December 1521, King John III ascended the throne of Portugal. He did not want castle, Sao Jorge da Mina, to be famous for only commerce. He reasoned that the people of Edina needed to experience Western education. Ralph Wiltgen noted that “he [King John III] wanted to give them not only merchandise for their gold but also the benefit of intellectual and spiritual goods.”³⁸

As a result, Ghana had its first contact with Western education in the sixteenth century. Thus on the 8th of February 1529, the king of Portugal, King John III, instructed Estevao da Gama, the new Captain and Governor at the Elmina Castle, to teach the African children how to read and write. He was to: “Take special care to command that the sons of the Negroes living in the village learn how to read and write, how to sing and pray while ministering in the church and all other duties connected with divine services.”³⁹ From the discussions so far, it is obvious that Western education was introduced by the Europeans to the people of the Gold Coast. Prior to its introduction, the indigenes were not

³⁷ K. Y. Boafo, op. cit.

³⁸ Ralph M. Wiltgen, op. cit. p. 15.

³⁹ Ibid. p. 16., Hans W. Debrunner, *A History of Christianity in Ghana*, op. cit. p. 21., and Ekow Evans Budu-Arthur, “The Effect of Missionary Activities on Some Akan Institutions from the Portuguese Settlement on the Mina Coast (1482-1916),” Unpublished PhD Thesis presented to the University of Oxford, 1959, pp.123-124. See also, F. L. Bartels, op. cit. p. 2.

conscious of the formal-sit-down-classroom-type of education. They only had indigenous education that served as preparation for future roles in life.⁴⁰

It can, therefore, be argued that the establishment of formal education by the Europeans was a fall-out of their exploitative ambitions. It was deliberately calculated and found by the early European merchants to be helpful for their commercial and religious activities. This explains why some scholars share the view that formal education became an off-shoot of European commercial enterprise.⁴¹ It is suggested that King Affonso V, King John I and King John II did not see the need to introduce Western education in the Gold Coast but were only interested in trade and religious activities. King John III of Portugal was thus the first to introduce Western education in Ghana. The King wanted children of the Gold Coast to be introduced to Western education. However, the Governors and Captains in the Elmina Castle twisted this idea and educated only mulatto children. This represented a literate-racial-discrimination politics in education. It was offered to the children of the Europeans.

The issue of 'gap factor' also explains the ideology behind the introduction of formal education in the Gold Coast. This has largely been overlooked by scholars in the field of educational studies. Neither has sociologists nor philosophers made any attempts in that direction. The suggestion here is that if the

⁴⁰ Kimble shares the view that Western type of education was brought to the people of modern Ghana not because the indigenes demanded for it, but it came as a significant factor for the promotion and sustainability of missionary activities in the Gold Coast. See David Kimble's work, *op. cit.* p. 61. Also, Foster has stated that even though Western education has come to stay with us in Ghana, at its humble beginnings, Ghanaians did not ask for its establishment. See Philip Foster, *op. cit.* p.38.

⁴¹ Such scholars strongly subscribe to the view that Western education emerged as a mere by product of the European activities in the Gold Coast. Such scholars include McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, M. K. Antwi and S. K. Odamtten.

Europeans were, in fact, determined to enlighten the indigenes through Western education at the onset, then it should have started with the completion of the Elmina Castle. Trade and religion began the very first day the European set foot on the coast of modern Ghana. The first Mass was offered on Sunday, 20th January 1482, the day the Portuguese fleet first landed at Elmina.⁴² But Western education did not start until 1529 and this confirmed the assertion by McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh that “Christianity and school usually came second to commerce and exploitation, if they were not neglected altogether.”⁴³

Even, the earlier attempts were expectedly limited to the children of the European and African mothers, popularly referred to as ‘mulattos.’ The essence of educating the mulattos was “to replenish their [European] ever dwindling staff and improve their efficiency.”⁴⁴ Thus, logically, the philosophy that motivated King John III of Portugal to initiate school instruction in the Gold Coast was to introduce Africans to European culture and civilization. To this end, K. B. Maison states that “European ideas and culture endorsing European knowledge hegemony become the drumbeat marching Africa to progress.”⁴⁵ This also explained why Africans who saw the necessity of indigenous world view were tagged as backward, traditionalists, conservative and regressive.⁴⁶

⁴² Ralph Wiltgen, op. cit. p. 1, see also, Hans Debrunner, *A History of Christianity*, p. 17, and McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, op. cit. p. 17.

⁴³ McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, p. 17.

⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 19.

⁴⁵ Maison, K. B., “The Re-emergence of Ananse: Re-inventing African Universities through indigenous Knowledge Systems,” in *Polishing the Pearls of Ancient Wisdom: Exploring the Relevance of Endogenous African Knowledge Systems for Sustainable Development in Postcolonial Africa*, edited by D. D. Kuupole and De-Valera N. Y. M. Botchway, Cape Coast: University of Cape Coast Publishers, 2010, p. 55.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

The building of the Elmina Castle made it easy to get a place where instruction would be offered. Accordingly, subjects such as Reading, Writing and Religion were taught in Portuguese.⁴⁷ The Portuguese teacher was paid two justos, equivalent to about 242 grains of gold, for each child taught within the year.⁴⁸

To ensure effective and efficient inspection of the Elmina Castle School, King John III decreed that exact records of students be kept in archives by the Governor. Contrary to the assertion by some scholars,⁴⁹ Portugal pioneered the practice of sending promising children overseas for further studies and not the Dutch. However, unlike the Dutch, no trace has been found of the contribution made by the beneficiaries who were taken to Lisbon, Portugal. This was because they did not return to assist in the running of schools.

Portugal was a Roman Catholic state. This explains why they came with some Roman Fathers, hence the Roman Catholics had the privilege of becoming the first ever Christian church on the coast of modern Ghana though this early attempt was short lived. Fifteen years after King John III's death in 1572, four Portuguese Augustinian priests, also known as Order of Hermits of St. Augustine, Father Gasper dos Anjos (leader), Father Pedro da Graca, Father Jose de Moraes and Father Jeronimo da Encarnacao arrived at Elmina.⁵⁰ They took charge of the

⁴⁷ David Kimble, op. cit. p. 62.

⁴⁸ Ralph M. Wiltgen, op. cit. 16, Hans W. Debrunner, *A History of Christianity in Ghana*. p. 21. See also, F. L. Bartels, *Roots of Ghana Methodism*, p. 2. However, McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, however put the figure at 240 grains of gold, See McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, p. 17.

⁴⁹ McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh state categorically that the Dutch started the practice of sending African students abroad for further studies. See *ibid.* p. 18.

⁵⁰ Ralph M. Wiltgen, op. cit. pp. 21-22. Also, Evans Ekow-Budu, op. cit. p. 124, and Bartels, op. cit. p. 2

work of education and evangelization and spread their activities to Komenda, Efutu and Abakrampa.

Two more Fathers, Domingo de Santa Maria and Atanasio da Cruz also joined the four Augustinian Fathers at Elmina. In 1576, Father Marting Goncalvez, the then Catholic Chaplain of Sao Jorge, taught the Mulatto children in the Castle Reading, Catechism and Mass.⁵¹ In 1638, Father Colombin and Father Cyrille of France arrived on the coast of Axim and opened a school where they taught children. Subjects in the curriculum included the Lord's Prayer, Apostles Creed and Hail Mary. The Portuguese stayed for a period of about 166 years on the coast of Ghana and greatly affected its economic, social and religious development. But, to the student of educational history, it appears that the social change, particularly, the introduction of Western education is the most valuable legacy the Portuguese bequeathed to the people of Ghana. Portugal's attempt at ensuring the sustainability of western education continued until August 29, 1637 when the Dutch eventually captured the Elmina Castle.

The Dutch

The Portuguese attempt at offering Western education at the Elmina Castle ended with the Dutch coming to the limelight in 1637. This was in spite of the fact that the first Dutchmen reached the Coast of Ghana in 1593 and participated in brisk trade with the indigenes.⁵² The Dutch began their Castle School Education at the Elmina Castle in 1641. There is the question of why the Dutch

⁵¹ Ibid. F. L. Bartels, Also, Wiltgen, pp. 21-24.

⁵² Hans W. Debrunner, op. cit. p. 28.

entered the field of education in the Gold Coast. First, the Dutch were committed to teach both the African and mulatto children. Secondly, their acquisition of the Elmina Castle facilitated the introduction of Dutch education. Moreover, the Dutch involvement in education was mainly in response to the fulfilment of their 1621 Charter which advocated the provision of schools in their trading establishments. This advocacy was in conformity with the teachings of the Dutch Reformed Church⁵³ which wished to convert Africans to Christianity.

The Dutch Castle School Education was initiated by the Dutch Governor, Jacob Reijchaver and the Chaplain Meynaert Hendricksen. Rev. Meynaert Hendricksen became convinced that: "A school is necessary. It should not only teach the youth how to read and write, but it should also lay the foundations of Christian religion."⁵⁴ It was to this end that on July 7, 1641, Rev. Hendricksen, through his letter to Amsterdam, requested teachers and school materials such as pens, papers and books. With these developments, the Dutch made some progress in Castle School Education at Elmina.⁵⁵ The first change was that the Dutch language immediately replaced Portuguese and thus became the medium of instruction at the Elmina Castle School. Also, the Dutch became the second European nation in Ghana to have sent students abroad for further studies. Such individuals who benefited from this intervention were Elisa Johannes Jacobus Capitein and Anton William Amo. Jacobus Capitein was born in West Africa and

⁵³ F. L. Bartels, *op. cit.* p. 3.

⁵⁴ Hans W. Debrunner, *op. cit.* p. 35.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

later sold into slavery when he was nine years old. His master, a famous Dutch trader, Jacobus Von Goch took him to Holland.⁵⁶

Jacobus Capitein began his studies at the Hague. Here, he learnt languages such as Hebrew, Greek and Latin. He completed his studies at the University of Leyden where he read theology. He offered theology because of his conviction of returning to Africa to promote evangelization, Western education and civilization. He submitted his dissertation on the topic “De Vocatione Ethnicorum.” This was basically a call on the gentiles to accept Jesus Christ. On his return to the Gold Coast, Jacobus Capitein started a school. Subjects taught in the curriculum were spelling, reading, the Creed, the Lord’s Prayer and the Ten Commandments.⁵⁷ This school made giant strides in spite of some challenges especially, the problem of heathenism in relation to his pupils and also, the inability of parents at Elmina to send their children to school. What eventually ended his school was his death on 1st February, 1747.

Anton William Amo was born at Axim in 1703. He was taken to Holland and later to Germany as a slave when he was very young. In Germany, William Amo was presented as a gift to the reigning Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel at the age of four.⁵⁸ After completion of his primary and secondary education in Wolfenbuttel he was admitted as a student of Philosophy and Jurisprudence in the Prussian University of Halle on 9th June, 1727 under the Chancellorship of

⁵⁶It is probable that Jacobus Capitein had his other name ‘Jacobus’ from his master at Holland.

⁵⁷ F. L. Bartels, *The Roots of Ghana Methodism*, p. 3.

⁵⁸ See Isaac S. Epton, *Gallery of Gold Coast Celebrities 1632-1958*. Accra: Ilen Publications Ltd., 1967, p. 13.

Professor Michael Albertni.⁵⁹ On 2nd September, 1730, he entered the University of Wittenberg and graduated as a Master of Philosophy and Civil Law. After working on several papers and dissertations William Amo submitted his doctoral thesis to the University of Wittenberg in 1734.⁶⁰ The title of the thesis was “An introductory philosophical discussion on the ‘want of feeling’ of the human mind; or the absence of sensation and of perceiving faculties in the human mind, and the presence of them in our organic and living body.”⁶¹ Ekow Evans-Budu says that this thesis, indeed, surprised the Rector of the University of Wittenberg. The comment from the Rector about the thesis was that “It underwent no change because it was well executed; and indicates a mind exercised in reflection.”⁶²

Amo was therefore, appointed professor of Philosophy and Logic at the Universities of Helmstedt, Jena, Wittenberg and Halle.⁶³ William Amo was also conferred the title of Counsellor of State at the Court of Berlin.⁶⁴ This honour, according to Isaac Epton, was achieved by virtue of William Amo’s wide learning, wisdom and experience in secular governments.⁶⁵ One of William Amo’s students was the famous Emmanuel Kant, who later became an outstanding philosopher.⁶⁶ After a period of thirty years stay in Europe however William Amo returned to Ghana. By 1753, he was living comfortably at Axim in the Gold Coast. After some time, he left Axim for Shama. It appears that William Amo

⁵⁹ Ibid. *Gallery of Gold Coast Celebrities*, p. 14.

⁶⁰ McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, op. cit. p. 19.

⁶¹ Evans Ekow-Budu, op. cit. p. 244.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid. Also, Isaac S. Epton, op. cit. p. 13.

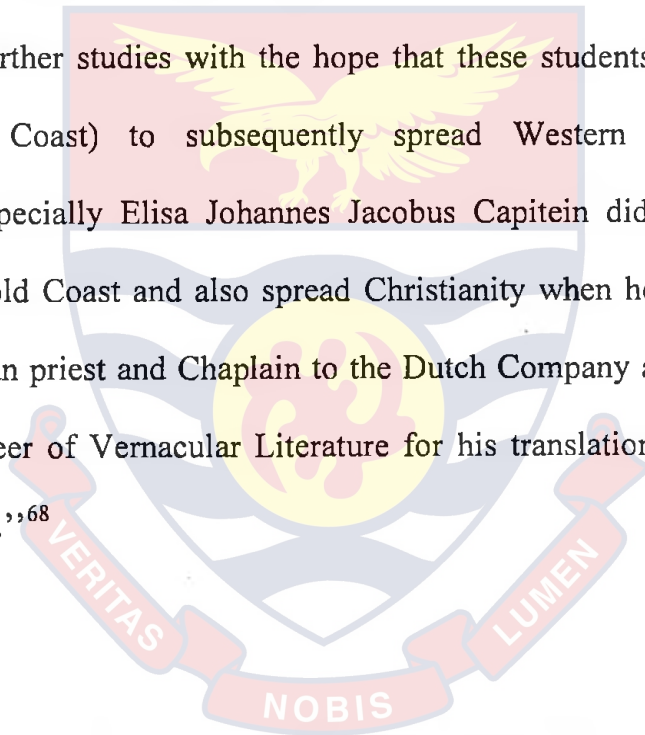
⁶⁴ McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, op. cit. p. 19.

⁶⁵ Isaac S. Epton, op. cit. p. 13.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

contributed nothing to the development of education in his country. One reason is that he spent all his active days in Europe and thereby only shaped the mindset of the West. But had little to no contribution to the intellectual development. By the time he returned from Europe, he was advanced in age. At Shama, Anton William Amo lived the life of a recluse until he passed away.⁶⁷

The Dutch thus contributed to the spread of Western education in the Gold Coast. Their politics in education did not only take the form of opening schools and teaching the indigenes literacy and numeracy but sending promising students to Europe for further studies with the hope that these students returned to their country (Gold Coast) to subsequently spread Western education. Such beneficiaries, especially Elisa Johannes Jacobus Capitein did not only start a school in the Gold Coast and also spread Christianity when he became the first Protestant African priest and Chaplain to the Dutch Company at Elmina but also he was “a pioneer of Vernacular Literature for his translation of the Apostles’ Creed into Fante.”⁶⁸



The Danes

Apart from Portugal and the Netherlands, other European nations such as Denmark and Britain also participated in the quest to initiate Castle Education. The Danes began their work in the Gold Coast in 1656. They largely operated in Accra. They built the Osu Castle, the Christiansburg Castle and stayed there for their activities. The Danes followed the precedents set by the Portuguese and the

⁶⁷ Ibid. p. 256.

⁶⁸ McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, op. cit. p. 18.

Dutch. King Frederick IV of Denmark instructed Elias Svane, the Chaplain at Christiansburg to start a school. Accordingly, the Danes began their Castle School in 1722 after a period of 66 years stay on the coast of Ghana. The Danish schools were mostly promoted by chaplains. Two of their chaplains who were committed to Danish education were Frederick Pedersen Svane and Christian Jacob Protten. They acted as teacher-catechists.⁶⁹

King Frederick IV also took an active interest in giving Africans good education. This explains why he prevailed on the chaplain to send two mulatto children to Denmark for further studies. As a result, in 1726, Elias Svane returned to Denmark with two African children, Frederick Pedersen Svane, his son by an African woman and Christian Protten.⁷⁰ One important legacy of this arrangement was that the Moravian Mission became the first Protestant Church to begin work in the Gold Coast in 1737. The brain behind the coming of the Moravian missionaries to the Gold Coast was Count Zinzendorf, a German. They were led by Henrick Huckoff and Christian Protten. The latter joined the Moravians in 1737 at Copenhagen. Unfortunately, the former did not survive the environment. He died within a few days of his arrival at Accra.⁷¹

By 1771, the Danish attempt at providing a school at the Christiansburg Castle had almost collapsed. This was basically due to the death of the Moravian missionaries through malaria. Governors such as Jens Kioge, Schionning and later, Rev. H. C. Monrad ensured its survival between 1780 and 1817.⁷² Progress

⁶⁹ Ibid. pp. 19-20.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ralph Wiltgen, *Gold Coast Mission History: 1471-1880*, p. 106.

⁷² McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, *The Development of Education in Ghana*, p. 20.

in this attempt was on a small scale due to illness, death and lack of commitment of the Danish Governors. The Danish attempt, however, was rejuvenated through the instrumentality of the Danish Governor, Major de Richelieu between 1822 and 1825. With great commitment and dedication, Richelieu himself participated in the teaching. Thus, it was through his efforts and later negotiations on his return home that led to the coming of the Basel Mission to Ghana. The Danish attempt at providing education in Ghana came to an end in 1850 when they sold their possessions to the British and left the Gold Coast.⁷³

Even though the Danes left earlier in comparison to the Dutch, they contributed in spreading Western education in the eastern part of the Gold Coast. They also pursued the politics of sending brilliant students overseas for further studies. They also provided pupils with skirts and caps. This was done to motivate pupils and hence, enhance their education in the Gold Coast. Furthermore, the activities of the Danes brought the first Protestant missionaries of the Moravians and the Basel to the Gold Coast in 1737 and 1828 respectively, who also contributed significantly to the spread of Western education in the country.

The English or British

The British attempt at providing education was, indeed, a mixed blessing to people of the Gold Coast. This was because they did not only contribute immensely in the early attempts at introducing and spreading Western education in the Gold Coast, but also colonized the country and imposed their authority on the people from 1874 to 1957. They established their headquarters at Cape Coast.

⁷³ C.C. Reindorf, *History of Gold Coast and Asante*, pp. 329-330.

John Chiltman initiated the Cape Coast Castle School in 1693 on behalf of the British.⁷⁴ He came to Cape Coast through the recommendation of the Directors of the Royal African Company in London on 13th October, 1692. He was the first English teacher to teach on the coast of Ghana.⁷⁵ Unfortunately, like many other Europeans before him, he did not survive the environment. He died at Cape Coast on 9th June, 1693.⁷⁶

Another attempt was made in 1722 to open an English School at Cape Coast. This also did not succeed because, as it happened to the earlier school, Nathaniel Wilkinson died shortly after his arrival in 1722.⁷⁷ After him, Rev. John Jameson revived the school. In 1751, the Rev. Thomas Thompson was appointed by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to administer the Cape Coast Castle and introduce certain innovations in the British effort. Until his arrival, the British attempt at offering school instruction was limited to the Cape Coast Castle. Rev. Thomas Thompson did not only establish a school at Cape Coast and teach Africans, but also pioneered the practice of preaching outside the Castle in places such as Anomabu, Tantum, Otum and Winneba.⁷⁸ It was in view of this that F. L. Bartels noted that “he planted a school among the people of Cape Coast at his own expense; and several of the young blacks came to him.”⁷⁹ The direct effect of his efforts was that, in 1754, he took three African boys; Philip Quacoe,

⁷⁴ Hans W. Debrunner, *A History of Christianity in Ghana*, p. 55.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ F. L. Bartels, *The Roots of Ghana Methodism*, p. 4.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

Thomas Caboro and William Cudjo to England.⁸⁰ These Africans were educated by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in London. Unfortunately, two of them died leaving behind only Philip Quacoe. After Philip Quacoe,⁸¹ had obtained his Master of Arts degree at the University of Oxford in 1766, he returned to Ghana. He then became the first African Chaplain at the Cape Coast Castle.⁸²

To Philip Quacoe's utter dismay, the school established by Rev. Thomas Thompson had collapsed. Quacoe, who became a missionary, catechist and school master to the peoples in the Gold Coast, re-opened the school. In his experimental school, Philip Quacoe got some relief from the Torridzonian Society.⁸³ The society was formed by a group of officers working for the Company of Merchants together with the President of the Council in 1787. The motto of the society was: "Friendship ardent as the Clime."⁸⁴ Later, it set up a school to teach Africans. Subjects in their curriculum were Christian Religion, Reading, Writing and Arithmetic.⁸⁵

The English school that was largely sustained by Philip Quacoe, in the course of time, faced certain challenges. First, there was the Fante lukewarm attitude towards the school.⁸⁶ The local people did not have interest in Philip Quacoe's school and consequently preferred to have their children stay at home. Apart from this, he also encountered a problem of communication with his employers. For example, during a period of about twenty-two years, the Society

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ His father was Birempon Cudjo.

⁸² McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, *The Development of Education in Ghana*, p. 20.

⁸³ Ibid. p. 21

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

for the Propagation of the Gospel's Committee which employed him wrote to him only two times.⁸⁷ Moreover, Philip Quaco's salaries was not paid. Sadly, on his death in 1795 his salary of about £300 was in arrears. There was also the problem of coastal skirmishes between Asante and Fante which created panic and general insecurity along the coast.⁸⁸ These problems retarded the school's progress and subsequently led to its collapse.

The British educational intervention led to the spread of Western education and as a result, produced great Ghanaians such as Joseph Smith who became headmaster of the Cape Coast School which the British had established. Also, through the British, certain measures were introduced into the school system. Under the auspices of the President of the Council of the Company of Merchants, the British founded the Torridzonian Society (T.S) which provided the pupils with school uniforms and the necessary stationery, such as books, to facilitate teaching and learning.⁸⁹ This was the origin of the practice of supplying free school materials to pupils. Hence, even though the initial politics in education pursued by the British was short-lived, it was resuscitated later under the administration of the British colonial government that shaped the direction of education in the Gold Coast until independence in 1957.

The Trend of Mission Education in Ghana

Christian Missions came to Ghana at a time when the work of both evangelization and education by the early European merchants had almost failed.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid

This time of their arrival in Ghana also coincided with the introduction and spread of industrial revolution in Europe. One significant effect of the industrial revolution was the acquisition of colonies in Africa so that the European powers would have constant supply of raw materials for the manufacturing of goods in Europe. This was a motivating factor for the scramble and partition of Africa.

So the Missions came at a time when the European powers had developed interest of the need to come to Africa.⁹⁰ Beginning from the end of the eighteenth century, through to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Moravian Mission (M.M.), Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.) in Foreign lands, the Basel Missionary Society (B.M.S.), the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (W.M.M.S.), the Bremen (North German) Missionary Society, the Roman Catholic Mission (R. C. M.), the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Mission (A.M.E.Z.M.) and the Seventh Day Adventist (S.D.A) were gradually established in the Gold Coast.

The aims for the activities of the Christian Missions in Africa were mainly to introduce and spread Christianity and Western civilization. David Morrison attributes the main driving force for the work of the Missions in Africa to their desire for uplifting the moral and material standards of Africans by giving them the true religion and civilization.⁹¹ This is further supported by S. K. Odamtten who noted that the Wesleyan missionaries, as in the case of other missionaries, came to the coast of Ghana principally to spread Christianity and Western

⁹⁰ K. Y. Boafo, op. cit.

⁹¹ David. R. Morrison, *Education and Politics in Africa: The Tanzanian Case*. London: C. Hurt & Company Ltd., 1976, p. 44.

Civilization.⁹² In view of this, evangelization became an important method through which the people were converted. Ekow Evans-Budu has argued that the reason why Rev. R. Dunwell, Rev. George Wrigley, Rev. Peter Harrop and other missionaries volunteered to come to the Gold Coast was to “offer the Gospel to Africa as some recompense for the iniquity of slave-dealing and passionate pity for the people regarded as debased and brutalized by gross superstition and wicked practices.”⁹³ A critical scrutiny of the activities of the Christian Missions demonstrated that their coming to Africa was motivated by both religious and economic reasons. It is argued that the Missions needed funds to enhance their religious activities. This explained why they engaged in agriculture and trade.

As part of their religious activities, Gold Coasters were indoctrinated into believing that Christianity held the key to salvation and enlightenment. This explains why some of the indigenes converted and requested for Bibles from their mother churches in Europe. No doubt the guiding principle of Joseph de Graft Smith and his colleagues of the Wesleyan Mission for promoting Bible knowledge in the early 1830s was “that as the word of God is the best rule a Christian ought to observe, it is herein avoided framing other rules to enforce good conduct: but that the Scriptures must be carefully studied, through which by the help of the Holy Spirit and faith in Jesus Christ, our mind will be enlightened and we shall find the way to eternal life.”⁹⁴ Mention has already been made of the fact that the missionaries used Western education to facilitate the spread of Christianity in West Africa. This explained why all the missionary societies that

⁹² See S. K. Odamtten op. cit. p. 45.

⁹³ Ekow Evans-Budu, op. cit. p. 444

⁹⁴ Ibid. p. 442

operated on the coast of Ghana established schools and even dominated the field of education until independence when political leadership passed into the hands of the indigenes.

The Basel Missionary Society

As mentioned earlier, the Basel missionaries through Major de Richelieu, arrived on the coast of Ghana on December 18, 1828 from Switzerland. They reached the coast of Ghana after a one-year study of Danish and camping at Copenhagen. The significance of the study at Copenhagen was to understand the languages of the indigenes on the coast to which they were to be sent. Their early efforts, however, were unsuccessful. This was due basically to the fact that almost all their first missionaries died within a short time of their arrival at Osu in Accra. For example, three out of the first four missionaries sent to the coast namely; Gottlieb Holwarth, Karl Ferdinand Salbach and Johann Gottlieb Schmidt died in August 1829 within three weeks of their arrival at Osu. The fourth person Johann Philipp Heinze, also died on November 27, 1831.⁹⁵ Thus, they had all died within three years of their stay on the coast.

A second group of missionaries volunteered and arrived on 13 March 1832. Unfortunately, by the end of July of that year Peter Peterson Jaeger and Christian Friedrich Heinze had died leaving only Andreas Riis, who was a glassblower from Lygumkloster, North Schleswig in Germany. Andreas Riis was reported to have said:

⁹⁵ F. L. Bartels, *The Roots of Ghana Methodism*, p. 5

I have no words to describe how I felt when I entered the house deprived of my colleagues and still sick in body...There was no-one I could have poured out my heart to...I shall never forget the blessings the Lord has poured on me so abundantly during the whole time we were together.⁹⁶

Andreas Riis recovered from his sickness through the application of native medicine by a Ghanaian doctor.⁹⁷ This local doctor was recommended to him by European residents at Osu. Riis soon recovered after he had been made to bath cold medicated water from herbs six to eight times a day by the African doctor.⁹⁸ After recovery, Andreas Riis and other Basel missionaries, who were sent later, contributed immensely to the development of education in Ghana.

In their efforts to develop education in Ghana, the Basel missionaries, at the onset were guided by three main principles: (i) that any thorough system of education depends on a supply of trained teachers. (ii) that girls' education is just as important as that of boys and that, (iii) training [education] must not be limited to academic subjects only.⁹⁹

It was probably towards the realization of these principles that the Basel Mission contributed significantly to Ghana's educational development. The Basel Mission established its first Boys' school at Akropong, Akuapim, in 1843 and one for girls in 1847.¹⁰⁰ However, it had obstacles in girls' education especially in Krobo areas. According to Noel Smith, "the Dipo custom by which adolescent girls were initiated made it impossible for the Mission girls' school to

⁹⁶ Ibid

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid. Also McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, op. cit. p. 29.

⁹⁹ Ibid. McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, p. 30.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

function.”¹⁰¹ The molestation of Christian girls however began to cease in 1890 when two daughters of Konor Sackitey attended school after they had refused to undergo the Dipo rite.¹⁰²

By 1891, the Basel Mission opened about eight schools in areas such as Osu (1843), Abokobi (1854), Krobo Odumasi (1859), Kyebi (1861), Anum (1864), Ada (1867), Begoro (1876) and Nsaba (1891). Subjects taught in these schools were similar: English, Reading and Writing, Ghanaian Language (Twi and Ga), Religion and Arithmetic. Between 1868 and 1958, the enrolment in Basel Mission Primary and Middle Schools increased from 500 to 108,880.¹⁰³

In their desire to achieve the first principle, supply of trained teachers, they started a seminary at Akropong in 1848 for the training of teachers and catechists. In 1898 another seminary was established at Abetifi which merged with the one at Akropong in 1924. Thus, the Basel Mission had the credit of being the only body which was training teachers until 1909, when the Accra Training College was established by the Colonial Government.¹⁰⁴

The Basel Mission also laid much emphasis on industrial and practical education as they were convinced that training must not be limited to only academic subjects. Consequently, the Basel Mission opened Technical Schools at Akropong, Osu, Aburi and Abokobi.¹⁰⁵ Agriculture was given a great boost as it was made a compulsory subject at the Akropong Teacher Training College. As

¹⁰¹Smith, N., *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana, 1835-1960: A Young Church in a Changing Society*, Accra, Ghana Universities Press, 1966, p. 135.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid. p. 165.

¹⁰⁴ McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, op. cit. p. 30.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

part of its efforts in teaching agriculture, the Basel Mission introduced crops like coffee, cocoa, pineapple, mango, pear and cocoyam to the Gold Coast.¹⁰⁶

Again, as part of its educational drive, the Mission promoted the linguistic study of some local languages. Rev, Johann Gotlieb Christaller and Rev. Johann Zimmerman made contributions in this direction. Rev. G. Christaller, who arrived in the Gold Coast in 1853, first worked in Akropong and later at Kibi and developed the Twi grammar and translated the Bible into Twi in 1871.¹⁰⁷ Rev. Johann Zimmerman, also after working in Abokobi and Odumasi for sixteen years, produced a Ga grammar, a dictionary of 1158 pages and translated the four Gospels into Ga and the whole Bible in 1866.¹⁰⁸

The Basel Mission did not only contribute to the development of Ghanaian languages, but they were also the brain behind the spread of Western education in many parts of the country especially the Eastern and Ashanti Regions of Ghana. In addition, they were the first to introduce teacher education in the Gold Coast. Moreover, the Basel Mission introduced technical education in the curriculum of their schools which offered courses in carpentry, blacksmithing, shoemaking, joinery, and book-binding, the first of its kind in the Gold Coast. Furthermore, they pursued the politics of agricultural education where model experimental farms were developed to enable students engage in practical farming activities to enhance effective and efficient teaching and learning of agriculture in the country.

Apart from these, there were some negative effects on the socio-cultural lives of the Gold Coasters. The Basel Mission did not promote the Ghanaian

¹⁰⁶ F. L. Bartels, *The Roots of Ghana Methodism*, p. 69.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* p. 72.

¹⁰⁸ McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, *The Development of Education in Ghana*, p. 34.

culture as they linked it to satanic practices and hence, looked down upon it. However, their education was underpinned by the politics of equal and quality education—the need to accelerate girls’ education to match that of boys and the need to link education to the industry of the locality.

The Wesleyan Missionary Society

The Wesleyan Missionary Society arrived in the Gold Coast in 1834 and spread its religious and educational activities in the Gold Coast. It will be recalled that the Mission arrived in the Gold Coast in response to the request for Bibles by Joseph de Graft and his colleagues. As a result, the Rev. Joseph Rhodes Dunwell, a twenty-seven-year-old tea-dealer in Rye Lane, Peckham, south-east London, arrived at Cape Coast on 31 December, 1834.¹⁰⁹ However, he died on Wednesday evening, 24 June 1835.¹¹⁰

Two more missionaries, Rev. George Wrigley and his wife, Mrs. Harriet Wrigley volunteered and arrived on 15 September 1836. Mrs. Harriet Wrigley died after five months of her arrival, on 8 February 1837, after she had opened a girls’ school which became the Wesley Girls Senior High School Cape Coast. Exactly nine months after the death of Harriet Wrigley, her husband also died on 16 November 1837. Though Rev. and Mrs. George Wrigley died within one year of their arrival, they made an impact in educational development in Ghana. Harriet Wrigley, started a girls’ school in September 1836.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ F. L. Bartels, op. cit. p. 9.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. p. 18.

¹¹¹ Ibid. p. 21

Rev. and Mrs. Peter Harrop also arrived at Cape Coast on 15 January 1837. Unfortunately, Mrs. Harrop died only three weeks after her arrival, and three days later, Rev. Peter Harrop also died on 8 February 1837.¹¹² In January 1838, the Rev. Thomas Birch Freeman, a mulatto, the son of an African man and an English woman came with his wife to Cape Coast on 3 January 1838, and as Ekow Evans Budu observed, it was largely due to his energy that the work was revived, sustained, and spread.¹¹³ However, Mrs. Freeman died after forty-eight days of her arrival at Cape Coast on 20th February 1838. Rev. Thomas Freeman also became sick with malaria. Fortunately, he survived. Rev. T. B. Freeman visited Kumasi on two occasions and spread Wesleyan education as part of their politics of establishing schools to enlighten the people of Asante and its surroundings. However, while the Basel Mission focused on teacher education at the initial stages, the Wesleyans ensured sound development of secondary education.

The Wesleyans also left a mark in the training of teachers. In 1842, Freeman began a Theological Seminary in Accra. His aim was “for the mental improvement of any young men, who exhibit signs of a preaching talent, or who may be useful to their countrymen, after a course of elementary instruction in theology in the English language.”¹¹⁴ The Seminary’s first principal was the Rev. Samuel Annesley Shipman. The curriculum of the Seminary included Theology

¹¹² Ibid. p. 27.

¹¹³ Ekow Evans-Budu, op. cit. p. 443.

¹¹⁴ F. L. Bartels, op. cit. p. 60.

and Pastoral studies. The first products of this school were John Ahomah Solomon and William Hanson.¹¹⁵

The school collapsed due largely to the death of its principal. When this initial effort collapsed the Wesleyans began training their teachers overseas especially at the Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone. Later in 1918, a girls' school at Aburi was elevated to the institution for the training of teachers and catechists.¹¹⁶ In 1924, the school acquired a new site in Kumasi. It became affectionately known as the Wesley College. In spite of all these problems, by 1846, the Wesleyans could boast of about twenty boys' and four girls' schools with an enrolment of 673 and 162 respectively.¹¹⁷

The Wesleyan Mission also contributed significantly to secondary education in Ghana. The Wesleyan Mission had the credit of pioneering secondary education in the country when they established the Mfantshipim School in 1876 at Cape Coast. By 1910, the Wesleyan Secondary School had an enrolment of 91 students. Thus the Wesleyan politics in education culminated in the establishment of secondary education, a development which was the first of its kind in the Gold Coast. Also, through their missionaries, especially the Rev. Thomas Birch Freeman, the Wesleyan Mission spread Western education to Asante and other states in the forest zone. Moreover, they promoted Agricultural education in the Gold Coast in which model experimental farms were developed in areas such as Beulah.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, op. cit. p. 29.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ F. L. Bartels, *The Roots of Ghana Methodism*, p. 61.

¹¹⁸ Ibid. p. 68.

The Bremen Mission

This was the third Mission to start work on the coast of Ghana in the nineteenth century. The Bremen Mission was also known as the North German Mission. It had its headquarters at Bremen in Germany. The motto of the North German Mission (N.G.M.) was: "I shall not die, but I shall live, and recount the deeds of the Lord."¹¹⁹ At first, the Bremen Mission worked with the Basel Mission and this started from 1815, but in 1822, it became an independent Missionary Society. The theological underpinnings of the Bremen Mission rested on Matthew chapter 28: 18-20. This conviction made them to explore New Zealand, India and, later, Africa.

Four members of the Bremen Mission Rev. Lorenz Wolf, Luer Bultman, Carl Flato and Jens Graff arrived in the Gold Coast, specifically Cape Coast on May 5, 1847 due to their inability to obtain a straight ship to Gabon. Immediately on their arrival in Cape Coast, all of them were attacked by malaria. Their mission to Gabon, however, did not succeed due to a decree by the French Government forbidding the work of other missionaries in the colonies with the exception of French missionaries.¹²⁰ Rev. Lorenz Wolf and his colleagues thus decided to concentrate their work in the Gold Coast. Unfortunately, by June 14, 1847, two had died leaving only Rev. Lorenz Wolf and Jens Graff.¹²¹

Rev. Lorenz Wolf and Jens Graff, the only survivors then decided to look for a mission house to start their evangelistic activities and to begin a school in

¹¹⁹ Debrunner, H. W., *A Church Between Colonial Powers: A Study of the Church in Togo*. London: Lutterworth Press, 1965, p. 63.

¹²⁰ Ibid. p. 67.

¹²¹ Ibid. pp. 67-69

the Gold Coast. This was after they had realized that it was impossible to work at Ada and Keta, through first, the activities of the Basel missionaries at Ada and second, the wars at Keta between the Dutch and the British. Peki was eventually settled by Rev. Lorenz Wolf. Rev. Lorenz Wolf met King Tutu of Peki on November 14, 1847. As a result, Rev. Lorenz Wolf started a school with 14 boys on February 8, 1848 at Peki.¹²² Subjects in the curriculum were Reading, Writing, Arithmetic and Biblical History. One of Rev. Lorenz Wolf's students was Jan Tutu, a thirteen-year-old child of the King of Peki. On March 3, 1849, two brothers were sent from Bremen to Peki to assist Rev. Lorenz Wolf following the death of Jens Graff on November 19, 1847.¹²³

Rev Lorenz Wolf introduced certain principles that promoted his school. Hans Debrunner points out that "each child when it knew the alphabet perfectly and began to read would get two yards of cotton as a reward"¹²⁴ The result was that "the clever child got so far as to receive this reward but the rest stuck at the alphabet."¹²⁵ Rev. Lorenz Wolf's health and financial constraints collapsed his school which was revived in April 1851, by Mrs. Wolf. In spite of this, ill health forced Rev. and Mrs. Lorenz Wolf to return home. To ensure continuation of Bremen activities at Peki, Rev. Lorenz Wolf returned with two Bremen missionaries, Wilhelm Dauble and Johann Menge.¹²⁶ They were sent to Peki to assist the Bremen schools. However, the Bremen missionaries left Peki for Keta due, first, to ill-health of many of their missionaries which was caused by malaria.

¹²² Ibid. p. 71

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid. p. 72.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid. p. 74.

There was also the issue of the long distance from Peki to the coast which made them relocate to Keta.¹²⁷ Through their activities at Keta, the missionaries established new stations at Anyarko, Waya, Ho, Amedzofe, Lome, Akpafu and Palime. Mrs. Lydia Schlegel then took the responsibility of educating the girls at the Bremen schools. By 1878, the Bremen Mission had an enrolment of 148 children in its schools in Eweland.¹²⁸

Though not as impressive as that of the Basel missionaries, they offered practical and trade instructions to their students, particularly in the field of building construction. It was to ensure the continuation of this that the Amedzofe Seminary was established to train teachers and catechists. By 1906, the Bremen Mission could boast of an enrolment of about 3000 children in its schools. Thus the Bremen Mission largely spread Western education in the present day Volta Region of Ghana. Not only this, they also encouraged the training of teachers as well as girls education in Eweland of Ghana.

The Roman Catholics Mission

The Roman Catholics were originally the first missionaries to have landed on the Gold Coast. They came with the Portuguese. The defeat of the Portuguese in 1637 by the Dutch ended their first attempt in Ghana. However, they came back to Africa in the first half of the nineteenth century.¹²⁹ Their coming was motivated by the formation of the American Colonization Society on December

¹²⁷ Ibid. pp. 78-79.

¹²⁸ Ibid. p. 88.

¹²⁹ Ralph Wiltgen, *Gold Coast Mission History, 1471-1880*, p. 115.

28, 1816.¹³⁰ Upon this initiative, Dr. Robert Finley, the then director of the society, wrote a letter on January 22, 1842 to Rev. Edward Winston Barron appointing him Prefect Apostolic of Upper Guinea, including the territory of the Gold Coast to undertake missionary activities in these areas.¹³¹

After some fruitless efforts in Kumasi by Father Francois-Marie-Paul Libermann on May 16, 1878, Father Auguste Moreau and Father Eugene Murat, the first two priests of the Society of African Mission arrived at Elmina on May 18, 1880. On May 26, 1880, Fathers Murat and Moreau visited Lagos in Nigeria. Here, they met John Ashanti, a Fante, from the Gold Coast who had been brought to Lagos by James Marshall due to his transfer from the Gold Coast to Lagos as Puisne Judge in 1873.¹³² John Ashanti had completed Catholic school and had been baptized as James Gordon Marshall.¹³³ Due to his ability to speak the Fante language, Fathers Murat and Moreau brought him to Elmina where he became their interpreter, catechist and teacher.¹³⁴

Father Murat died shortly after his arrival from Lagos on August 6, 1880. Father Moreau was also attacked by fever and upon a doctor's advice, he had to take a sea voyage to Freetown on August 15, 1880. When Father Moreau came back to Elmina on September 5, 1880, he continued with Catholic educational politics. Interestingly, the school that was started by Father Moreau with only five pupils soon increased to about 150 pupils. On June 23, 1883 a school was

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid

¹³² Ibid. pp. 134-135.

¹³³ He combined the first names of his two foster Fathers, Captain Gordon and James Marshall.

¹³⁴ Ibid. p. 135.

begun at Axim but unfortunately collapsed within two years. Subjects taught in the curriculum were English Reading, Writing, Arithmetic and Religion.¹³⁵

Through the suggestion of Father Moreau, Sister Ignatius, from Ireland and Sister Potamienne from Switzerland, Sisters of Our Lady of Apostles arrived at Elmina in the 1890s. They were to train the African woman in the Christian way of life and to administer girls' schools in the area. They recorded some successes. By March 1884, they had established a girls' school with an enrolment of 26 pupils. Hence, not only did they contribute to the spread of Western education through the opening of schools of all kinds—primary, secondary, etc. but more significantly they were the first to introduce kindergarten education to the Gold Coast.

Generally, some of the Missions such as the Bremen, Roman, Catholic Mission, the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Mission (A.M.E.Z.M.) and the Seventh Day Adventist (S.D.A) could not provide enough and quality education. One reason was that the Missions were poorly resourced as they did not get the needed funds from their mother churches in Europe to undertake their numerous activities including running schools in Ghana. There was also the issue of over ambition on the part of the early missionaries to set up more schools. They spread their limited resources over large regions along the coast of Ghana within a short time and in the process, their resources were thinly spread which hindered effective and efficient teaching and learning in their schools. Also, the attention of the missionaries in Ghana was a divided one. The Missions had divided attention especially because they performed the three major roles of trade, evangelization

¹³⁵ Ibid. pp. 135-154.

and education. Hence, they did not have enough time to concentrate on education politics.

The Missions tended to place more emphasis on religion and trade than education. This, in effect, made some of their schools to be regarded as 'bush ones' since they failed to meet the standard that was required of such schools.¹³⁶ Some of these schools could not provide resources such as classroom structures, teaching materials and teachers. Many of them resorted to the use of church rooms as classrooms instead of building school structures. They also resorted to the use of chaplains instead of well-trained teachers at the initial stages and hence teachers in mission schools were referred to as teacher-catechists as they combined the work of teaching and catechism.

Ekow Evans-Budu credits the origin of 'bush schools' to the work of the Christian missionaries on the coast of Ghana. He stipulated that Rev. George Wrigley of the Wesleyan Mission was the pioneer of 'bush schools' in Ghana. Rev. Wrigley was the first missionary to establish commodious buildings such as Churches for use as school-rooms.¹³⁷ The teachers of the bush schools were largely catechists who had been trained for evangelism and not to transmit academic knowledge to pupils. Such teachers who lacked professional training emphasized religious instruction to the detriment of other subjects in the school curriculum such as English Reading, Writing and Arithmetic. The effect was that pupils were made to regurgitate some verses in the Holy Bible and consequently

¹³⁶ K. Y. Boafo, op. cit.

¹³⁷ Ekow Evans-Budu, "The Effect of Missionary Activities on Some Akan Institutions from the Portuguese Settlement on the Mina (1482-1916)." Unpublished PhD Thesis presented to the University of Oxford, 1959, p. 473.

turned out as bush teachers after completion. This explains why the products could not make headway in the work of the various Missions.

It is certain however that the Christian Missions laid the foundations of elementary, secondary and teacher training education in Ghana. This is corroborated by Adu Boahen who noted that, “the missionaries were the pioneers of primary, elementary and secondary education as well as technical and teacher training in Ghana”¹³⁸ and that education was the best known activities of the Christian missionaries.¹³⁹ This best explains why by 1900 the British government had established only four elementary schools as against one hundred and forty-one established by the various Missions. The Missions contributed significantly in laying the foundations for Western education in Ghana. From the first half of the nineteenth century however, the direction of education in the Gold Coast began to be regulated by the British government.

Nature and Direction of Pre-Colonial Government Education, 1852-1900

It will be recalled, particularly through the survey of the efforts of the early European merchants, that the various European nations that came to the Gold Coast introduced Western education and that it was through their work that many African countries had Western education. It is, however, suggested that the most important contribution to the establishment and spread of Western education, in relation to the early European merchants, was from the Portuguese and the

¹³⁸ A. A. Boahen, *Evolution and Change*. p.85.

¹³⁹ Ibid

British. The very humble beginnings and later consolidation of Western education were through the efforts of the two.

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, therefore, all the early European merchants, such as the Portuguese, the Swedes, the Brandenburgers, the Danes, and the Dutch had left the Gold Coast. Their only asset left on the coast of Ghana was their missionaries, whose interests then were felt mostly in the field of proselytizing.¹⁴⁰ The British had by this time, become the only European nation that still had interest in the Gold Coast. They wanted to derive economic, social and political benefits from the people. The activities of the British during this period coincided with the development of national consciousness on the part of the indigenes.¹⁴¹

The foundations of the growth of British power and jurisdiction in the Gold Coast were gradually laid by Sir Charles McCarthy, Captain George Maclean and Lieutenant-Governor Stephen Hill.¹⁴² These British individuals interfered in the politics of the indigenes in their quest to administer the British forts, castles and other possessions in the Gold Coast.¹⁴³ Adu Boahen pointed out that it was Captain George Maclean who laid the foundations for the growth of British power and jurisdiction in the Gold Coast during the nineteenth century.¹⁴⁴ This is true, because Maclean strengthened and consolidated what Sir Charles McCarthy did such as the interference in local politics. But it is suggested that Sir

¹⁴⁰ Interview with Dr. Justice Atta Addison, Aged 92, Takoradi, 10-10-10.

¹⁴¹ His Excellency Ambassador K. Y. Bofo, op. cit.

¹⁴² Albert Adu Boahen, *Ghana: Evolution and Change*, pp. 20-45. See also David Kimble, op. cit. pp. 168-175.

¹⁴³ Interview with Prof. Daniel Adzei Bekoe, Aged 85years, former Vice-Chancellor, Legon, former Chairman of the Council of State and former Senior Fellow at IEPA, Accra, 06-09-10.

¹⁴⁴ Albert Adu Boahen, op. cit. p. 34.

Charles McCarthy was the first British official to start laying the foundation of the growth of British power and jurisdiction on the coast of modern Ghana.

When Major Stephen Hill arrived in the Gold Coast on 14th October, 1851 the direction of Western education changed in the Gold Coast. He first saw to the implementation of the policies formulated by his predecessor and especially the passage of the Poll Tax Ordinance (P.T.O.) of 19th April, 1852.¹⁴⁵ This led to the introduction of the First Educational Ordinance which reflected British politics in education, style and influence.¹⁴⁶ Major Stephen Hill was convinced that the revenue obtained from the Poll Tax, after payment of the expenditure on the British administration could be devoted to improving the welfare and living standards of the people in the fields of education, health, good communication, utilities and improved judicial system.¹⁴⁷

These interventions mainly made it possible for the introduction of the First Education Ordinance in the Gold Coast on 25th November, 1852. It was “An Ordinance to provide for the better education of the Inhabitants of Her Majesty’s Forts and Settlements on the Gold Coast.”¹⁴⁸ It appears that a section of the preamble of the ordinance conveyed a message of hope to the indigenes. It stated that “... a superior system of education should be adopted, so as to meet the wants

¹⁴⁵ PRAAD, Accra: SC. 23/1098, op. cit. p. 298.

¹⁴⁶ Prof. Daniel Adzei Bekoe, op. cit.

¹⁴⁷ J. J. Crooks, op. cit. p. 327. See also Public Records & Archives Administration Department, PRAAD, Accra: SC. 23/1098/ Gold Coast Education from the beginnings to 1858, RG. 3/1/2, p. 299, David Kimble, *A Political History of Ghana*, p. 173 and C. C. Reindorf, op. cit. pp. 331-335. Also, refer to A. A. Boahen, *Ghana: Evolution and Change*, p. 42., C. G. Wise, *A History of Education in West Africa*, p. 31 and Philip Foster, *Education and Social Change*, p. 81.

¹⁴⁸ PRAAD, Accra: SC. 23/1098, op. cit. p. 365. Also, McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, *The Development of Education in Ghana*, op. cit. p. 36.

of an advancing society.”¹⁴⁹ Just as the preamble of the ordinance conveyed a message of hope to Ghanaians in relation to Western education, so did Major Stephen Hill’s hope to pursue politics of qualitative and sustainable education. One reason for this assertion is that Governor Hill realized “the deplorable state especially with regard to the female portion of the community and the influence of a home-life which robbed the few who received education of its benefits.”¹⁵⁰

Philip Foster says that the 1852 Education Ordinance was significant in the sense that it was the last systematic effort of government to directly enter the education field through the provision of schools in the Gold Coast.¹⁵¹ He, as well as McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh attribute this to the fact that the Governor saw the necessity to systematically manage and control the development of the educational system. This is true, but I argue that this was done due largely to the Poll Tax Scheme introduced by the British. The indigenes were indirectly made to pay for the cost of education and thus, education during this period under discussion was funded by the Gold Coasters and not the British. This confirms the argument that the philosophical underpinnings of the British Government’s education was to train few personnel for their manpower needs and not entirely to train every Ghanaian of school-going age. As F. L. Bartels pointed out, the Colonial governors saw no justification in calling upon the home government to pay for the cost of extensive schemes of internal improvement in Africa.¹⁵² The reason above also explained why the 1852 Education Ordinance was to be

¹⁴⁹ PRAAD, Accra: SC. 23/1098, op. cit. p. 365.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. p. 306

¹⁵¹ Philip Foster, op. cit. p. 81.

¹⁵² PRAAD, Accra: SC. 23/1098, op. cit. p. 297.

financed from the revenue derived from the Poll Tax. Hence, the inability of the indigenes to pay the tax led to the collapse of the ordinance.

England had by 1852 not passed any education ordinance. But more than all this, the British had also introduced the practice of indirectly making the indigenes pay for the cost of education. Parents were made to pay the Poll Tax which was used to finance the education of their children. This is corroborated by S. K. Odamtten who shares the view that the Colonial Office did not stress the spread of Christianity and education among Africans because it did not want to subsidize such work.¹⁵³ In the view of the Colonial government “the surest test of the soundness of measures for improvement of an uncivilized people is that they should be self-supporting, and great advantage arises from throwing those who are to carry out the plans into effect upon their own resources.”¹⁵⁴ These ideas of the colonial government about Africans and their development gave birth to the doctrine of politics of self-help in African Western education.

There is also the question of the Colonial government’s attitude towards Africans. In 1847 when Earl Grey dispatched a circular suggesting the opening of industrial and normal schools in the British territories, the comment by the Secretary of the Colonies was that “it was impossible to expect barbarous tribes to become civilized unless they were converted to Christianity,”¹⁵⁵ and added that “missionaries would be indispensable auxiliaries.”¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³ See S. K. Odamtten op. cit. p. 45.

¹⁵⁴ PRAAD, Accra: SC. 23/1098, op. cit. p. 297.

¹⁵⁵ Ekow Evans-Budu, op. cit. p. 487

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

Be that as it may, Mr. and Mrs. Vinall, a married European couple of British nationality were appointed under the Ordinance to run a school. Their major task was to train and prepare teachers effectively and efficiently so as to enable the newly trained teachers go out to establish district schools. The sum of one thousand pounds was devoted to finance the 1852 Education Ordinance annually.¹⁵⁷ Nevertheless, the ordinance did not provide for any financial aid in the form of grants to the missionary bodies such as the Wesleyans and the Basel Mission.¹⁵⁸ One likely reason is that the British were not very concerned about the general welfare of Ghanaians. This explains why no grants were given to the Missions to train Ghanaian children in their schools.

This attempt by government to regulate the conduct of education in Ghana, however, was shelved. This became necessary when Mrs. Vinall who was appointed to help in the training of teachers died within a few months, and her husband, Mr. Vinall, who would have continued the work was also compelled to retire due to ill health. Moreover, lack of funds also contributed immensely to the failure of the Ordinance, especially when its sustainability depended on the ability of the people to pay the Poll Tax. So when the people refused to pay the tax, due to inability of the British to provide developmental projects for the people, as promised, and embezzlement of funds by the tax collectors, it collapsed.¹⁵⁹

There is also the question of the intervention made by the British government to resuscitate the ordinance. The government did not make any efforts in this direction. One would have expected the governor to have sought

¹⁵⁷ McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, *The Development of Education in Ghana*, p. 37.

¹⁵⁸ PRAAD, Accra: SC. 23/1098, op. cit. p. 301.

¹⁵⁹ McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, *The Development of Education in Ghana*, p. 37.

financial support from the home government to revive the ordinance but this was not the case. This is attributed to the unpreparedness of the British home government to develop Africa in general and West Africa in particular. This also best explains the position of the British home government with respect to its role in the field of education in England itself during the period in question. By 1852, England had not even passed her first education ordinance. The home government was not ready for the provision of education up to the first half of the nineteenth century both in England and Africa. This attitude of the British governor in the Gold Coast explains why it did not seek funds in England to support education due to the nature of the British colonial policy which is discussed in chapter three.

In spite of this, the 1852 Education Ordinance in the Gold Coast achieved some success. Philip Foster, David Kimble as well as McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh share the view that a few teachers were trained and dispatched to establish schools in some parts of the Eastern and Western Regions of Ghana,¹⁶⁰ though with little success as the schools they established did not make any significant impact due largely to ineffective management especially as the government did not pay the salaries of teachers on time. However, it is argued that the 1852 Education Ordinance represented the first effort of introducing politics of quality education in the Gold Coast—rules were set to guide education for the first time. Again, the 1852 Education Ordinance was significant because it led to the appointment of the Inspector of Schools in the Gold Coast for the first time. In

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., See also David Kimble op. cit. pp. 70-72 and McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, op. cit. p. 37.

1856, the Rev. C. S. Hassells was appointed the Superintendent and Inspector of Schools in the Gold Coast.¹⁶¹

After the collapse of the 1852 Education Ordinance no significant efforts were made to introduce another one until the 1880s. This was possible due to the British contemplation to withdraw from the Gold Coast in 1865 as a result of Anglo-Asante wars. The wars occupied the attention of the British as they wanted to defeat the Asante. This explains why no educational ordinance was introduced between 1865 and 1881.

The Second Education Law

In 1882, the second education law or ordinance was promulgated. This was during the administration of Governor Sir Rowe. According to C. G. Wise, this education ordinance was modelled on the English educational system at the time.¹⁶² It is important to attempt an analysis of this assertion by C. G. Wise. England passed her first Education Ordinance in 1870. It is not surprising that the 1882 Education Ordinance reflected that of England. One reason was that, by 1882, the Gold Coast had officially come under British colonial rule and, therefore the colonizer had the legitimacy to direct the education of the colonized to resemble that of theirs.

The British recognized the existence of two systems of education in England with the passage of the Education Act of 1870. These were the government school system and mission schools. This development did not only

¹⁶¹ See McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, *The Development of Education in Ghana*, p. 37.

¹⁶² C. G. Wise, *A History of Education in British West Africa*. London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1956, p. 34.

influence the Governor in the Gold Coast to adopt such style, but it is suggested that he was given an order by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in Britain to direct education in that direction. This is one reason why it is suggested that the 1882 Education Ordinance in the Gold Coast was a ‘copy and follow-education law.’¹⁶³ This is corroborated by Boakye who notes that the education provided by the colonizers to the colonized could be aptly described as “Mother and child education.”¹⁶⁴ In Boakye’s assessment, African education and for that matter Ghana’s educational system was shaped and directed towards the West¹⁶⁵

The 1882 Education Ordinance was passed for the promotion and assistance of education in the Gold Coast and Nigeria.¹⁶⁶ Some of the significant provisions of the ordinance were: (i) setting up of a Central Board of Education; (ii) establishment of local boards to assist in the administration of the grants-in-aid scheme; (iii) appointment of an Inspector of Schools to steer the affairs of the Board of Education; (iv) Grants were to be paid to all schools if only one criterion would be fulfilled and that was admission of pupils irrespective of their religious background; (v) there was the need for improvement in the training of teachers; and (vi) there was to be an establishment of industrial schools.¹⁶⁷

The problem of inadequate funds to be used for the payment of teachers’ salaries and supply of teaching and learning materials was one of the reasons that

¹⁶³ This term is used in this study to show the trend and direction of the 1882 Education Law in Ghana. It significantly reflected the education system in England and hence described as ‘copy and follow-education law.’

¹⁶⁴ The ‘West’ is used in the study to refer to Britain and the continent of Europe. See Peter Boakye, “A Biography of Nana Kobina Nketsia IV”, M. Phil Thesis submitted to the Department of History, University of Cape Coast, Cape Coast: 2013, p. 119.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ PRAAD, Accra: SC. 23/1098, op. cit. p. v.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid. p. v. See also Philip Foster op. cit. pp. 81-82 and C. G. Wise, op. cit. pp. 33-34.

contributed to the failure of this ordinance. There is also the issue of the attitude of the Inspector of schools, Rev. Metcalf Sunter. According to McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, Rev. M. Sunter described the ordinance as “unworkable and ridiculously complicated.”¹⁶⁸ Such words and attitude of the inspector did not help the ordinance to survive. Apart from this, the inability of the government to establish a Training College was also a contributing factor for the failure of the ordinance.

The Third Education Law

Following the failure of the 1882 Education Ordinance, another one was passed in 1887 for the Gold Coast Colony during the administration of Governor Sir Brandford Griffith.¹⁶⁹ The Ordinance provided for the following: (i) establishment of a newly constituted board of education to replace that of the obsolete 1882 one; (ii) appointment of a Director of Education for the first time in the history of Ghana; (iii) Two schools were officially recognized—Government and Assisted schools; (iv) Agricultural, Technical and Vocational education were to form an important part of the school curriculum; (v) rules such as payment by results were instituted to guide education.¹⁷⁰ These provisions were deceptive as they appeared to demonstrate a transformation in the educational system in the Gold Coast but little was achieved. It is argued that the ordinance failed largely due to lack of commitment of the British Government to provide adequate funds to sustain it.

¹⁶⁸ McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, *The Development of Education in Ghana*, p. 39.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 39-40.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.* p. 41. See also PRAAD, Accra: SC. 23/1098, *op. cit.* p. vi

Furthermore, it failed through the introduction of the payment by results system into Western education politics of the Gold Coast. Here, the salary of teachers came to depend on the performance of pupils. Hence, teachers were paid based on the number of pupils who passed the annual examination organized by the Inspector of Schools. This issue posed numerous challenges which merit analysis. First, it encouraged rote learning as the main aim of such schools was to prepare pupils for the annual examination in order for teachers to obtain better remuneration. Also, more subjects were added to the timetable in the schools because it helped the teachers acquire higher remuneration. This situation however, affected the quality of teaching in the schools. Furthermore, the relationship between teachers and the inspectors became unfriendly and as McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh noted, “it made the teachers and inspectors enemies instead of workers in the same field.”¹⁷¹

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed politics that directed both indigenous and Western education in the Gold Coast (Ghana). Indigenous education socialized its citizens to enable them conform to the norms and needs of the society. As a result, it encompassed the totality of the environment. The skills and knowledge imparted to individuals made it easy for a shift to Western education which was necessitated by the competition of the global village for economic transformation and industrialization.

¹⁷¹ Ibid. McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, op. p. 41.

Furthermore, the chapter advanced the view that the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Danes, the British as well as the various Christian Missions were the pioneers for the introduction and spread of Western education in the country. Also, some of their educational interventions such as the inclusion of industrial and vocational programs in the curriculum; emphasis on female and agricultural education are significant as such interventions advanced the country's education a high level. Through Technical and Vocational training, pupils were trained in courses such as carpentry, blacksmithing, shoemaking, joinery, book-binding, cooking and sewing to enable them acquire employable skills; and to function effectively in the country.

Moreover, the educational ordinances which the pre-colonial governments introduced, in spite of their shortcomings were the first efforts at introducing educational policies and laws to guide the provision of education in the country. This need to promulgate education ordinance to regulate the provision of education was instituted during the post-colonial era to make education reflect and serve more significantly the needs of Ghanaians towards the realization of socio-economic emancipation.

COLONIAL PHILOSOPHIES AND IDEOLOGIES OF EDUCATION IN GHANA: 1901-1950

Introduction

This chapter examines Western education¹ which was provided in Ghana (Gold Coast) during the colonial period from 1901 to 1950. The main aim of the chapter is to highlight the philosophies and ideologies that directed colonial education in Ghana. Efforts are made to first discuss the nature and purpose of colonial education. Secondly, the work of various Colonial Governors in the provision of education in Ghana, especially, Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg is subjected to objective analysis. This is intended to bring to the fore, the colonial politics in education in the Gold Coast.

Moreover, attempts are made to trace the direction of education during the inter-war years 1939 to 1945, and the work of the Gold Coast nationalists, specifically their demands for the establishment of higher institutions of learning, that eventually culminated in the establishment of university colleges in Ghana. The chapter largely argues that the colonial philosophy impacted and shifted the emphasis on education in the country towards the provision of quality education as against its increased expansion and access.

The Focus of Colonial Education in Ghana: An Appraisal

Colonial educational politics is evaluated in terms of its purpose and nature, number of schools established by the Colonial Governments, resources available for education and educational infrastructure established. The

¹ This refers to the formal classroom-structured-type of education introduced in the Gold Coast by the Europeans in the sixteenth century

educational policies introduced, the content of education, the medium of instruction in schools, the rate of growth of education, the cost of education and the demands for the establishment of higher education are also examined.

The philosophy of the colonizers in relation to their activities and development of Africa in general and West Africa in particular requires critical examination. This is because, as Richard Asare Akoto notes, the Colonial Governors cautiously followed their colonial philosophy and ideology in Africa.² The colonial philosophy, as I suggest, had no linkage with Africa and their welfare and development. Fundamentally, it stood for economic exploitation and political domination of Africans, especially the Western part of that continent. This, according to Asare Akoto explained why most of the European nations such Great Britain, France, Portugal, Denmark and Germany scrambled for and partitioned the African continent in the late nineteenth century.³

This assertion by Asare Akoto is corroborated by Peter Boakye who has argued that the colonial philosophy was basically exploitative and even developmental projects such as roads and railways were intended for more exploitation.⁴ K. A. Busia also confirmed this claim when he noted that “colonialism is represented as a consequence of capitalist expansion, its aims and result being the exploitation and impoverishment of the subject peoples of the colonies.”⁵ This also explains why the introduction and spread of Western education partly delayed in Asante but mainly delayed in the Northern Territories. However, the spread of Western education was better in the

² Interview with Richard Asare Akoto, Education Specialist and Head teacher of Saviour Educational Complex, Kumasi, Aged 79, Kumasi, 30-11-15.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Peter Boakye, op. cit. p. 127.

⁵ K. A. Busia, *The Challenge of Africa*, p. 55.

Colony than other parts of the Gold Coast as it was the birth place of Western education in the country.

In the case of Asante, the ruling authorities were of the view that with education and enlightenment, the people would rebel and overthrow the traditional system of chieftaincy. David Kimble notes that “in 1842 King Kwaku Dua of Ashanti had questioned Rev. T. B. Freeman concerning the danger that education might make the people rebellious.”⁶ This is also confirmed by Ekow Evans-Budu who states that ‘the education of children was to them [Ashanti] a highly dangerous experiment.’⁷ F. L. Bartels thus aptly states that “they suspected that a school, and the new ways it would teach, would produce a rift between the old and the young.”⁸ David Kimble also points out that, “in 1876 a later Asantehene told the Rev. T. Picot: we will not select children for education; for the Ashantee children have better work to do than to sit down all day idly to learn hoy!! hoy!! hoy!!. They have to fan their parents, and to do other work which is much better.”⁹ This assertion is also corroborated by Noel Smith when he quotes Rev. F. Ramseyer as having reported that ‘Our schools are highly estimated—some hate them—but to take the final step is a hard task for an Ashantee. Many like to have their names written down as candidates, but their chiefs threaten them secretly, and they dare not come forward owing to fear.’¹⁰ Ultimately, it is argued that the traditional authorities adopted the indigenous politics of safeguarding Asante’s unique culture and tradition and thus prevent the imposition of foreign civilization, economic exploitation and political

⁶ David Kimble, op. cit. p. 74.

⁷ Ekow Evans Budu, op. cit. p. 447.

⁸ See F. L. Bartels, *The Roots of Ghana Methodism*, p. 52.

⁹ David Kimble, op. cit. p. 75.

¹⁰ Noel Smith, op. cit. p. 127.

hegemony on their lands and peoples—one of such politics being not allowing the introduction and spread of western education.

Thus while the spread of Western education in Asante was impeded largely through the politics of their traditional leaders, that of the North was hindered through the politics of the colonial governments. This is confirmed by C. G. Wise who claimed that education in the North has been so slow since its development has been pioneered by government instead of Missions that would have offered education as part of the Christian life.¹¹ David Kimble has attributed the main reason why education in the North fell further behind that of the South to the antagonism between the British Chief Commissioners and the Christian missionaries.¹² Missionary work, however, delayed in the North due to the attitude of the British commissioners, especially as they refused to grant the Missions permission to operate in some areas in the North such as Wa.¹³ The British Chief Commissioners believed that Islam was more capable of spreading civilization, enhancing decent life and promoting trade in the North.¹⁴

Hence, it is argued that the educational system in the Gold Coast, with all its elements, is importation since the whole elements of pre-colonial and colonial Western education initially were in the hands of foreigners.¹⁵ This is confirmed by George P. Hagan that, “formal education inherited from the colonial metropolis had created a culture space for the promotion of foreign

¹¹ C. G. Wise, op. cit. p. 49.

¹² See David Kimble, op. cit. p. 80.

¹³ See Bagulo Bening, *A History of Education in Northern Ghana: 1907-1976*, pp. 1-7.

¹⁴ David Kimble, op. cit. p. 79.

¹⁵ See Report of the Fourth Achimota Educational Conference held on the 15th and 16th January, 1930 under the Chairmanship of Rev. A. G. Fraiser. Accra: Government Printing Office, 1930, p. 1.

values, beliefs, language and mode of behaviour.”¹⁶ The colonial philosophy of exploitation and domination, according to George P. Hagan, largely reduced the progress, growth and development of education in Ghana. His argument is that, since education, especially higher education, holds the key to modernization and development, it contravenes the colonial philosophy.¹⁷ This, according to George Hagan, explains why the British Government did not open more elementary and secondary schools. As Ibrahim Mahama has pointed out, “to think of developing a people or a nation without the needed education for a take-off may be likened to reaping where one has not sown.”¹⁸ This is also corroborated by Shakesphere’s assertion that “it is the mind that makes the body rich, so that if we are not properly educated, how can we stand as a nation and shape our destinies?”¹⁹ By 1927 the Colonial Government had established only one secondary school. There was no university institution in the country.²⁰

The colonial philosophy also explained the low government expenditure on education up to the beginning of the twentieth century. By 1901, the total Government expenditure on education for one hundred and thirty-five Government and Assisted Schools was £6,543.²¹ Gordon Guggisberg described this expenditure of the Colonial Government as “the gloom of financial embarrassment for the sunlight of prosperity in the

¹⁶ See George P. Hagan, “The Importance of Culture in Formal Education System and Preparation for Life,” in *Culture and Education in Ghana: Report of the National Conference on Culture (NCC) and Education at the Elmina Beach Resort*, edited by Ben M. Abdallah, Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2009, p. 179.

¹⁷ George P. Hagan, interview.

¹⁸ Ibrahim Mahama, op. cit. p. 110.

¹⁹ See Report of the Fourth Achimota Educational Conference, p. 8.

²⁰ George P. Hagan, op. cit.

²¹ PRAAD, Accra: SC. 23/1098, op. cit. p. vi.

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twentieth century.’’²² There was a total number of 12,108 children in schools
excluding Non-Assisted Schools. There were also one hundred and twenty
Non-Assisted Schools in the Gold Coast by 1901.²³

Up to the beginning of twentieth century, the British Government had
not contributed much to the provision of schools in the Gold Coast. By 1901
there were only seven Government schools in the country as against one
hundred and seventeen by the Christian Missions. To this end, George P.
Hagan argues that missionary contribution led to the spread of education
throughout the country even against colonial policy in some cases.²⁴ This
assertion of George Hagan is also corroborated by C. G. Wise who shares the
view that the expansion of Mission education in the Gold Coast was
vigorous.²⁵ By 1887, in the estimation of C. G. Wise, there were no
government schools in the Gold Coast. In his view, grant-earning Anglican
primary schools were categorised as government schools.²⁶ Going by the
claim of C. G. Wise, it is obvious that the Colonial Government did not
contribute anything significant to education development in the Gold Coast
up to 1900. These illustrations demonstrated conspicuously that the British
Government showed lackadaisical attitude towards the expansion of access to
education in the Gold Coast because it did not want to pursue politics of
accelerating the growth and progress of education and thereby take into
cognisance the aspirations and needs of the people.

Afro-centric scholars believe that education is only the transmission of
the culture of the society and, therefore, should necessarily be indigenous. As

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ George P. Hagan, *op. cit.*

²⁵ C. G. Wise, *op. cit.* 41.

²⁶ Ibid. p. 38.

expected by such Afro-centric scholars, a major function of education in Africa is to direct Africans to a greater understanding of the culture of the societies in which they live.²⁷ Colonial education in Africa completely isolated students from their sense of oneness with their society. K. B. Asante notes that the Colonial Government saw education as an instrument for ensuring the success of colonial subjugation and exploitation.²⁸ According to him, the colonizers established schools in Ghana so that the educated Africans would help them fully exploit the natural resources in the country.²⁹ This explained why no significant interventions were made in the field of education by the British Government until the Guggisbergian era.

Gordon Guggisberg's Education Provision in Ghana: An Assessment

Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg hailed from Canada and was born in October, 1869 in Preston, Ontario.³⁰ After the death of his father, the family migrated from Toronto to England in 1879. After his education as a Second Lieutenant Royal Engineer, Gordon Guggisberg accepted his secondment to the Colonial Office as Assistant Director on a Survey of Ghana. He worked as a surveyor in Ghana between 1900 and 1909. He also worked as a surveyor in Nigeria from 1910 to 1915. After the First World War, he was appointed Governor of the Gold Coast.³¹

²⁷ Interview with Prof. D. K. Agyeman, former Head of Sociology Department, U. C. C., Aged 70, Cape Coast, 17-09-10.

²⁸ K. B. Asante, op. cit.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Albert Adu Boahen, *Ghana: Evolution and Change*, p. 108. See also McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, op. cit. p. 54.

³¹ Francis Agbodeka, *Achimota in the National Setting: A Unique Educational Experiment in West Africa*. Accra: Afram Publications Ltd., 1977, p. 22.

Francis Agbodeka describes Gordon Guggisberg's contribution to the Gold Coast as revolutionary, evolutionist and a creative lot.³² He sees Gordon Guggisberg's political goal as leading towards African progress and argues that Gordon Guggisberg was different from other colonial officials.³³ According to Francis Agbodeka, Gordon Guggisberg believed in the efficacy of education especially higher education in aiding the natural development of Africans.³⁴ This assertion by Francis Agbodeka does not mean that Gordon Guggisberg did not promote the philosophy of the colonizer—British. But then, the interventions he introduced in the field of education were the first of its kind in the Gold Coast. An interrogation with informants and a scrutiny of relevant materials reveal that the politics he introduced in Western education had a significant impact on the people of the country.

But, it is also suggested that certain interventions of Gordon Guggisberg were also linked to the colonial philosophy of the British. For example, in Gordon Guggisberg's thirteenth principle of education stated that: "Education cannot be compulsory nor free."³⁵ The Governor noted that "many years must elapse before we have sufficient teachers and sufficient fund for free and compulsory education in the Gold Coast."³⁶ The implication of Gordon Guggisberg's principle was that the Colonial Government was not in a position to fund education, and in the estimation of George P. Hagan, the question of who should fund education—whether government or beneficiaries—constituted a significant issue of the politics in education.³⁷

³² Ibid. p.23.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ See McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, op. cit. p. 58.

³⁶ Ibid. Also, PRAAD, Accra: SC. 23/1098, op. cit. p. vi.

³⁷ George P. Hagan, op. cit.

Going by the view of George P. Hagan, Gordon Guggisberg could not make education free and compulsory because the Colonial Government had its own interest to serve. This is because the strategy of domination would not be served by making education free and compulsory so that everybody would benefit. It is argued that cost of education or a major part should have to be borne by the Colonial Government since they controlled the entire resources of the country such as gold, diamond, bauxite, timber and cash crops.

This was not so. Analytically, the colonizers were not here to develop Africans to take over and manage their affairs. If they were to do so, then they would have borne the cost or major part of education that would enable a majority of Africans to attend school as a way of preparing them sooner or later to take over the administration of their countries because education is empowerment. Providing Africans free and compulsory education by the colonial government, everybody would go to school, become enlightened and consequently overthrow the system. This fear of the colonizers, it is suggested, explains why Gordon Guggisberg, for example, could not make education free in the Gold Coast. Educating all Africans of school going age was linked to accelerating decolonization in that continent.

Colonial politics in education thus sharply contrasted post-colonial ones. Kwame Nkrumah saw that Africans could not manage their affairs if they were not educated to the highest possible level. Consequently he put emphasis on education as the cardinal driving force of true independence.³⁸ This is because Kwame Nkrumah saw education as liberation. This will be discussed in Chapter Four.

³⁸ George P. Hagan, *op. cit.*

The foregoing discussion does not mean that Gordon Guggisberg did not make any effort to improve the education system and the living conditions of Ghanaians. McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh observe that, “soon after assuming office, Guggisberg declared that his government regarded education as the first and foremost step in the Progress and Races of the Gold Coast and therefore as the most important item in its work.”³⁹ According to Gordon Guggisberg, “we shall not get a satisfactory system of education in this country without the expenditure of a very large sum.”⁴⁰

There is the question of government expenditure on education during the colonial period especially, the first and second decades of the twentieth century. Gordon Guggisberg saw government expenditure on education as being largely responsible for its slow progress and development in the Gold Coast. Government expenditure was woefully inadequate. This is borne out by the comment of the then Governor of the Gold Coast, Sir Hugh Clifford, “I cannot pretend that I am equally satisfied with the amount of money which during the period in question Government has devoted to education.”⁴¹ The Governor noted that even though the expenditure on education kept increasing automatically from year to year, in his view, £37, 511 a year was a pitifully small sum for the colony of the Gold Coast to disburse annually in the cause of education.⁴²

³⁹ McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, op. cit. p. 54. Also, Report of Education in Africa: A study of West, South and Equatorial Africa by the African Education Commission, under the Auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and Foreign Mission Societies of North America and Europe. Prepared by Thomas Jesse Jones, Chairman of the Commission. New York, 1922, p. 121, and PRAAD, Accra: SC. 23/1098, p. xii.

⁴⁰ Ibid. Report of Education in Africa.

⁴¹ Ibid. p. 129.

⁴² Ibid.

It is suggested that the question of expenditure on education or how much money should be devoted to education constitutes a hot issue of politics in education in Ghana. The expenditure on education shows the extent of government commitment to the provision of education in the country. High government expenditure on education, it is argued, marks the determination and effort to increase both the quality and quantity of education. On the other hand, low government expenditure on education represents the unpreparedness of the government to provide quality and expand access to education.

The above arguments notwithstanding, during the administration of Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg, the economic, political and social spheres, especially education, experienced the most far reaching impact in comparison to the previous attempts by the colonial governments.⁴³ It came as no surprise when Ghanaians expressed their appreciation to Gordon Guggisberg on his tomb with the inscription, “to the everlasting memory of Governor Sir Gordon Guggisberg, who died in 1930 at Bexhill. This memorial was erected by the Paramount Chiefs and the people of the Gold Coast and Ashanti.”⁴⁴

Sir Gordon Guggisberg’s educational intervention in the Gold Coast opened a new chapter in the country’s history. His work laid a sound foundation for subsequent development of education in Ghana.⁴⁵ However, as George Hagan argues,

in the era of colonialism, the colonial authorities defined the structure and content, purpose and functions of education in line with their national interests. School education was to produce trained cadres for the systematic

⁴³ K. B. Asante, op. cit.

⁴⁴ Albert Adu Boahen, op. cit. p. 119. Also, K. B. Asante, op. cit.

⁴⁵ See Nimako, S. G., Ghana Today, No. 9, *Education in Ghana 1930-1974*. Accra-Tema: Ghana Information Services Publishers, 1974, p. 1.

economic exploitation of local resources and the extension of European values and civilization.⁴⁶

Western educational politics thus served as a significant tool for subverting the indigenous civilization of Africans. To this end, George P. Hagan asserts that, “it imparted to the Educated African, European cultural values, outlook, lifestyle and tastes, and left them with a dependency syndrome.”⁴⁷ In his assessment, therefore, the end result of such approach to education was that it “distanced the school educated from their cultural roots and divided communities along social, religious, economic and political lines.”⁴⁸ It was to overcome such challenge to the education system in Africa that Ben M. Abdallah, George P. Hagan, Esi Sutherland Addy, Freeman A. Aguri, Martin Owusu Okyere and R. B. Bening advocate the need for Africans to appreciate the centrality of culture in the education system as an effective tool for the eradication of hunger, disease, poverty and ignorance, and hence, ushers Africans to their dignity, self-respect and well-being.⁴⁹

Be that as it may, the pivot of Gordon Guggisberg’s administration in the Gold Coast was the Ten Year Development Plan, 1919-1929. Gordon Guggisberg was convinced that in order to promote development and to improve the standard of living among Ghanaians, the economy needed to be revamped. Albert Adu Boahen confirmed this when he says that, “Guggisberg

⁴⁶ See George P. Hagan, “The Importance of Culture in Formal Education System and Preparation for Life,” in *Culture and Education in Ghana: Report of the National Conference on Culture (NCC) and Education at the Elmina Beach Resort*, edited by Ben M. Abdallah, Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2009, p. 3.

⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 4.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ben M. Abdallah (ed), *Culture and Education in Ghana: Report of the National Conference on Culture (NCC) and Education at the Elmina Beach Resort*, Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2009, pp. 1-248.

saw all the work he did in the economic field as essentially a means to an end, the end being the provision of schools, colleges and hospitals.”⁵⁰

When Gordon Guggisberg took over the administration of the Gold Coast in 1919, there were only 216 Government Schools⁵¹ and Assisted Mission Schools⁵² as well as 250 small Non-Assisted Schools⁵³ with a population of 27,500 and 7,500 pupils respectively out of the estimated 300,000 children of school going age.⁵⁴ It can, thus be argued that the 35, 000 enrolment for all schools shows that the then educational facilities in the Gold Coast could provide for a little more than ten percent of the children of school-going age.

Apart from inadequate schools in the Gold Coast, the question of distribution also merits analysis. There is evidence to show that the schools tended to concentrate in some of the provinces to the detriment of others. For example, the Eastern Province of the colony with a population of 594, 000 people had 119 schools with an enrolment of 15,000 pupils; the Central Province, with 335,000 people had 45 schools with an enrolment of 7, 000 pupils; whereas the Western Province, with 214, 000 people had only 22 schools with an enrolment of about 2,500 pupils.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Albert Adu Boahen, op. cit. p. 113. Also, K. B. Asante, op. cit.

⁵¹ Government School means a school established by and under the entire control of Government and maintained wholly or in part from Government funds. See Education Ordinance and Rules, 1936 Revision. Accra: Government Printing Department, 1947, p. 1.

⁵² Assisted Mission School means a school which for the time being is in receipt of a grant-in-aid from Government funds. See Education Ordinance and Rules, 1936 Revision. Accra: Government Printing Department, 1947, p. 1.

⁵³ Non-Assisted School means a school which is not maintained by, and receives no grant-in-aid from Government funds. See Education Ordinance and Rules, 1936 Revision. Accra: Government Printing Department, 1947, p. 1.

⁵⁴ Report of Education in Africa: A study of West, South and Equatorial Africa, p. 130. Also, Francis Agbodeka, op. cit. p. 2.

⁵⁵ Report of Education in Africa. p. 130.

From the above statistics, educational work in the Central and Western Provinces did not make any progress by the end of the second decade of the twentieth century. This is confirmed by the report of the Director of Education that, “the Western Province is almost as devoid of schools as are the Northern Territories.”⁵⁶ However, considering the number of children of school-age and school attendance in the Eastern Province, it is obvious that there were inadequate facilities and resources to cater for all the children between the ages of 6 and 14. This explains why out of about 90, 000 pupils of school-going age in the province, only 15,000 pupils found themselves in school.⁵⁷ About 75, 000 pupils did not go to school even in the Eastern Province alone.

There is also the issue of the proportion of boys and girls enrolled in the schools. In the colony which was made up of Eastern, Central and Western Provinces, the average proportion was one girl to six boys. The situation was even worse in Ashanti and the Northern Territories. Here, whereas the former had one girl to ten boys, the latter had one girl to twenty boys. As Joana A. Opare states, “any form of gender discrimination is a denial of human rights, an obstacle to human development, and must not be entertained whatsoever.”⁵⁸ It is therefore argued that colonial education largely side-lined girls in the Gold Coast. It is also suggested that the gap between the education of boys and girls in Ghana increased immensely during the colonial period.

Gordon Guggisberg was highly disappointed with the kind of education that was provided in the Gold Coast and as R. E. Wraith points out,

⁵⁶ Report by the Director of Education on His Visit to Educational Institutions in the United States, p. 16.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Joana A. Opare, “Gender and Culture in Education,” in *Culture and Education in Ghana: Report of the National Conference on Culture (NCC) and Education at the Elmina Beach Resort*, edited by Ben M. Abdallah, Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2009, p. 71.

the enquiries made by the Governor demonstrated to him that “the educational system of this country is long out-of-date, and that far-reaching reforms are urgently required.”⁵⁹ It was inefficient, which to Gordon Guggisberg implied inadequacies. This is because it had failed to provide facilities for secondary and higher education, without which “the African could not become an efficient citizen, ready to assume leadership in his country’s affairs.”⁶⁰ The then education system largely ignored character training which was instrumental for the development of leadership qualities among the people of the Gold Coast.

Apart from this, quantitatively, educational facilities in the Gold Coast were insufficient and, therefore, only a small number of children were in school in the early 1920s.⁶¹ Gordon Guggisberg was also worried about the ill-organised village schools set up by the Missions. These schools largely made the “village teacher” perform a dual role of teaching and attending to the Macedonian call, i. e. preaching the word of God.⁶² As a result, the products of such schools became semi-educated and disdainful to community work. This led to unemployment and breakdown of African traditions.

To Gordon Guggisberg, education should promote character training in order to make the African a holistic individual. This idea of his sharply contrasted that of his predecessors in the field of education. He thus set out to put his ideas into reality. To this end, by 1922, Gordon Guggisberg had built four trade schools in Ghana at Yendi, Kibi, Asuantsi and Asante Mampong. Here, various trades were taught especially those of use in helping and

⁵⁹ R. E. Wraith, *op. cit.* p. 133.

⁶⁰ Francis Agbodeka, *op. cit.* p. 4.

⁶¹ Report of Education in Africa: A study of West, South and Equatorial Africa, p. 121.

⁶² Francis Agbodeka, *op. cit.* pp. 4-5.

extending indigenous handicraft such as pottery-making, weaving, masonry and brick-making, net and basket weaving, plaiting, leather work, blacksmithing, food-farming, care of cash crops, road-making, carpentry and furniture-making.⁶³ Gordon Guggisberg also established Achimota School to provide not only secondary education in the Gold Coast but also kindergarten, primary, technical, agricultural, teacher training and university education for boys and girls.⁶⁴

Gordon Guggisberg was largely influenced by three main bodies. The first was the Educationists' Committee appointed on 5th March, 1920 under the chairmanship of the Director of Education, Mr. J. D. Oman. Other members were Mr. Josiah Spio-Garbrah and Mr. V. A. Tetteh. The Wesleyans, Scottish and Anglican Missions also had representatives on the committee. This Committee was charged to "investigate educational efforts in the Gold Coast, their success and failure, with reasons therefor and to make recommendations for educational policy."⁶⁵ That is, the committee should critically consider the past, present and future of education in the Gold Coast.⁶⁶ In the course of the committee's work, Nana Ofori Atta wrote to the Commission to consider the fact that: "the student should be imbued with the true ideals of his country ... to enable him to adapt himself to the customs, manners and institutions of the place to which he belongs."⁶⁷

⁶³G. W. Morrison, *op. cit.* p. 12.

⁶⁴ See Achimota 1927-1977 Golden Jubilee Celebration Booklet, p. 7. Also, K. B. Asante, *op. cit.* and R. C. Blumer, *The Case for Achimota*. Accra: Achimota College Press, 1933, p. 3.

⁶⁵ Francis Agbodeka, *op. cit.* p. 16. Also, McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, *op. cit.* pp. 54-55 and PRAAD, Accra: SC. 23/1098, p. xiii.

⁶⁶ David Kimble, *op. cit.* p. 111.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

The committee issued its report on 22nd May, 1920 with 52 recommendations and 53 suggestions which was warmly accepted by Gordon Guggisberg. The report rested on two main principles:

that education was so supremely important that it should be regarded as a first charge upon the revenue and the ultimate purpose of all productive activity; and second that it should be rooted in all that was best in African religion and custom and should strengthen African culture and institutions instead of encouraging those of an alien race.⁶⁸

It recommended the use of Vernacular as the medium of instruction while English was to be introduced as a subject of instruction. This, according to the committee was to ensure that children were not de-nationalised but to “graft skilfully on to their national characteristics the best attributes of modern civilization.”⁶⁹ Esi Sutherland Addy perceived western education and its medium of instruction “as possessive of a style that could make Africans incompetent in our own speaking culture and that of the Europeans whose culture we have been partially exposed to.”⁷⁰

Also, on the question of the value of the vernacular, the Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa (A.C.N.E.T.A.) stated that, “the language best known and understood by the child on his entry into school life is, from the educational point of view, the most effective medium for his instruction in the preliminary stages of school education.”⁷¹ Accordingly, “education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations, and

⁶⁸ R. E. Wraith, op. cit. p. 138.

⁶⁹ PRAAD, Accra: SC. 23/1098, p. xii.

⁷⁰ Esi Sutherland Addy, “The State of Education in the Light of the Cultural Policy of Ghana” in *Culture and Education in Ghana: Report of the National Conference on Culture (NCC) and Education at the Elmina Beach Resort*, edited by Ben M. Abdallah, Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2009, p. 180.

⁷¹ See British Tropical Africa: The Place of Vernacular in Native Education. Memorandum by the Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa. Printed for use in the Colonial Office, May 1927, p. 4.

traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life.”⁷² Apart from the vernacular, the Educationist Committee of 1920 also stressed the importance of the training of teachers. It also recommended the establishment of a secondary boarding school for boys’ to be sited at Achimota, and a teacher training college.⁷³

The Phelps-Stokes Commission was another body that influenced Gordon Guggisberg. This Commission was founded in 1909 by Miss Caroline Phelps-Stokes, an American. The lady wanted to “bequeath her trust for purposes among which the education of Negroes, both in Africa and the United States was prominent.”⁷⁴ The Commission had conducted a vigorous study into American Negro education at institutes such as Hampton, Tuskegee, Virginia and Alabama.⁷⁵ The trustees therefore wished to extend the investigations into Africa. The African expedition was led by Dr. T. Jesse Jones, Chairman of the Commission. One of the members was J. E. Kwegyir Aggrey, a tutor at Livingstone College, Salisbury, North Carolina who arguably influenced the visit to the Gold Coast. The work of Phelps-Stokes Commission, it is suggested, represents Negro politics in Gold Coast education and this, it argued, had a pervasive influence on Guggisbergian contribution to education in the country, especially, the adoption of the sixteen principles of education in 1925.

⁷² Ibid. p. 3.

⁷³ Report by the Director of Education on His Visit to Educational Institutions in the United States, pp. 17-26. Also, PRAAD, Accra: SC. 23/1098, p. xiii.

⁷⁴ R. E. Wraith, op. cit. p. 138.

⁷⁵ Report by the Director of Education on His Visit to Educational Institutions in the United States, pp. 4-8.

The Commission began its African investigations in London in August, 1920. Within a few weeks, the Commission came to Cape Coast with Gordon Guggisberg when he was returning to Cape Coast after a leave of absence. The Commission's report published in "Education in Africa" was in line with what Gordon Guggisberg wanted education to be. It centred on "an education rooted in the soil or founded upon a craft or trade, practised in a community, giving pride of place to character-training and imbued with the Christian religion."⁷⁶ It emphasised the need for education to "conserve what is sound in native life and transmit the best that civilization and Christianity have to offer."⁷⁷ After the Gold Coast, the Phelps-Stokes Commission went to Nigeria.

The visit of the Director of Education, Mr. J. D. Oman to Negro institutions in the United States of America in 1921—Hampton and Tuskegee—was a further link with American experience. As F. L. Bartels notes, "Mr. Oman was particularly struck with the way in which education was adapted to local needs, and the success of co-education."⁷⁸ The significance of co-education is also stressed by R. C. Blumer when he writes that it is an issue of so great relevance that "no school which professes to be seeking for the truth can dare to neglect it."⁷⁹

In 1923, another important stimulus to education development was crafted by Gordon Guggisberg. This was the Advisory Committee on Native Education in the Tropical African Dependencies. The Committee largely came

⁷⁶ R. E. Wraith, *op. cit.* p. 139. Also, Report of Education in Africa: A study of West, South and Equatorial Africa, p. 121 and PRAAD, Accra: SC. 23/1098, p. xiv.

⁷⁷ David Kimble, *op. cit.* p. 113.

⁷⁸ PRAAD, Accra: SC. 23/1098, p. xiv. Also, Report by the Director of Education on His Visit to Educational Institutions in the United States, pp. 7-8.

⁷⁹ R. C. Blumer, *op. cit.* p. 4.

into effect through the efforts of Dr. J. H. Oldham, the then Secretary of International Missionary Council. Dr. Oldham was also a leading member of the Phelps-Stokes Commission. The committee became a permanent advisory body on education in the Gold Coast. Membership was made up of the Director of Education, Mr. D. J. Oman, Rev. Wilkie, Rev. Fisher, Nana Ofori Atta, Hutton-Mills, Dr. Quartey Papafio and Mr. Josiah Spio-Garbrah. They were tasked to determine the nature, form and type of secondary education that Guggisberg wanted to build. The committee stressed the need for continuity of policy and strong ties between the Government and the Missions. Their report was viewed by Gordon Guggisberg as “a safeguard against the educational crank, and a guarantee that the welfare and progress of the native races will take precedence of all other considerations.”⁸⁰

As a result of the Committee’s Report, Gordon Guggisberg developed Achimota as the apex of a new educational system which was to serve as an institution for higher education in the Gold Coast. The School was also intended to produce effective leaders who would guide their people in order to raise the level of the community in which they live.⁸¹ Thus Achimota was expected to turn out graduates who would be the very leaders desired to ensure co-operation in the work of the country.⁸² It should be a place where “experts think out problems, experts work out projects, and experts carry them out in lonely and perfectly unimaginative benevolence.”⁸³ In 1929, the Advisory Committee on Native Education in the Tropical African Dependencies

⁸⁰ David Kimble, *op. cit.* p. 114.

⁸¹ Report by the Director of Education on His Visit to Educational Institutions in the United States, p. 25.

⁸² See Despatches on the Subject of a Proposed Constitution for the Prince of Wales’s College and School. Accra: Government Printing Office, 1928, p. 7.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

widened its scope to cover all British colonies and thus changed its name to the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies.

The recommendations of the three bodies helped Gordon Guggisberg to formulate his educational policies. The educational policies of Gordon Guggisberg are popularly known as the Sixteen Principles of Education. These principles of education were promulgated in 1925 and became legally binding. The principles encompassed almost all issues in the field of education: primary education; secondary education; university education; equal opportunity for both boys and girls; desirability of co-education; qualified teachers; character training; religious education; games and sports; relationship between health, welfare and industries of the community; efficient and effective inspection; prominence of the vernacular in the curriculum; cost sharing in education with no compulsion; healthy co-operation between the Government and the Missions; Government's control of education; and the provision of agriculture and technical schools.⁸⁴ These principles were carefully followed in Ghana until the emergence of the Accelerated Development Plan of Education in 1951. Gordon Guggisberg worked assiduously to realise the principles stated in the 1925 Educational Ordinance.

To this end, Gordon Guggisberg decided to first of all raise the status of the teaching profession which had fallen drastically due to the effects of World War I. To make the profession attractive, Gordon Guggisberg fixed a minimum salary scale for teachers. He also increased grants to the Missions by 80 per cent. Additionally, a register of teachers was opened. This was done to ensure that only teachers who qualified were employed in the teaching

⁸⁴ See Nimako, S. G. op. cit. p. 1., McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, op. cit. p. 57. Also, see PRAAD, Accra: SC. 23/1098, op. cit. p. xv.

profession. Teachers who were not qualified were thus driven out of the profession. As a result, about 150 bush or village schools were closed down.⁸⁵ To enhance the training of professional teachers, Wesley College was established in Kumasi in 1924. Accra Government Training College was also moved to Achimota in 1928. A Teachers' Journal also appeared for the first time in 1928.

Apart from these, Gordon Guggisberg also promoted the teaching of vernacular in schools. Ghanaian language textbooks were produced by the Education Department. He also invited Professor Westernmann, the then world leading authority on West African languages to produce a common script in vernacular for use in schools. To fulfil his second principle of education, Gordon Guggisberg set up the Achimota School.

Achimota School—Colonial Focus on Secondary Education in Ghana.

It is significant to discuss the political philosophies and ideologies for the establishment of Achimota, the first government secondary school in Ghana. With respect to the development of secondary education in the Gold Coast, Achimota was the third to be established after Mfantshipim School and Adisadel College. The two were founded by the Wesleyan Mission and the Anglican Church in 1876 and 1910 respectively. Mfantshipim, for example, came into being through the efforts of the Gold Coast intellectuals particularly John Mensah Sarbah, J. E. Casely Hayford, J. P. Brown and W. E. Pieterse.⁸⁶ They set up the Fanti Public School Fund Ltd. and the Gold Coast National Education Scheme which were intended to finance non-government secondary

⁸⁵ PRAAD, Accra: SC. 23/1098, p. xvi.

⁸⁶ See Peter Boakye, *op. cit.* pp. 39-40.

schools.⁸⁷ As already noted, it was this effort that led to the revival of the Collegiate School which was christened Mfantshipim School. This School, was rejuvenated by the nationalist in 1905 after it collapsed since its establishment in 1876, did not reflect purely African culture and environment. As Peter Boakye has argued, the Mfantshipim School blended both Western and African cultural elements.⁸⁸ This may be attributed largely to the gradual development of globalization.

Achimota was established through the persistent demand for higher education by the Gold Coast intellectuals. For example, in 1913, the Aborigines' Rights Protection Society criticised the Colonial Government for its inability to set up even one secondary school in the Gold Coast. Achimota was however built during the administration of Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg in 1927 largely as a means of fulfilling his second principle of education which advocated, "the provision of secondary schools with an educational standard that will fit young men and women to enter a university."⁸⁹

Achimota School was sited ten and half kilometres east and ten kilometres north of Accra respectively. Originally, it was called Prince of Wales College and School. In April 1925, the Prince of Wales unveiled a tablet in front of the Administration Block and named the School after himself.⁹⁰ However, its official inauguration took place on Friday, 28th January, 1927 by Gordon Guggisberg. Ghanaians present at the opening

⁸⁷ Robert K. A. Gardiner, "The Role of Educated Persons in Ghana Society." The J. B. Danquah Memorial Lectures (Third Series, 25-27th February, 1970). Accra: Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences Publishers, 1970, p. 6.

⁸⁸ Peter Boakye, op. cit. p. 48.

⁸⁹ PRAAD, Accra: SC. 23/1098, op. cit. p. xv. Also, McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, op. cit. p. 57.

⁹⁰ See Francis Agbodeka, *Achimota in the National Setting*, p.50.

ceremony included Nana Agyeman Prempeh I, Nana Ofori Atta I and Casely Hayford. Individuals who contributed immensely in helping Achimota to gain worldwide acceptance were Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg, Rev. Alexander Fraser and Dr. James Emmanuel Kwegyir Aggrey. Rev. A. G. Fraser, of Trinity College in Ceylon and Rev. R. C. Blumer were appointed the first Principal and Vice-Principal of the School respectively.

The establishment of Achimota School was motivated by the following reasons. First, it was intended to produce students who were Western in their intellectual behaviour towards life, simultaneously having regard for science and ability for systematic thought while at the same time remaining African in sympathy and respecting its customs, rule, culture, convention and law.⁹¹ Achimota was expected to carefully follow an English boarding-school model where students would live in the school. However, in the estimation of R. C. Blumer, the establishment of Achimota was a more ambitious enterprise than the mere copying of some typical English Public School. His argument is that England had not solved the problem of what a school should be when Achimota was established and therefore it was indispensable for Achimota to make experiments to find out truths in education which England could not offer the country.⁹²

Achimota was also the first colonial secondary education in the Gold Coast to provide boarding facilities and thus offered all students the opportunity to attend. It allowed students of diverse culture such as Ga,

⁹¹ Ibid. p. 32.

⁹² R. C. Blumer, *op. cit.* p. 3.

Asante, Dagomba, Mamprusi, Kwahu and others to stay together and thereby foster national unity and integration.⁹³

Moreover, Achimota was intended to inculcate into students the respect for their heritage, culture, customs and traditions which were essential to enable them become useful officials for the British administration. Richie Philips asserts that Achimota was part of the gradual process of the Africanisation policy in Ghana.⁹⁴ It was intended to adapt education to the needs of African children, their parents and the community as a whole.⁹⁵ This is also confirmed by the Inspectors' Report which stated that "another distinctive feature of the life at Achimota is that education on western lines has not here been allowed to weaken a sympathetic attitude towards what is regarded as fine in national life."⁹⁶ Gordon Guggisberg thus wanted to make Achimota a model school in order to reform the educational system for quality education in the country. The education provided at Achimota was described as "instruction and training of a quality that would be expected in the best English kindergarten, preparatory and elementary, secondary and public schools, though varying from such education in form and content as local conditions may require."⁹⁷

Gordon Guggisberg also wished to promote character training and co-education in the Gold Coast. Both Gordon Guggisberg and A. G. Fraser gave their blessings to this co-education at Achimota School which appears to have

⁹³ George P. Hagan, op. cit.

⁹⁴ Interview with Richie Philips, Aged 83, former Lecturer, Department of Psychology, University of Ghana, at East Cantonments, Accra, 03-10-11.

⁹⁵ Ibid. Also, Report by the Director of Education on His Visit to Educational Institutions in the United States, p. 8.

⁹⁶ Fraser, A. G., *Synopsis of and Comments on the Inspectors' Report on Achimota*. Accra: College Press Publisher, 1932, p. 14.

⁹⁷ Ibid. p. 4.

gained some success. This is confirmed by the 1938 Inspectors' Report on the School which stated that, "Achimota appears beyond doubt to be fulfilling the hopes of its founders as a training ground in which young men and women should learn to live as members of a community."⁹⁸

Classes at Achimota started in August, 1926 where six children were taught by Miss Scott and Mrs. Irvine.⁹⁹ Sixty students at the age of six also reported in early 1927. The Accra Training College was also moved to Achimota in 1928 where it became a four-year programme.¹⁰⁰ In 1929, the Achimota School started classes for Upper Primary, Secondary and University. By 1945, Achimota provided University of London Intermediate courses in Arts; History, Latin, English; Science and Commerce; and Part I and Part II of the London B. Sc. Degree course in Engineering.¹⁰¹ At Achimota, students who passed Standard VII examination were admitted to Form Two. However, students who wrote the Standard VI examination were required to start from Form One. As a prerequisite for admission to Intermediate courses, all applicants must have passed the Matriculation examination of the University of London or they must have to secure exemption from it.¹⁰² Besides, applicants must pass an examination set by the College to test the soundness of their former education in order to confirm their suitability for university studies.¹⁰³

⁹⁸ See Achimota Review 1937—1947. London: Mission Book Depots, 1947, p. 6.

⁹⁹ Fraser, A. G., op. cit. p.3.

¹⁰⁰ See Achimota Social Service: A Review and Forecast. Accra: Achimota College Press, 1931, p. 4.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. p. 17. Also, Richie Philips, op. cit. and Fraser, A. G., op. cit. pp. 7-10, and Report of the Committee on Higher Education August-November 1946, p.5.

¹⁰² Public Records and Archives Administration Department, PRAAD, Accra: RG3/5/1472, Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies, Second Report 1947-1949, His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1949, p. 5.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

The direction of education during the 1930s was quite different from the 1920s. Education was not given the needed attention in the 1930s due to the great slump or depression in world trade which hit the economy of every country. The attention of the colonial government also shifted to preparation and execution of World War II which started in 1939. The War also brought certain consequences such as high prices of goods, shortage of goods, inflation, and unemployment. Not only these, but prices of goods such as cocoa, timber, gold, etc. that were exported also fell. The price of cocoa, for example, fell from £50 a ton in 1929 to as low as £20 a ton in 1930.¹⁰⁴ There was therefore a reduction of government expenditure on education during the decade of the slump as the government could not balance its budget.¹⁰⁵

In 1930, government expenditure on education was £300,000 and by 1933 it had reduced to £210,000.¹⁰⁶ Inadequate funds for education did not only affect the quality of education but also supervision of schools as the government abandoned Sir Gordon Guggisberg's policy of training African Inspectors of Schools due to financial constraints. Moreover, education in some parts of the country, especially the North, suffered greatly. The department of education in the Northern Territories was closed down. For a period of nine years, enrolment of children increased from 832 in 1931 to 1183 in 1939.¹⁰⁷

This was the situation when Sir Alan Burns was appointed Governor of the Gold Coast in 1942. He declared his plans and direction for education. To

¹⁰⁴ See McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, op. cit. p. 66.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ PRAAD, Accra: SC. 23/1098, op. cit. p. xix.

¹⁰⁷ McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, op. cit. p. 66.

this end, the education department was asked to conduct surveys on primary schools. This started from the Colony and Ashanti, and as McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh point out, the survey was undertaken to “find out exactly what schools existed – for during the war, many were opened by local effort, mostly with untrained teachers and without official knowledge.”¹⁰⁸ The surveys were also intended to bring to light the Middle Schools that were needed in the Gold Coast.

Sir Alan Burns then improved primary education by providing a special grant of £25,000 for its growth and expansion in the country. Small grants were also provided to the Missions to expand their educational facilities. Sir Alan Burns received funds from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund which was intended for colonial development to undertake such activities. After the end of World War II in 1945, the trend of nationalism in the Gold Coast changed and became more radical due to the emphasis on self-determination. This also intensified the demand for education, especially higher institutions of learning in the Gold Coast.¹⁰⁹

Higher Education and Nationalism—Demands for Higher Education in Ghana.

Gold Coast nationalists such as John Mensah Sarbah, J. E. Casely Hayford, Kobina Sekyi, Dr. J. B. Danquah, Dr. Nanka-Bruce, K. A. Korsah and Dr. T. Hutton Mills were at the forefront of the demand for higher

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. PRAAD, Accra: SC. 23/1098, p. xxiv.

¹⁰⁹ K. Y. Boafo, op. cit.

education in the Gold Coast.¹¹⁰ This is because they saw higher education as liberation, empowerment and having the key to modernization and progress.¹¹¹ They also saw higher education as “the preservation of the external truths, the creation of new knowledge, the improvement of service wherever truth and knowledge of a high order may serve the needs of man.”¹¹² Consequently, they seized every opportunity to demand for its establishment and it is suggested that this represented the educational politics of Gold Coasters. They wanted more elementary, secondary and higher institutions of learning to be established in the country as these were linked to modernization and as a preparation for self-government in the country.

Peter Boakye identifies two phases of such demands. He termed the first phase as “Weak or intermittent demand,” which, according to him, took place before the end of the Second World War.¹¹³ This phase, as he noted, was mostly championed by individuals and movements such as the Aborigines Rights Protection Society (ARPS) in 1898 and the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA) in 1920.¹¹⁴ During congresses of such movements, petitions or resolutions were sent to the Colonial Governor by the Gold Coast intellectuals, demanding the establishment of higher institutions in Ghana. For example, in 1911 Joseph Ephraim Casely Hayford suggested the setting up of a university in Kumasi. According to him, this would forge a close unity among the peoples of the Colony and Ashanti. It would also serve

¹¹⁰ K. O. Kwarteng, S. Y. Boadi-Siaw & D. A. Dwarko, *A History of the University of Cape Coast: Fifty Years of Excellence in Tertiary Education (1962-2012)*. Cape Coast: University of Cape Coast Publishers, 2012, p. 1. See also George P. Hagan, op. cit.

¹¹¹ Ibid. George P. Hagan.

¹¹² See F. A. Kufuor, *The Universities in a Nation at Crisis: A keynote address delivered at the First National Congress of the University Teachers Association of Ghana (UTAG) at Kumasi, 2nd - 5th August, 1981*, pp. 9-10.

¹¹³ Peter Boakye, op. cit. p. 125.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

as a higher institution for learning and provide the opportunity for research on the culture and history of the Gold Coast.¹¹⁵

The early demand, in the estimation of K. O. Kwarteng, S. Y. Boadi-Siaw and D. A Dwarko, fell on deaf ears as higher education in West Africa was not a top priority consideration during the experimental phases of colonial rule.¹¹⁶ Peter Boakye also christened the second phase “strong or radical demand,” which began in 1945 after the Second World War. This demand was largely spearheaded by radical intellectuals, and was noted for its “persistence and radicalism.” The demand became more intensive because of its radical approach and its urgent quest for decolonization.¹¹⁷

The factors that intensified the demand for higher education in the Gold Coast, were first, the question of an impelling sense of urgency of the Gold Coast intellectuals. They saw that political progress should be swift and that there was the need for preparation. The provision of higher education should, therefore, accompany sound political advance. The intellectuals were thus determined to take full and immediate advantage of the economic, educational and political opportunities in the country. They saw the necessity of providing themselves with a centre of higher education and learning for the training of their future leaders.¹¹⁸ They predicted how much having a university college, integrated with an African way of life would mean to a young country which was determined to build its future on secure political

¹¹⁵ Robert K. A. Gardiner, “The Role of Educated Persons in Ghana Society, p. 6.

¹¹⁶ K. O. Kwarteng, S. Y. Boadi-Siaw & D. A Dwarko, op. cit. p. 1.

¹¹⁷ Peter Boakye, op. cit. p. 125.

¹¹⁸ Richard Asare Akoto, op. cit.

foundations.¹¹⁹ They were also convinced that the country with its resources could, to a large extent produce sufficient students of adequate calibre to make possible the development of a university college of a sound academic standard.¹²⁰

It was this demand which put pressure on the colonial government to provide colonial subjects with higher institution of learning as confirmed by the Committee on Higher Education when they recorded the Secretary of State for the Colonies as having said that, "... in view of the strong views entertained in the Gold Coast, if the College [Achimota] authorities are desirous of introducing post-intermediate studies in arts or science alongside their teacher-training department... I shall raise no objection."¹²¹ This pressure, in the estimation of George P. Hagan, became more intensified as it was linked to self-determination.¹²² The overriding view of the Gold Coasters was that without higher education, self-government would be a fiasco. The pressure, it is argued, showed that higher institutions of learning were linked to transformation, liberation, enlightenment and the realization of socio-economic transformation by the Gold Coast nationalists and intellectuals.

One other factor was the outcome of World War II which intensified the growth of political consciousness in the European colonies in Africa, especially British West Africa. The aftermath of World War II enabled the colonial government to act against its philosophy of exploitation. The colonial government developed the colonies largely as a means of compensation for the

¹¹⁹ Report of the Committee on Higher Education August-November 1946, op. cit. p.3., PRAAD, Accra: RG3/5/1472, Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies, p. 3.

¹²⁰ Ibid., K. B. Asante, op. cit. and Also, George P. Hagan, op. cit.

¹²¹ Report of the Committee on Higher Education August-November 1946, p.2.

¹²² George P. Hagan, op. cit.

Africans unflinching support during the war. This explains why the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund (CDWF) was established by the British in 1945. This was intended to provide a ten-million-pound development plan for the economic future of the Gold Coast.¹²³ Under the Ten-Year Development Plan, higher education, especially technical and engineering training received the needed attention. The goal of the plan was to develop the colonies that were situated within the British Empire. Since education has the potential for development, the Colonial Government decided to establish higher education in the colonies.

Also, the intellectuals saw Achimota as being ripe for university education. By 1945, Achimota could admit a student body of 200. This was a sufficient reason for university work to begin. Gordon College, Khartoum, had by 1945 become a university college with an initial student body of 199 and Makerere, Uganda, which was also about to become a university college, had a student body of 152. In this comparison, therefore, it was justified for Achimota to be raised to the status of a university college.¹²⁴ Furthermore, the Gold Coasters held the view that education in the country had reached a relatively advanced stage in its development. This is because Achimota for instance, had been in existence for twenty years and had for the past fifteen years been providing courses in higher education. This had made Achimota a source of pride to the people of the Gold Coast and it exercised a great influence in the whole country especially in the raising of educational

¹²³ Report of the Committee on Higher Education August-November 1946, p.2.

¹²⁴ PRAAD, Accra: RG3/5/1472, Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies, p. 7.

standards.¹²⁵ Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg's statement that "Achimota would one day become the University of the Gold Coast, if not of West Africa"¹²⁶ was also fresh in the minds of the people of the Gold Coast.

Establishment of University Education in Ghana

Through the persistent demand for higher education by Gold Coast intellectuals, as earlier pointed out, Achimota which was the first government secondary school established by Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg was upgraded into full university status. University instruction started at Achimota in 1929.¹²⁷ University courses offered were Arts, History, Latin, English, Science, Commerce, Part I and Part II of the London B. Sc. Degree course in Engineering.¹²⁸

By 1945, it was the intention of the Colonial Office to provide higher education in West Africa. As we shall see later, Ibadan in Nigeria, was selected as the location. Ghanaian intellectuals sensed the possible danger of such a move. They therefore quickly organized themselves in the Gold Coast with the view of setting up their own university college. In the estimation of George P. Hagan, the people of the Gold Coast, especially the farmers, contributed to the building of the University College of the Gold Coast.¹²⁹ Dr. J. B. Danquah and Nana Ofori Atta I played pivotal role in getting farmers to finance the establishment of the University College of Gold Coast. This,

¹²⁵ Report of the Committee on Higher Education August-November 1946, Printed by the Government Printing Dept., Accra, No. VII of 1946, p. 1.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid. Also, Interview with Prof. B. G. Der, former Head of History Department, U. C. C., Cape Coast, 28-07-10.

¹²⁸ Richie Philips, op. cit. Also, Report of the Committee on Higher Education August-November 1946, p. 5.

¹²⁹ George P. Hagan, op. cit.

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explained the existence of Akuafu Hall at the University of Ghana in recognition of the role of farmers in the building of the University.¹³⁰ The immediate effect of the people of the Gold Coast's desire to establish their university was the setting up of the Inter-University Council in March 1946 by the Colonial Government.¹³¹ The Council thus advocated the establishment of a university in the Gold Coast and Nigeria. Their first report for higher education in the colonies covered the period from March 1946 to July 1947.¹³²

The main objective of the Inter-University Council (I. U. C.) for higher education in the colonies was "to create within the colonies residential universities of high standards and adapted to local needs, to supplement the insufficient facilities for research and post-secondary education which are now available for the colonial peoples in their own territories or overseas."¹³³ The basic policy documents previously published by the Inter-University Council for higher education also contained a Report of the Commission on University Education in Malaya.

The Malaya principles on education assisted in shaping the colonial higher educational policy mainly as a result of the fact that, apart from its advocacy for the need to make higher education reflect the immediate local purpose of Africa, it also served as a valuable book for study elsewhere in the Empire.¹³⁴ The IUC recommended the setting up of university colleges in Ghana and Nigeria. It also noted that any attempt by the British to hesitate or

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Public Records & Archives Administration Department, PRAAD, Accra: RG3/5/1472, Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies-Second Report 1947-1949, His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1949, p. 5.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

delay in this provision was tantamount to inciting public unrest which would lead to political skirmishes.

After a long period of hesitation, the British Government finally set out to establish higher institutions of education for her colonies. To this end, a commission was appointed to devise procedural measures as part of the systematic and practical steps towards the provision of higher education in West Africa. In 1943, Oliver Stanley established a Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies under the chairmanship of Hon. Sir K. Cyril Asquith. The main task of the Commission was to “consider the principles which should guide the promotion of higher education in the colonies; and to explore means whereby universities and other appropriate bodies in the UK might be able to cooperate with institutions of higher education in the colonies in order to give effect to these principles.”¹³⁵ The Asquith Commission was followed by the setting up of the Elliot Commission to consider the necessity for the establishment university education in British West Africa in 1943.

The University College of the Gold Coast and the Kumasi College of Technology were established as a result of the suggestions and recommendations of the Asquith and Elliot Commissions on Higher Education in West Africa.¹³⁶ The reports of both Commissions were published in 1945. The Elliot Commission issued a Majority Report and a Minority Report. In the Majority Report, the Commission recommended the development of higher institutions in the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Nigeria. The Gambia, though part of British West Africa was excluded in the recommendation of the Elliot

¹³⁵ Francis Agbodeka, *A History of University of Ghana: Half A Century of Higher Education (1948-1998)*. Accra: Woeli Publishing Service, 1998, p. 8. Also, Peter Boakye, op. cit. pp. 125-126.

¹³⁶ Ibid. Peter Boakye, p. 26.

Commission. The Minority Report, however also recommended the establishment of only one Central University College for British West Africa at large to be located at Ibadan, in Nigeria.¹³⁷

The Elliot Commission's Report in June, 1945 confirmed the Gold Coasters' conviction that the question before them was no longer whether there should be one West African university or not. Rather, the choice was between the establishment of university colleges in all the four British West African Colonies and one central university college in Nigeria.¹³⁸ Achimota and Fourah Bay were to become territorial colleges.¹³⁹ The people of the Gold Coast "found in the Majority Report a plan which not only went far to meet their needs and aspirations, but told them in detail how the university college, for which they hoped, could be established and could serve the needs of a young and vigorous country."¹⁴⁰

However, on 1st August 1945, the Secretary of State for the Colonies issued Despatch No. 234 in which he expressed preference for the recommendations of the Minority Report. This came as a shock to the people of the Gold Coast. Their reaction was expressed in the Press and in the Legislative Council Debates Session held in March 1946. They also sent numerous memoranda to the Colonial Government. These were done by the

¹³⁷ See Peter Boakye, op. cit. p. 126. Also, K. O Kwarteng, S. Y. Boadi-Siaw and D. A. Dwarko, op. cit. p. 2.

¹³⁸ Report of the Committee on Higher Education August-November 1946, p.2.

¹³⁹ PRAAD, Accra: RG3/5/1472, Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies-Second Report 1947-1949, p. 5.

¹⁴⁰ Report of the Committee on Higher Education August-November 1946, p.2.

Achimota Council, the Central Advisory Committee on Education and the Standing Committee of the Joint Provincial Council of Chiefs.¹⁴¹

Reactions by the people of the Gold Coast to the Minority Report accepted by the Colonial Government led to its modification by the colonial authorities. The publication of the Secretary of State's Despatch No. 169 of 6th July, 1946, which indicated some changes of his previous ideas was warmly welcome by the indigenes. In the despatch the Secretary of State stated, "I am now also prepared to envisage that there should be certain facilities in the Gold Coast for post-intermediate studies. I deeply appreciate the feelings and laudable ambitions of those, particularly in the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone, who desire to see Achimota and Fourah Bay College become university colleges..."¹⁴² The Secretary of State also noted "I have no desire to hamper the achievement of higher education facilities in the Gold Coast and or elsewhere but I desire that development shall proceed on as sound educational lines as practicable and that regard should be had to the practical difficulties to be overcome."¹⁴³ The College authorities could introduce post-intermediate studies in arts or science in addition to their teacher-training programme so that the foundation can grow into an institution of higher education.¹⁴⁴ It is suggested that the Secretary of State for the Colonies changed his view in relation to the establishment of higher education in the Gold Coast mainly due to the demands and pressure from the Gold Coasters.

¹⁴¹ PRAAD, Accra: RG3/5/1472, Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies-Second Report 1947-1949, p. 5.

¹⁴² Report of the Committee on Higher Education August-November 1946, p.2.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

Change in the recommendation of the Minority Report largely led to the establishment of the University College of the Gold Coast which became part of the general development of university education in West Africa. An ordinance which was enacted on 10th August, 1948 by the British colonial government set up the University College of the Gold Coast.¹⁴⁵ Part I Section 3 of the Ordinance stated: “For the purpose of providing for and promoting university education, learning and research, there shall be established a College to be styled ‘the University College of the Gold Coast.’”¹⁴⁶ Part II section 4 of the Ordinance established the Council of the University College of the Gold Coast which was entrusted to “have complete control of, and be responsible for, the general policy and property of the College, and in all cases unprovided for by this Ordinance the Council may act in such manner as it deems best to promote the best interests of the College.”¹⁴⁷

Other significant issues stated in the Ordinance were: Constitution of the Council; Appointment of temporary member; Vacancy for death or resignation of member; Power of the Council to enter into contracts and to hold property; Power of the Council to borrow and invest; Use of the common seal; Acquisition of land for service of the Council; Chairman of the Council; Secretary of the Council; Ordinary meetings of the Council; Appointment of special committees by the Council; Appointment and Powers of the Principal; Establishment of the Academic Board; Functions of the Academic Board; Appointment of members of staff and conditions of appointment; Discipline of the staff; Annual budget and statement; Revenue of the Council; and Power to

¹⁴⁵ See the University College of the Gold Coast Ordinance, 1948. Accra: Government Printing Department, 1948. p. 1. Also, PRAAD, Accra: RG3/5/1472/Inter-University Council, p. 7.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid. University College of the Gold Coast Ordinance, 1948, p. 2.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

make bye-laws.¹⁴⁸ The Ordinance brought into force a complete university college for the people of the Gold Coast. An Ordinance of 1st September 1948 established the University College of Ibadan, Nigeria.¹⁴⁹

The University College of the Gold Coast was affiliated to the University of London. This meant that the University of London supervised its examinations and also awarded its degrees. The ultimate mission of the University College of the Gold Coast was to provide human resource base needed for knowledge dissemination in the country.

Kobina Sekyi was present during the inaugural ceremony of Achimota into university. There were only two female students among the many male students. The female students were Richie Philips and Elizabeth Biney. Some of the males included Dr. Bondzi Simpson, Dr. Herald Philips, and Prof. F. T. Sai.¹⁵⁰ The University College of the Gold Coast first started at the western compound of Achimota. At first, the people of the Gold Coast wanted a separate site and buildings for the University College, but realizing how long a time it takes to acquire and survey land and to prepare drawings of layout and of the buildings and then to erect the buildings, but wanting the University College to start immediately, they unanimously agreed for university education to begin at Achimota.¹⁵¹

After this, the next issue tackled was the selection of the site and construction of buildings. There were divergent opinions on where the University College of Ghana was to be built. Some people argued for the University College to be established at the geographical centre of the country,

¹⁴⁸ Ibid. pp. 1-8.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. Also, PRAAD, Accra: RG3/5/1472/Inter-University Council, p. 7.

¹⁵⁰ Richie Philips, op. cit.

¹⁵¹ Report of the Committee on Higher Education August-November 1946, p.12.

Kumasi. This claim was, however rejected by others who argued that based on educational, social and practical reasons, the University College should be sited at Achimota in Accra which is also the centre of government. This group argued that Sir Gordon Guggisberg chose the site of Achimota, which he saw as the future university in the Gold Coast¹⁵²

Eventually, Legon Hill, which was two and half miles from Achimota and eight miles from Accra, was selected. This place was chosen because of its proximity to Achimota which would help to achieve continuity.¹⁵³ Besides, Legon Hill was within the Accra dry zone, and being higher than the surrounding ground, was open to the prevailing breeze from the sea. It was, indeed, one of the healthiest sites on the Coast. Not only would the university buildings become visible from a long distance, but they would themselves command extensive views, inland towards the Akwapim hills, eastwards across the Shai plains and southwards to the sea.¹⁵⁴

Additionally, with the Minority Report modified, the Bradley Committee's recommendation was also taken into consideration. This led to the establishment of the Kumasi College of Technology in 1952. The Kumasi College of Technology was established to promote technical and vocational training in Ghana.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid. pp. 12-13.

Conclusion

The philosophies and ideologies of colonial education were intended to offer quality education in the Gold Coast and this explains why the colonial governors placed emphasis on quality education as against educational expansion because their focus was not largely on the provision of education for all children of school-going age in the Gold Coast but to train a few quality personnel needed in their administration. This explains why not much progress was made by the colonial government in the field of educational provision until the time of Gordon Guggisberg.

Moreover, the chapter demonstrates that colonial governments ensured that the education that is provided in the country enabled individuals to fit properly in their society and the global village as well. This was why Gordon Guggisberg, for instance, did not want education to denationalise Ghanaians but to “graft skilfully on to their national characteristics the best attributes of modern civilization.”¹⁵⁵ This explains why he built technical and vocational schools, established Achimota School and introduced a register of teachers as part of measures to ensure quality education. Furthermore, these interventions have also been shaped by the post-colonial governments to provide the skills needed by individuals in the country to meet the requirements of the world at large.

¹⁵⁵ McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, *op. cit.* p. 54.

CHAPTER FOUR

DIRECTION OF EDUCATION UNDER OSAGYEFO DR. KWAME

NKRUMAH, 1951-1966

Introduction

This chapter traces the trend and focus of Western education in Ghana during the first phase of decolonization and the administration of the first President of the Republic of Ghana, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. The main aim of the chapter is to discuss the direction and politics in education in the early stages of independence and the effort made by Ghanaians to shape education in relation to their aspiration and vision. To this end, the chapter discusses the post-independence focus of education in Ghana. It also discusses the interventions introduced in the field of education such as the Accelerated Development Plan for Education in 1951, the Second Development Plan in 1959 and the Education Act of 1961.

In addition, the resources Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah devoted to the provision of primary, middle, secondary and higher institutions are assessed. Here, attempts are made to find out the number of schools built from 1951 to 1966 and what underpinned this development. Apart from these, the chapter also traces Kwame Nkrumah's effort in the field of university education. Issue such as how the University College of the Gold Coast and the Kumasi College of Technology became independent of the University of London is examined.

Post-Independence Education in Ghana: Its Direction and Focus

It will be recalled from the previous chapters that the Colonial Government provided education in order to obtain personnel for the administration of the Gold Coast. This explains the education of the professional classes such as engineers, doctors and pharmacists had to be done overseas and in the estimation of Jacob Okyere and George P. Hagan, these were elements of the colonial strategy that implicitly hindered the education and development of Gold Coasters.¹ Colonial education in the Gold Coast, it is argued, sharply contrasted with that of post-colonial education in relation to objectives and philosophies.

The 1951 Constitution of Ghana granted the country internal self-government. It provided for an Executive Council made up of three ex officio members and eight Ghanaian ministers.² To this end, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah became Leader of Government Business and Prime Minister in 1951 and 1952 respectively. Such positions enabled him to rule alongside the then British Governor in the Gold Coast, Sir Charles Noble Arden-Clarke. The policies of the Gold Coast government, especially, those on education, began to reflect the aims, interests and aspirations of the indigenous people. This is confirmed by Francis Agbodeka when he notes that from 1951, the educational policy in the Gold Coast reflected the aims of the new African leaders.³

On assumption of office as Prime Minister in 1952, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah introduced certain interventions in the educational field

¹Jacob Okyere, op. cit. Also George P. Hagan, op. cit.

²A. A. Boahen, *Ghana: Evolution and Change in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, p.172.

³See Francis Agbodeka, *Achimota in the National Setting*, p. 176.

which were aimed at expanding access for Ghanaian children. Such measures and interventions included the Accelerated Development Plan for Education of 1951, the Second Development Plan, 1959-1964, the Educational Act of 1961 and the Seven-Year Development Plan, 1963/64-1969/70. The measures were intended to prepare Ghanaians for their future roles in the administration of their country.⁴

The introduction of these measures and interventions were largely in reaction to many of the policies undertaken during the colonial period. Secondly, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was convinced that the Gold Coast was in the process of achieving independence and therefore there was the need to raise the sense of dignity of the people partly through a progressive modern education system.⁵ This was to be achieved by making Ghanaians aware of and giving them the capacity to identify their problems and to find solutions without depending on others. This, according to Richard Asare Akoto, Jacob Okyere and George P. Hagan, was and is still the trend of post-colonial education in Ghana.⁶ It is thus argued that Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah wanted to produce well-trained professionals in all fields—social, economic and political—to become useful citizens for the rebuilding of the country.

Two types of politics in post-colonial education in Ghana have been identified—internal and external. It is suggested that the internal politics involved the positions of the various concerned citizens in Ghana about the purpose of education especially after independence. This explains why across the administration of Ghana, different post-colonial governments sought to put

⁴ S. G. Nimako, *Education in Ghana 1930-1974*, pp. 8-22.

⁵ See the Second Development Plan of Ghana, 1959-64. Accra: Government Printing Press, p. 35.

⁶ Richard Asare Akoto, op. cit. Also, Jacob Okyere op. cit. and George P. Hagan, op. cit.

different emphases on education. Thus, it is argued that the purpose of all true education to early post-colonial Ghanaians was to produce good citizens in the society.

The external politics in post-colonial education in Ghana is mainly the assistance which the country received from other countries in the training of its manpower. After independence, and when Kwame Nkrumah started emphasising the need to have Ghanaian professionals trained, there were offers from various countries for scholarship to produce pharmacists, doctors, dieticians and pilots. The country also obtained technical knowledge and assistance from international bodies such as the World Health Organization (W.H.O.) and Food and Agricultural Organization (F.A.O.).⁷ The training of professionals and experts formed a major part of Kwame Nkrumah's socialist ideology of building Ghana in general and education in particular.⁸ Thus he stated, "in Ghana, we have embarked on the socialist path to progress. We want to see full employment, good housing and equal opportunity for education and cultural advancement for all the people up to the highest level possible."⁹ "Socialist objective," according to Kwame Nkrumah, "implies the universal good of the nation."¹⁰

Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah thus felt that without education, Ghana has no future and hence, "educational and cultural amenities must be available to everyone."¹¹ To Kwame Nkrumah, education was a means of nation building and a means of bringing about equality, solidarity and fraternity, which in

⁷ See Kwame Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*. London: Panaf Books, 1963, pp. 97-98.

⁸ Ibid. p. 119. See also, Richard Asare Akoto, op. cit.

⁹ Ibid. p. 119. Also, Samuel Obeng, *Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah*, Vol. 2, Accra: Afram Publications Ltd., 1997, p. 69.

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 123.

¹¹ Ibid.

effect, would lay the basis for economic and social advancement.¹² This way, the country would achieve its task of national reconstruction after independence which aimed at uplifting Ghanaians and thereby making them “great and respectable side by side with the rest of Africa.”¹³ As such, Ghana stood at the “cross-road to bid good-bye to the forces of degradation, economic insecurity and social insecurity.”¹⁴ Dr. Kwame Nkrumah thus wanted to direct education such that it would transform the country from its present state then in order to match the developed nations. This was to be achieved by making education available to all for the realization of such a transformation.

One other significant reason that changed the trend and direction of education during the post-colonial period is that education was to be used as a tool to break down the barriers between ethnic groups in Ghana. In a broadcast to the nation on February 3, 1964, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah considered it a privilege to unite on a national basis for the development of the country.¹⁵ Thus, it is argued that, one other definite purpose of education on which many Ghanaians agreed during the early stages of independence was that education should be used to overcome ethnic, socio-economic and geographical divisions as well as religious and political differences. This, as confirmed by J. H. Nketia and George P. Hagan, led Kwame Nkrumah to take over schools from the Missions.¹⁶ He wanted to create one educational system for the entire

¹²See Kwame Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, op. cit. p. 119. Also, George P. Hagan, op. cit.

¹³ Samuel Obeng, *Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah*, Vol. 1, Accra: Afram Publications Ltd., 1997, p. 76.

¹⁴ Ibid. p. 40.

¹⁵See Samuel Obeng, *Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah*, Vol. 4, Accra: Afram Publications Ltd., 1997, p. 13.

¹⁶ J. H. Nketia, op. cit. and George P. Hagan, op. cit. See also Haizel, E. A. “Education in Ghana, 1951-1966: The Life and Work of Kwame Nkrumah: Papers of Symposium Organised

population with the same educational content, with the same sources of money and with the same sources of teachers throughout Ghana as these have demonstrated in the study.

Another reason for such intervention or change is that the independence leaders of Ghana, especially Kwame Nkrumah, wanted education to produce people who could manage affairs in the country. Kwame Nkrumah needed as many educated people as possible otherwise the country would depend on expatriates. To this end, Kwame Nkrumah said: “we have to obtain technical knowledge and staff from better equipped sources, and this process will continue until we are able to produce a sufficient number of our own experts.”¹⁷ This motivated his introduction of fee-free and later compulsory education for all children between the ages of five and thirteen.¹⁸ Skilled Ghanaians were needed to shape economy to reflect their aspirations and so needed to be trained.

The Accelerated Development Plan (ADP) of Education in Ghana

Mass, compulsory and fee-free education also constituted a dominant issue of politics in education during the early stages of self-government in Ghana. It will be recalled that Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg had stated in his Sixteen Principles of Education (S.P.E.) in 1925 that ‘Education cannot be compulsory nor free.’ His reason was that the time was not ripe for that. This

by the Institute of African Studies University of Ghana.’ Edited by Kwame Arhin. Accra: Sedco Publishing Ltd. 1991, pp. 60-61 and Noel Smith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana*, p. 172 and Ruth Sloan, *The Educated African: A Country-by-Country Survey of Educational Development in Africa*. London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1962, p. 326.

¹⁷ See Kwame Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, p. 97.

¹⁸ Haizel, E. A., op. cit. p. 60. Also, see Second Development Plan 1959-64. Accra: Government Printing Press, p. 35, and See Ruth Sloan, op. cit. p. 331.

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implied that there were insufficient resources and finance to provide compulsory and free education in the Gold Coast.

The issue of free and compulsory education also came to the fore during the administration of Sir Alan Burns. The Governor was also of the view that the desired end of education in the Gold Coast was a compulsory one for all children.¹⁹ But, like Gordon Guggisberg, Sir Alan Burns was also convinced that this would depend largely on the availability of teachers and funds. Thus, no wonder a British official pointed out in 1947 that it would take the country twenty to twenty-five years to offer a six-year course of primary education for all children in the Gold Coast.²⁰

Such was the position of the Colonial Governments in relation to the politics of compulsory and fee-free education in the Gold Coast. The Colonial Government was thus unable to provide free and compulsory education. However, the independence leaders of Ghana provided fee-free and compulsory education when the mantle of leadership passed into their hands.

This also best explains the politics of the CPP Government in relation to all aspects of the lives of the people of Ghana. The pre-independence slogan of the Convention People's Party changed from 'Self Government Now' to 'Serve Ghana Now.' Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah emphasised the need for everyone to work hard since the fruits of the labour would not be for the enrichment of the former colonial powers but for Ghanaians and their children.²¹ As Kwame Nkrumah noted, "the rewards would be national and individual dignity, the satisfaction which comes from the creation and a raised

¹⁹ See McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, op. cit. p. 83.

²⁰ Ibid. Also, S. G. Nimako, Ghana Today No. 9, *Education in Ghana 1930-1974*, p. 8.

²¹ See Kwame Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*. p. 107.

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standard of life. Foremost of all would be economic independence, without which our political independence would be valueless.’’²²

The Convention People’s Party (CPP) won the February 1951 general elections in the Gold Coast. The 1951 Constitution created the offices of a Ministry of Education and Social Welfare with a Minister and a Ministerial Secretary.²³ As a result, Kojo Botsio was appointed the country’s first Minister of Education.²⁴ The Ministry of Education was entrusted with the responsibility of carrying out government policies on education. It also became responsible for the organization of a public education system as well as for relations between the Government and a large number of bodies providing work of educational nature. On his assumption of office, Kojo Botsio stated that, “Education is the keystone of a people’s life and happiness.”²⁵ Education was linked to human sustenance, development and total bliss. The principal aim of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and his CPP Government was to provide education for every child of school-going age in the country even at the initial stages of self-government.²⁶

Due to this, the education policy of Kwame Nkrumah and his Government was quickly drawn up by the Minister of Education. It began with the introduction of the Accelerated Development Plan (ADP) for Education in August 1951 which was finally implemented in January 1952. The Legislative Assembly approved the Accelerated Development Plan (ADP), which

²² Ibid.

²³ See *Progress of Education in the Gold Coast* with Foreword by the Honourable Kojo Botsio, Accra: Government Printing Department, 1953, p. 5. and *Fact Sheets on Ghana*, op. cit. p. 1.

²⁴ See S. G. Nimako, op. cit. p. 8.

²⁵ Ibid. See also McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, op. cit. p. 83 and *Progress of Education in the Gold Coast*, p. 20

²⁶ Osei Bonsu, op. cit. See also, *Second Development Plan 1959-64*, p. 35., *Progress of Education in the Gold Coast*, p. 7 and *Fact Sheets on Ghana*, p. 2.

© University of Cape Coast <https://ir.ucc.edu.gh/html> 27 The included 38 new projects costing £8, 148,750 within the period 1952-57.²⁷ The

Plan aimed at “providing as soon as possible a basic six-year primary course for all children from the age of six at public expense. There was also increased provision for secondary and technical education and for facilities for the training of teachers, to produce the hundreds of extra teachers required to staff the new primary schools. The development of middle school education, for which fees were still to be charged, was made largely dependent on the ability of the Local Authorities to meet its cost.”²⁸

This was intended to quicken the pace of education and development in the country. In the estimation of Kojo Botsio, the ADP and the Social Welfare Plan for Mass Literacy and Mass Education constituted the early stage of the CPP Government’s campaign against ignorance in the Gold Coast.²⁹ In all, an amount of £G17, 390,000 was earmarked for education during the First and Consolidated Development Plans, out of a total financial commitment of £G117, 522,000.³⁰

The major features of the ADP as identified by S. G. Nimako were:

- (1) The rapid expansion of primary education and the provision of a six-year course of primary education for all children.
- (2) The abolition of school fees in the primary school.
- (3) Infant-junior schools were to be designated primary schools, and senior-primary schools, middle schools.
- (4) Increased facilities for teacher training by the opening of 10 more teacher training colleges and the expansion of the size of the existing colleges.
- (5) The building of more day

²⁷ PRAAD, RG3/1/63 Minutes of the Central Advisory Committee on Education, Second Session, 1957, held in the Ministry of Education, Accra, on Thursday 26th September, p. 3.

²⁸ See Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1953-54, Accra: Government Printer, 1956, p. 7. Also The Accelerated Development Plan for Education, Accra: Ministry of Information and Social Welfare, p. 1., E. A. Haizel,, op. cit. p. 60 and *Progress of Education in the Gold Coast*, p. 6.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ See Education Report of the Ministry of Education for the Years 1958-1960. (January 1958 to August 1960) p. 7.

secondary schools, and the upgrading of some of the non-assisted secondary schools into assisted schools. (6) The building of four secondary-technical schools, in addition to the conversion of the Government Technical School at Takoradi to secondary-technical. The establishment of technical institutes at Accra, Kumasi, Sekondi-Takoradi and Tarkwa. (7) The Certificate 'B' course for all post-primary teachers in training, to be followed later by Certificate 'A' course after some teaching experience. (8) The Review of Teachers' salaries, and payment of salaries to all teachers in training. (9) The increase of scholarships to secondary, technical and trade schools.³¹

Primary, Middle and Teacher Training Education under the ADP

The ADP for Education therefore brought all primary schools in the Gold Coast under the public system. This, in effect, shows that Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and his CPP Government wanted to take over the control of education in the Gold Coast. Primary schools were expected to teach children the basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic. According to E. A. Haizel, the end purpose of primary education in the early phases of self-government was "to provide a sound foundation for citizenship with permanent literacy in both English and the vernacular."³²

A major challenge the ADP attempted to tackle was how to increase facilities and the number of teachers for primary education. To this end, a "special two-year capital works grant totalling over £200, 000 was set aside by Government for the erection of new classrooms."³³ The local communities and local authorities also provided additional accommodation and classroom furniture. Through these means and others such as the use of churches and of bamboo sheds, over 132, 000 children were enrolled in primary class 1 in

³¹ S. G. Nimako, op. cit. pp. 8-9. Also, Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1953-54, p. 7.

³² E. A. Haizel, op. cit. p. 60.

³³ Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1953-54, p. 7.

1952.³⁴ © [University of Cape Coast https://ir.ucc.edu.gh/xmlui](https://ir.ucc.edu.gh/xmlui) The CPP Government was highly convinced that the Local Assembly which had been entrusted to provide primary education at the local levels would devote huge sums of money for education in the Gold Coast.

As a result, the ADP removed all fees from the first six-year primary course. It is as a result of this that Richard Asare Akoto asserts that primary education became a striking feature of the ADP. This is due to the fact that, the ADP saw rapid expansion and fee-free primary education in the country.³⁵ The ADP, however could not introduce compulsory education at the beginning due to inadequate facilities, resources and funds. From 1952 to 1961 facilities were rapidly expanded to all parts of Ghana before the introduction of the compulsory aspect of primary education during the implementation of the Second Year Development Plan.³⁶

It is suggested that the ADP significantly increased enrolment of pupils in both primary and middle schools in the Colony and Ashanti (including Togoland) when it started right from the onset. Statistically, of the 3.25 million population of the Colony and Ashanti in 1951, it was estimated that 405,000 and 270,000 were of primary-school age and middle-school age respectively.³⁷ Table 1 shows pupil attendance in primary and middle schools by classes as at December, 1951.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Richard Asare Akoto, op. cit. Also, see Fact Sheets on Ghana from GIS, p. 2.

³⁶ See the Seven-Year Development Plan of Ghana, Accra: Government Printing Press, p. 141.

³⁷ See *Progress of Education in the Gold Coast*, p. 8.

Class	Colony	Ashanti	Total
Primary1	38, 561	19, 681	58, 242
Primary2	25, 826	11, 194	37, 020
Primary3	23, 730	10, 181	33, 911
Primary4	24, 173	10, 329	35, 042
Primary5	22, 965	9, 951	32, 916
Primary6	21, 699	10, 418	32, 117
Middle I	14, 919	6, 336	21, 255
Middle II	13, 048	5, 400	18, 453
Middle III	10, 276	3, 808	14, 084
Middle IV	9, 001	2, 670	11, 671
Total		204,738	89,973
	294,711		

Source: *Progress of Education in the Gold Coast*, p. 8.

In the Northern Territories, enrolments of pupils in primary and middle schools were very low. Out of the school-age population of 250, 000, only about 5, 000 pupils were in school. In the North, the number of pupils in Middle IV classes in 1951 was only 123 pupils of 99 boys and 24 girls.³⁹ However, in January 1952, when the ADP was fully started, there were, for example, 130, 000 pupils in Primary Class I in the entire country. The figure was thus more than doubled compared to that of 1951. It is argued that Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was the first to accelerate the growth of

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid. pp. 8-9.

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education at all levels: primary, middle, secondary, technical, vocational and university in Ghana.

One other issue that needs attention and merits analysis here is the training of teachers during the implementation of the ADP. Teachers were needed for the successful implementation of the ADP. It is argued that the pivot upon which the success or failure of the ADP rested on was the availability of adequate number of trained teachers. This was confirmed by Kwame Nkrumah when he stated that, "... the only way to establish a sound educational system is to ensure that the teaching service is of the maximum efficiency."⁴⁰ In his estimation, the certificate 'A' teachers constituted the back-bone of the teaching service.⁴¹ To this end, teacher training became a necessary condition for the expansion of the educational system.

Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah attached great significance to the issue of the training of teachers. On June 13, 1951, shortly after his assumption of office and before the introduction of the ADP, he appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Mr. J. B. Erzuah to review the salaries and conditions of service of non-government teachers in the Gold Coast. Other members were Mr. J. H. Allassani, Mr. S. J. Hogben and Professor L. J. Lewis. The Committee published its report on April 23, 1952 which was accepted for implementation by the CPP Government. In the estimation of S. G. Nimako, the report of the Erzuah Committee marked "the greatest single step ever taken in this country to raise the status of the teaching profession."⁴²

⁴⁰Samuel Obeng, *Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah*, Vol. 1, p. 217.

⁴¹Ibid. p. 218.

⁴²See S. G. Nimako, op. cit. p. 12.

“that teachers should be paid salaries higher than other persons with similar qualifications, experience and ability in other walks of life, to attract the best into teaching so as to raise standards and ensure the development of the country.”⁴³ It also recommended the formation of Teachers’ Professional Council to tackle the issue of discipline and professional matters in relation to teachers. Due largely to the report of the Erzuah Committee, teachers’ salaries were tremendously increased. For example, Certificate ‘A’ teachers’ salary was increased from £84 to £150 per annum. Also, that of a Certificate ‘B’ teacher was increased from £72 to £110 per annum. Apart from this, the teachers’ Pension Ordinance was passed on September 9, 1955.⁴⁴

By 1953, there were about 5,000 trained teachers in the Gold Coast and due to the great demand for additional teachers which was caused by the introduction of free primary education, the CPP Government engaged pupil teachers in large numbers to teach in the primary schools.⁴⁵ These pupil teachers were given in-service training in five main ways namely, Saturday morning classes conducted by head teachers, instruction and supervision by head teachers, six-week courses at special emergency-training colleges, vacation courses organised by District Education Officers and supervision by Assistant Education Officers.⁴⁶ Emergency Training-College (E.T.C.) was also established at Saltpond in 1953.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 13.

⁴⁵ See *Progress of Education in the Gold Coast*, p. 10. Also, *The Seven-Year Development Plan of Ghana*, p. 155 and *Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1953-54*, p. 7.

⁴⁶ *Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1953-54*, p. 7.

Also, by 1953, there were 3,150 teacher-trainees at training colleges.⁴⁷ To facilitate the training of teachers, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah established seventeen new teacher training colleges including four emergency training colleges which were to offer short preliminary courses in the country. The existing six colleges were also expanded. To make the profession more attractive and ensure that no teacher remained untrained due to financial constraints, the CPP Government introduced the student-teacher allowance in the training colleges. Here, trainee teachers received salaries as if they were on study leave. To attract teachers, the CPP Government created the opportunity for the Certificate 'B' holders to further their studies for two years to earn Certificate 'A.'⁴⁸ This however was to be preceded by working for a period of time as a teacher in the field.⁴⁹

The CPP Government adopted certain measures that aimed at improving the quality of teaching and consequently raised standards in schools. First, the ADP provided for the appointment of 100 new Assistant Education Officers who were stationed at focal points in the entire country.⁵⁰ They were put in charge of small groups of schools in their area. They organized weekends morning classes for pupil teachers. They also provided guidance services to the schools under their care.

New syllabi for primary and middle schools were produced by the Government. This was done to make the subjects more stimulating and valuable.⁵¹ The Institute of Education at Achimota was tasked to help the

⁴⁷ *Progress of Education in the Gold Coast*, p. 10.

⁴⁸ Public Records and Archives Administration Department, PRAAD, RG3/1/24 Extracts from Conference of Regional Education Officers-September, 4th to 5th 1957, p. 63.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Progress of Education in the Gold Coast*, p. 12.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

Education Department achieve this. It printed syllabi and Teachers' Notes for English, Arithmetic and Vernacular.⁵² Moreover, the movement of teachers from less endowed schools to well established schools in response to attractive offers was disallowed. The CPP Government controlled the posting of trained teachers to ensure fair distribution in the country. Refresher courses were organized for teachers during holidays to make them more effective in teaching.⁵³

The issue of fee-free primary education and its implementation under the ADP merits analysis. It appears that almost everything in primary schools was free and that pupils did not pay for anything. This was not so. Except for pupils in the Northern Territories, parents had to pay for books and other stationery.⁵⁴ Also, primary education under the ADP could not be made compulsory. This was because the infrastructural facilities and the number of teachers required to teach in the various primary and middle schools did not match the number of pupils who attended primary school. Quite apart from this, in the senior school which assumed the new name 'middle school' under the ADP, fees were still charged.

There is also the issue of how the primary and middle schools were financed during the implementation of the ADP. The system of financing primary schools was based on partnership between the Central and Local Governments.⁵⁵ Even here, the Central Government was responsible only for the payment of the major part of teachers' salaries. However, the Local

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ S. G. Nimako, op. cit. p. 13. See also Jacob Okyere, op. cit. and Fact Sheets on Ghana, p. 2 and PRAAD, RG3/1/24 Extracts from Conference of Regional Education Officers-September, 4th to 5th, p. 50.

⁵⁵ *Progress of Education in the Gold Coast*, p. 13.

Authorities became responsible for the provision of material services such as building of classrooms, general maintenance and repairs, sanitation, water supply, equipment and grounds.⁵⁶ The small size of some local authorities coupled with lack of funds made it impossible for some of them to provide facilities and services in their areas which affected primary, middle and secondary schools.⁵⁷

The local authorities were also made responsible for the payment of a smaller part of the teachers' salaries.⁵⁸ This led to the principle of 'pay or lose your school' in the local areas.⁵⁹ Also, in the middle schools which served as stepping stones to secondary and other levels of education, government employment and also as a source of prestige, the ADP provided an annual grant of whatever the Government could afford and left the rest to the Local Authorities. This situation could not help and in areas where the Local Authorities did not have the resources to provide facilities, progress of primary and middle education went down.⁶⁰

Secondary Education under the ADP

In the field of secondary education, paragraph 45 of the ADP placed emphasis on the establishment of day-schools largely on the grounds of economy.⁶¹ This does not mean that the CPP Government had forgotten the value of boarding schools. One reason is that boarding facilities cost more

⁵⁶ Ibid. Also, PRAAD, RG3/1/24 Extracts from Conference of Regional Education Officers-September, 4th to 5th, p. 62.

⁵⁷ Ibid. p. 51.

⁵⁸ See *Progress of Education in the Gold Coast*, p. 13.

⁵⁹ PRAAD, RG3/1/24 Extracts from Conference of Regional Education Officers-September, 4th to 5th 1957, p. 61.

⁶⁰ Ibid. p. 51.

⁶¹ PRAAD, RG3/1/63 Minutes of the Central Advisory Committee on Education, Second Session, 1957, held in the Ministry of Education, Accra, on Thursday 26th September, p. 2.

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than the school itself.⁶² Also, there were not enough resources for the provision of dormitories to meet the increasing number of pupils who had completed the middle schools. When the Seven-Year Development Plan was introduced in 1963, only two percent of the output of Ghana's educational system had access to secondary schools.⁶³ To achieve his desire of creating modern economy, the CPP Government wished to increase the proportion of the students in the secondary schools to about twenty-five percent. Also, the CPP Government wanted the entire country to be literate and therefore the highest form of education should be available in the country.⁶⁴

Before the commencement of the ADP, there were eleven recognized secondary boarding schools and only one day school. To increase access, the CPP Government built additional fifteen day schools. Full payment for the tuition fees of the cost of the day-element was made by Government. Boarding fees which required the approval of the Minister for Education were however paid by pupils.⁶⁵ Scholarships and bursaries were also introduced to help brilliant but needy students in the secondary schools. By 1955, due to the outcome of the ADP, there had been an unprecedented increase in the number of students who wanted access to secondary schools.⁶⁶ For example, by 1955, the number of pupils in primary and middle schools had risen from 338,000 to 492,000 and 92,000 to 114,000 respectively.⁶⁷ As at 1955, there were 30 Government and Approved secondary schools as well as private ones.⁶⁸

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ See the Seven-Year Development Plan of Ghana, p. 153.

⁶⁴ See Samuel Obeng, *Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah*, Vol. 1, p. 243.

⁶⁵ *Progress of Education in the Gold Coast*, p. 14.

⁶⁶ S. G. Nimako. *Education in Ghana 1930-1974*, p. 14.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

To increase enrolment to match pupils who had completed primary and middle schools, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah established the Ghana Educational Trust (G.E.T.) in December 1955. It was inaugurated by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in Accra on December 8, 1955. The main objective of G. E. T. was to increase access to secondary education in the Gold Coast. The Trust was tasked to build, control and manage secondary schools in the country. Members and distinguished personalities present during the inaugural ceremony were Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and Kojo Botsio.⁶⁹

The Trust was officially registered on February 16, 1957 with a Certificate of incorporation number 782.⁷⁰ It started with an initial amount of £2.5 million. By 1961, the Trust had established 24 additional secondary schools in Ghana. It also offered grants for the extension of classrooms and building of science blocks. In the estimation of S. G. Nimako, through the work of the Trust, enrolment in secondary schools rose from 8, 000 in 1955 to 18, 866 in 1967.⁷¹ The CPP Government did not want secondary education to become a hindrance in its efforts to achieve economic and social transformation in the country. The reason is that secondary and technical education constituted the grounds for the training of high level and middle level manpower needed for economic growth.⁷² The Trust schools were however merged with the Approved Secondary schools in Ghana after the overthrow of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah on February 24, 1966.

⁶⁹ Other personalities present were Nana Ayirebi Acquah, Rev. S. G. Nimako, Ako Adjei, Sophia Doku, E. A. Mettle Nunoo, J. N. Eburay and E. N. Ocansey. Six members were elected Board of Directors namely, Nana Ayirebi Acquah (Chairman), Rev. S. G. Nimako (Secretary), Sophia Doku, Mark Botsio, E. A. Mettle Nunoo and E. N. Ocansey.

⁷⁰ S. G. Nimako. *Education in Ghana 1930-1974*, p. 16.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² See the Seven-Year Development Plan of Ghana, p. 153.

The politics in secondary education during Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's administration and especially with the introduction of the Second Development Plan and the Seven-Year Development Plan was not only to be used to promote the culture of the country, but it was also to serve as a significant factor for social, economic and political development. In the words of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the secondary schools "have an important contribution to make in ensuring that the economic, industrial and technological development of the country proceeds at the highest possible rate."⁷³

Secondary schools thus became preparatory grounds for higher education in the country. This explains why the CPP Government increased the number of secondary schools in Ghana. Public secondary schools had by January, 1958 increased to thirty-nine.⁷⁴ These were the Achimota School, Tamale Secondary School, Takoradi Secondary School, 18 Assisted Schools made up of 12 boarding and 6 day schools and 18 Encouraged Schools.⁷⁵

Thirteen out of the 39 secondary schools were for boys, six for girls and twenty were co-educational institutions. The expansion of public secondary schools through their enrolment from independence to 1960, when Ghana became a republic⁷⁶ is illustrated in the table 2.

⁷³Samuel Obeng, *Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah*, Vol. 1, p. 242.

⁷⁴ See Ministry of Education: Education Report for the Years 1958-1960 (January 1958 to August 1960), Accra: Ghana Publishing Corporation, 1960, p. 31.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Education Report for the Years 1958-1960, p. 31.

Table 2- *Enrolment of Public Secondary Schools from 1957 to 1960.*⁷⁷

Year	No. of Sch.	Enrolment	Form 1-5		Form 6	
			Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1957	38	9,860	7,622	1,767	382	49
1958	39	10,423	7,998	1,938	432	55
1958	39	11,111	8,402	2,079	544	86
1960	39	11,874	8,921	2,252		599
102						
Total	155	43,266	32,943	8,036		1,957
292						

Source: Education Report for the Years 1958-1960, p. 31.

Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah set out to use secondary education to meet the needs of the economy and this explains why he accelerated the enrolment at secondary schools to a rate of 2000 additional students per year and thereby increased its prospective output from 33, 000 to 62,000 in the implementation of the Seven-Year Development Plan.⁷⁸ To this end, he estimated an increase in the number of secondary school teachers from 1,000 in 1963 to about 43,000 by 1970.⁷⁹

Technical schools were also not left out since they also played significant roles in the CPP Government's effort to restructure the economy. As noted earlier, the ADP provided for the conversion of the Government Technical School to a secondary technical one and paragraph 45 of the Plan had visualised the setting up of four new secondary technical schools in the

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ See the Seven-Year Development Plan of Ghana, p. 153.

⁷⁹ Ibid. p. 154.

country.⁸⁰ Subjects offered in these schools were Technical Drawing, Pure and Applied Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, English and Social Studies (Geography, Civics, History and World Affairs). This course, as the case of secondary schools, led to the award of a Secondary School Certificate. Other courses offered were dressmaking, building construction, draughtsmanship, surveying, workshop technology, institutional management, cookery, housecraft, motor-fitting and blacksmithing. The secondary technical schools provided one avenue for the Kumasi College of Technology for the most capable pupils and the others became technicians at either a Technical Institute or employed at the industrial firms and government departments.⁸¹

In 1953, the titles of three Trade Training Centres at Asuansi, Mampong and Tamale were changed to Government Trade Schools.⁸² They were boarding institutions which provided full-time trade-training courses of four years' duration in masonry, joinery, carpentry and the basic mechanical engineering trades.⁸³ The products of these schools were expected to have a sound practical training in the fields of engineering or building construction in addition to the necessary theoretical background.

Thus through Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's educational politics in the country, enrolment increased at all levels—primary, middle, teacher-training, technical and secondary before the passage of the Second Development Plan in 1959.

⁸⁰ PRAAD, RG3/1/63 Minutes of the Central Advisory Committee on Education, Second Session, 1957, held in the Ministry of Education, Accra, on Thursday 26th September, p. 3.

⁸¹ *Progress of Education in the Gold Coast*, p. 16.

⁸² Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1953-54, p. 13.

⁸³ *Ibid.* pp. 13-14.

Originally, the First Development Plan for Education introduced in 1951 was designed to cover a period of ten years in the Gold Coast. As a result of the urgent need to develop the resources in the country however, it became necessary for the plan to be condensed into a shorter period by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. To this end, the first development plan ended in June, 1957. The next two years after independence, there were no plan for education until 4th March, 1959, when Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah raised the issue of the need for a plan in Parliament and opened the debate for approval of the Second Development Plan. The Plan was intended to bring prosperity to Ghanaians.⁸⁴ On this issue, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah noted that “the 19th century colonial philosophy of mercantilism, which meant the using of a territory as a source of raw material while at the same time dumping manufactured goods from the metropolis of the imperial colonial power, is out of date.”⁸⁵

In the Plan, an amount of £G27, 852,000 was devoted to education out of a total amount of £G 250, 000,000.⁸⁶ Table 3 gives the allocation of funds for educational development during the Second Development Plan, 1959-64.

⁸⁴Samuel Obeng, *Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah*, Vol. 1, p. 17.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ See Education Report of the Ministry of Education for the Years 1958-1960, p. 7.

Table 3-Financial Provision for Educational Development: 1959-64.⁸⁷

Educational Development	Funds Allocation £G
General	4, 881,000
Secondary	15, 000,000
Technical	1, 960,000
University College of Ghana	2, 500,000
University College of Technology	2, 456,000
Assistants to Statutory Boards, etc.	1, 055,000
Total	£G27, 852,000

Source: Education Report for the Years 1958-1960, p. 8.

The financial resources available to the CPP Government for carrying out the above educational provision were the reserves of the Cocoa Marketing Board, sterling securities and general revenue.

Under the Second Development Plan, the aim and of course politics in primary and middle levels of education of the CPP Government was to make them fee-free and compulsory in the entire country. During this period, the elementary levels of education had witnessed expansion of infrastructural facilities and therefore the provision of buildings for primary and middle schools became a direct responsibility of the Local Authorities involved to enable the Central Government to concentrate on higher education. The argument is that the cost of primary and middle schools was smaller as compared to that of higher studies.

Also, during the Second Development Plan, numerous primary and middle schools had been established by the ADP which could start fee-free

⁸⁷ Ibid. p. 8.

and compulsory education. For example, in February 1958, there were 3, 402 and 1, 030 primary and middle schools in the entire country respectively. Moreover, during the period under discussion, the focus of the CPP Government had shifted from the provision of primary and middle schools to secondary and higher studies. This explains why during the Second Development Plan, primary schools were built in areas where they were mostly needed in Ghana.⁸⁸

However, in Northern Ghana where primary and middle schools were still lacking and especially when it became obvious that the prosperity of the people of the North was lower on the average than the rest of Ghana, and that they could not themselves provide the needed primary and middle schools during the 1959-64 period, the Central Government assisted them through the provision of primary and middle schools. Thus, the Government policy in relation to the North was to encourage the Local Authorities to position themselves such that they could provide primary and middle schools in the course of the implementation of the Plan. Due to this, an amount of £G510, 000 was allocated in the Second Development Plan for primary and middle schools in the North.

Training of teachers was also given attention. The Plan set out to get rid of the untrained teachers in the various public schools in Ghana. This is because the Second Development Plan considered the availability of trained teachers as the key to the success of fee-free and compulsory education in Ghana. The Plan thus aimed at a large enrolment of Certificate 'A' and

⁸⁸ Education Report of the Ministry of Education for the Years 1958-1960, p. 8.

Certificate 'B' training colleges and by 1958, the total enrolment was 4,055.⁸⁹

As part of the measures to completely eliminate the untrained teachers, the Government gradually increased the number of places for post-secondary teacher training colleges. It also made the school certificate the prerequisite for admission to teacher training colleges.⁹⁰

To this end the Government took certain measures. First, it set up a new Certificate 'B' College at Wiawso. This School provided 180 new places and absorbed 60 teachers who were under training in temporary premises in Kumasi. Secondly, the Government established the Peki Training College to offer a new Certificate 'A' course in Ghana. It provided 240 additional places to the training of teachers. In addition, Nkawkaw and Techiman Colleges were established to provide Certificate 'B' courses. Each of these Colleges offered 120 new places to potential entrants.⁹¹

Secondary education also saw a tremendous expansion during the implementation of the Second Development Plan. It will be recalled that the First Development Plan i.e. the ADP had vastly expanded primary and middle schools in the country. It was thus necessary for the Second Development Plan to expand access to secondary education in order to provide enough places for the products of the primary and middle schools.

During the Second Development Plan, the Ghana Educational Trust (G.E.T.) set out to increase the number of places in secondary schools in Ghana. In January, 1965, the plan intake for secondary schools and sixth

⁸⁹ Ibid. p. 39

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ See the Second Development Plan 1959-64, Accra: Government Printing Press, 1964, pp. 37-38.

forms was 5,660 and 1,335 respectively.⁹² This was made possible through the extension, rehousing and building of new schools as well as the schools established by the Ghana Educational Trust.⁹³ Funds were therefore allocated to increase access to secondary education. Table 4 shows the facilities that were to be provided for secondary education by the Government and the funds needed for them.⁹⁴

Table 4- *Facilities for Secondary Education during 1959-64 and their Fund Allocation.*⁹⁵

Facilities for secondary education	Funds Allocation
£G	
Expansion of fifteen existing secondary schools	1, 228,000
Rehousing of two existing secondary schools	556,000
Building of eight new two three-stream secondary schools	1, 948,000
Building of twenty-six new two-stream secondary schools	3, 306,000
Expansion of secondary technical school	61,000
Total	7, 099,000

Source: Second Development Plan 1959-64, p. 38.

Technical education both at and below university degree level also witnessed an increase in in-take.⁹⁶ The Second Development Plan envisaged the need to provide skilled workmen for the various industries in Ghana. Coupled with this was the need to provide a field for selection of students for advanced technical training. This called for the provision of facilities for more

⁹² Ibid. p. 38.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

advanced courses in technical education. To this end, the four trade schools and technical institutes then in existence were reorganised. The former were renamed Junior Institutes and were required to provide a slightly higher level of training to students than the previous trade schools.⁹⁷

Under the Second Development Plan, twelve of the Junior Institutes were earmarked to be established. The technical institutes were also reorganised. Apart from their courses, the technical institutes also offered Junior Institute training. These institutes offered junior courses and senior craft courses. The junior courses were intended to offer a balanced course of general education with a strong technical bias. Students were made to write external examination at the end of the course. This enabled them to be selected for either the Senior Craft Courses or Technical Courses at the Technical Institutes.⁹⁸

Mathematics and English were part of the subjects offered at the Senior Craft Course. They also provided special training in trades and crafts. This course enabled students to proceed to a technical institute where they offered an Advanced Craft Course which led to the award of a final Certificate of the City and Guilds. These courses which were first started in September, 1959 offered students the opportunity to be trained for supervisory posts such as Charge Hand and Foreman.⁹⁹ The Senior Technical Course was also introduced at the technical institutes to train technicians and professional technologists. Courses offered were Electrical Engineering, Mechanical Engineering and Building which led to Ordinary City and Guilds

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid. p. 39.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

Certificate.¹⁰⁰ From here, it was expected that students would proceed to offer advanced Technical Courses which trained them for examinations by the professional institutes. Due to the relevance of technical education envisaged by the CPP Government under the Second Development Plan, the sum of £G1.5 million was provided for its reorganization.¹⁰¹ Table 5 shows the allocation of funds for the various aspects of technical education.

Table 5-Aspects of Technical Education and their Allocation of Funds.¹⁰²

Aspects of Technical Education	Allocation of Funds £G
Establishment of a new Junior Institute	200,000
Development and expansion of four existing trade schools	284,000
Development and expansion of four existing Technical Institutes	779,750
Technical Teacher Training Scheme	52,400
Equipment for Junior and Technical Institutes	183,500
Total	£G1, 499,650

Source: Second Development Plan 1959-64, pp. 39-40.

Politics in University Education under the CPP Government

It will be recalled that through the demands by the Ghanaian nationalists for the setting up of higher institutions of learning, the University College of the Gold Coast was established in 1948 by the Colonial Government. It was however re-Christened University College of Ghana on

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid. pp. 39-40.

the attainment of independence in 1957. In 1952 when Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah became the Prime Minister, there were two university colleges in the Gold Coast. He thus decided to structure the universities to serve the needs and interests of Gold Coasters. In the opinion of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the university colleges should produce intellectuals who would be able to combine both theory and practice and who would use their energies in the right direction to support in fulfilling the great task of reconstruction.¹⁰³ This also explained why he was convinced in particular that the Convention People's Party Students' Union at Legon, "will imbue the members with the same nationalistic and patriotic fervour which drove us on to achieve political independence and which is the mainstay of our determination to succeed not only in the economic and social reconstruction of our country, but also in our pursuit of a political union of African States."¹⁰⁴

During the ADP and Second Development Plan, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's educational politics influenced the progress and development of the university colleges of the Gold Coast by clearly spelling out the ideologies and philosophies of such institutions. One significant thing Dr. Kwame Nkrumah did was that he first transformed and beautified the University College of the Gold Coast to reflect modern universities. This was done through the completion of a larger part of the building programmes of the University which served as lecture theatres, departmental offices, faculties and halls of residence. The CPP Government thus allocated the sum of £G1,

¹⁰³ Samuel Obeng, *Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah*, Vol. 1, p. 74.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* p. 80.

800,000 to the construction of lecture theatres, water and sewage systems, roads, electricity and staff housing.¹⁰⁵

In the estimation of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the facilities should be able to admit 1, 000 students during the first phase of the development plan. To transform and expand the facilities of the institution, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah granted the University College of the Gold Coast subventions which amounted to £G749,140 and £G910,000 in 1957-58 and 1958-59 respectively.¹⁰⁶ The Prime Minister assumed the responsibility for the management of the affairs of the two university colleges in 1959.¹⁰⁷ This led to an increase in the subventions for the university colleges. For example, an amount of £G850, 000 and £G865, 000 were granted to the University College of Ghana in 1959-61 and 1960-61.¹⁰⁸ These amounts however, excluded grants for special projects, which became necessary, to be constructed.

There is the question of how the universities as an academic institutions with a high sense of independence from government control was not jeopardized with Kwame Nkrumah assuming responsibility for their management. This function of the government led to a great interference in the affairs of the universities. This reached its ceiling when Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah tried to turn the University of Ghana, for example, into CPP wing. This also explained the unhealthy relationship between government and the universities during the administration of the CPP Government.

There were five faculties at the University College of Ghana namely, Arts, Social Studies, Biological Sciences, Physical Sciences and Agriculture.

¹⁰⁵ See Education Report for the Years 1958-1960, p. 49.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. p. 50.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

Within these, there were departments such as History, Economics, Classics, English, Geography, Phonetics, Sociology, French Studies, Law, Philosophy, Divinity, Education, Archaeology, Physics, Mathematics, Botany, Geology, Zoology and Agriculture at the University. Coupled with these were others such as a Civil Engineering Research Unit, an Institute of Education and African Studies. The rationale for the establishment of the Institute of African Studies by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah will be discussed later in this Chapter.

By 1959, the Kumasi College of Technology was indeed making progress in the study of technologies and applied sciences. The following schools and departments had thus been established: School of Agriculture; School of Architecture, Town Planning and Building; School of Engineering (Civil, Electrical and Mechanical); Department of Commerce (Accountancy, Secretaryship, Administration and Estate Management); Department of Fine Arts and Crafts; Department of Pharmacy; Department of Arts; and Department of Mathematics and Physics. The various courses offered in the schools and departments mentioned above were in line with the CPP Government's conviction of providing the avenue for the institutions of learning to produce heroes and heroines needed for social, economic and industrial reconstruction in Ghana.¹⁰⁹ Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, for example, noted that Electricity and Agriculture were the two cornerstones of industrialization.¹¹⁰

The Kumasi College of Technology first admitted students in 1952 and by 1960, its enrolment stood at 533 with 146 members of staff. The CPP Government devoted an amount of £G1, 800,000 for further expansion of the

¹⁰⁹ Samuel Obeng, *Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah*, Vol. 1, p. 74.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

College in the areas of halls of residence, lecture theatres, senior staff housing and teaching equipment. One direct effect of the interventions by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in the field of university education is that access to the university colleges was expanded at both the University College of Ghana and the Kumasi College of Technology. The measures put in place by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in relation to university institutions, it is suggested, revolutionized university education in Ghana for the first time.

International Commission on University Education (I.C.U.E.) in Ghana (1960-1961)

One significant issue Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah tackled was the urgent need for the university colleges in the Gold Coast to gain their independence from the University of London. It will be recalled that after the establishment of the university colleges they were affiliated to the University of London. This implied that the University of London supervised their examinations and also awarded their degrees. To raise these colleges to independent status, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah established the International Commission on University Education in Ghana.¹¹¹

This Commission was established on 16th December, 1960, “to enquire into and advise the Government on the future development of university education in Ghana and in the light of such enquiry to make recommendations for the amendments of the University College of Ghana Ordinance, the College of Technology, Science and Arts Ordinance and of such other laws of Ghana as the Commissioners may consider necessary in

¹¹¹Education Report for the Years 1958-1960, pp. 49-50.

regard to their conclusions concerning university education.”¹¹² In the estimation of the Chairman of the Commission, Mr. Kojo Botsio, it was the wish of the Government to have the university colleges of Ghana serve more closely the needs of the country in relation to the training of personnel required for development programmes and in fostering the study of the heritage of African culture and history.¹¹³

The Commission was charged to find out the necessity of making the University College of Ghana and the Kumasi College of Technology independent universities in Ghana. They were also mandated to consider the need to establish a third university in Ghana. Moreover, the ICUE was directed by the Government of Ghana to consider the possibility of ensuring healthy relationship between the colleges and government.¹¹⁴

The Commission consisted of not only distinguished Ghanaians, but international dignitaries, mainly professors and others of high intellectual and academic standing.¹¹⁵ To this end, Mr. Kojo Botsio noted that “the country

¹¹² Ibid. p. 50. Also, Report of the Commission on University Education December 1960-January 1961. Accra: Government Printing Department, 1961, p. 9.

¹¹³ G. N.A. Correspondent, “Varsity Must Serve Our Needs” *The Daily Graphic*, Saturday, December 17, 1960, p.3.

¹¹⁴ Francis Agbodeka, op. cit. pp. 125-126.

¹¹⁵ Members of the ICHE were: Mr. Kojo Botsio, the then Minister of Agriculture and Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs, Chairman; Mr. Daniel Chapman, Headmaster of Achimota School, Vice-Chairman; Nana Kobina Nketsia IV, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Thomas Hodgkin, Research Fellow, McGill University who were appointed joint Secretaries to the Commission; D. D. Carmichael, Assistant Registrar, Scholarships Secretariat and administrative Secretary to the Commission; N. S. Torocheshnikov, Professor of Inorganic Chemical Technology, Mendeleyev Institute, Moscow; Dr. Horace Mann Bond, Dean of the School of Education, University of Atlanta, U.S.A.; Dr. Davidson S. H. W. Nicol, Principal of the University College of Sierra Leone; E. Evans-Pritchard, Professor of Social Anthropology, University of Oxford; Professor J. D. Bernal, Professor of Physics, Birkbeck College, University of London; Miss Laura A. Bornholdt, Dean of Women and Professor of History, University of Pennsylvania; and Mr. Dunstan Skilbeck, Principal, Wye College, University of London. See Report of the Commission on University Education December 1960-January 1961. Accra: Government Printing Department, 1961, p. 6. and D. A. Dwarko and K. O. Kwarteng, *A History of the University of Cape Coast: Forty Years of Resilience 1962-2002*, Accra, Woeli Publishing Services, 2003, p.7.

was fortunate to have the services of the Commission of some of the outstanding international figures in the field of university education.”¹¹⁶

The Commission studied the existing colleges in Ghana and made recommendations for their future development. To this end, they held discussions with many people in the entire country. The discussions centred on the type of university structure and education suitable for Ghanaians. They also inquired into the nature of the relationship that ought to exist between government and the university institutions in Ghana. The essence of the discussions with the people was to ensure their participation in the decision on the type, nature and role of university education in Ghana. Apart from these discussions, the Commission also obtained information papers from the Commission’s Secretariat which informed its decisions.¹¹⁷

Moreover, the Commission obtained numerous memoranda which were sent to them by members of the public, various societies and organizations.¹¹⁸

Apart from this, the Commission received memoranda from other distinguished individuals and personalities. Such people were Mr. I. Ackom,

¹¹⁶ G. N.A. Correspondent, “Varsity Must Serve Our Needs” *The Daily Graphic*, Saturday, December 17, 1960, p.3.

¹¹⁷ See Report of the Commission on University Education December 1960-January 1961, pp. 38-43.

¹¹⁸ Official bodies that presented memoranda to the Commission included Arts Council of Ghana, Bureau of African Affairs, Christian Council of Ghana, Catholic Hierarchy of Ghana, College of Business Management-Achimota, Frafra Local Council, Ghana Association of Science Teachers, Ghana Educational Trust, Ghana Local Group of Engineers, Ghana Medical Association, Ghana Museums and Monuments Board, Ghana Students Association at the University of California, Ghana Union of Great Britain and Ireland, People’s Educational Association of Ghana, Students’ Body at the Kumasi College of Technology, Students’ Council at College of Business Management, Students Representative Council at the University of Ghana, Union of Teachers and Educational Institution Workers, United Ghana Farmers’ Council at Bolgatanga, University College of Ghana Workers’ Union and Upper Region Office of the Regional Commissioner. See *Ibid.* p. 39.

Kumasi College of Technology and Mr. A. L. Adu, Secretary to the CPP Cabinet.¹¹⁹

On 11th January, 1961, the Commission brought its official meetings to an end and presented its report to the President, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. Some of their recommendations were:

1. The University College of Ghana and Kumasi College of Technology should be made independent universities. These universities were referred to in their report as The University at Accra and the University at Kumasi.
2. Each University should have a University Council made up of a chancellor, vice-chancellor, representatives of government, academic staff and independent educational bodies. The chancellor's post was to be only symbolic and ceremonial while the vice-chancellor was to be responsible for the administrative and academic issues of the university.
3. Establishment of a third University in Ghana, the University College at Cape Coast in recognition of the intellectual traditions of the town. This University should be associated with the University at Accra with representation on the Council and Senate of its parent University.

¹¹⁹ Others were Dr. C. A. Akrofi, Akropong; Dr. C. G. Baeta, University College of Ghana; Mr. F. L. Bartels, Mfantsipim School; Mr. W. B. Birmingham, University College of Ghana; Mr. Boateng, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Kumasi College of Technology; Mr. F. K. Buah, Achimota School; Mr. J. E. Kondua Harley, Student in London; Professor Adam Curle, University College of Ghana; Dr. J. C. de-Graft Johnson, Extra-Mural Department, Tema; Rev. C. K. Dovlo, Zion College, Keta; and Mr. V. T. Engmann, Adisadel College, Cape Coast.

There were also Mr. K. A. B. Jones-Quartey, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, University College of Ghana; Dr. David Kimble, University College of Ghana; Dr. F. A. Kufour, Kumasi College of Technology; Professor J. H. A. Lang, Director of Legal Education; Dr. Susan Ofori Atta, Ministry of Health; Dr. F. T. Sai, National Food and Nutrition Board; Dr. St. Clair Drake, University College of Ghana; Councillor C. K. Stephens, Sekondi-Takoradi; Dr. F. T. Torto, University College of Ghana; Mr. B. A. W. Trevallian, Chief Town Planning Officer; Mr. W. L. Tsitsiwu, Education Attache, Ghana Embassy, Washington; and Mr. Twum Barima, Kumasi College of Technology.

4. The establishment of an Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana to inculcate a sense of patriotism and an understanding of African culture and history in students. All students at the University College of Ghana and the Kumasi College of Technology were to take courses in African Studies besides their major course of study.
5. Appointment of University Staff: There should be more Professors and Associate Professors. Here, the highest governing body of the University, the University Council, was to be responsible for the appointment of the academic staff. The appointments were to be regulated by selected Boards to ensure a smooth and rapid implementation of an Africanization policy. This policy expected the proportion of Ghanaians on the staff of the University College of Ghana and the Kumasi College of Technology to increase rapidly and thus ensure quality of teaching and research. The Report of the Commission stated that there should be a substantial majority of Ghanaian university teachers by 1967-70.
6. Ghanaian universities should have reciprocal relationships with universities in the entire continent. Such bilateral arrangements should be a flexible kind based on, for example, university to university, faculty to faculty, or department to department for effective teaching and research. Multilateral arrangements with other African universities should be enhanced as it promoted sharing of ideas, ensuring the equivalence of degrees, encouraging exchange of students and staff and co-ordinating university development. It also created the opportunity for the use of Visiting Professors and Lecturers, exchange of post-graduate students, acquisition of external examiners and centres for members of staff to spend their study leave.

7. Formation of the National Council for Higher Education and Research which should be responsible for planning, co-ordinating and financing higher education and research in Ghana. The Council should also act as Grants Committee for financing university education in Ghana. Membership of the Council should not exceed fifteen including the Chairman. Half of the members were to be appointed by the government from bodies such as Development Secretariat, Ministry of Finance and other planning authorities. Apart from these, there should be representatives to be drawn from scientific, sociological and technological fields of knowledge. These experts were to be nominated by the University Councils, Ghana Academy of Learning and Research Institutes.
8. Undesirability of salary differentials between Ghanaians and expatriates. There should be adjustment of salary scales for Professors, Associate Professors, Senior Lecturers, Lecturers and Assistant Lecturers at the two University Colleges. It advocated the need to continue with the appointment of lecturers on contract and the revision of the salaries of lecturers to attract the best qualified teachers and research-workers to the universities in Ghana.
9. On the issue of the supply of students to the various higher institutions, the Commission recommended some relaxation in university entrance requirements in the two universities then existent in Ghana in order to remove certain unnecessary rigidities which had existed since their establishment. They also suggested the extension and improvement of facilities to ensure best preparation of secondary school students for university studies. They also advocated the setting up of parallel machinery for potential high-level manpower, taking School Certificate and possibly other qualifications as the

indication of potential. The Commission also recommended that students should only be offered scholarship to overseas for further studies on two main grounds. First, to pursue degree courses that were not available in Ghana such as Forestry, Medicine and Veterinary Science. Secondly, to offer post-graduate studies which were not available in the universities in Ghana in the early 1960s.

10. Moreover, the Commission recommended the need to liberalise the social life of the halls of residence to enhance friendly relationship between students and staff, and between students in different halls which would in turn foster peace and solidarity.
11. Training of Engineers at the Kumasi College of Technology should be continued and expanded. To this end, the Commission proposed the establishment of more technical institutes and vocational schools. In particular, they proposed the setting up of technical institutes in Kumasi, Accra, Tema and Takoradi due to the development of industrialization in these places.
12. Additionally, the Commission recommended that degree courses in Agriculture should be offered at the University College of Ghana and further development of the then 4-year senior diploma course at the Kumasi College of Technology. The University College of Ghana was to train competent agricultural scientists and post-graduate students in the fields of Soil Physics, Hydrology, Animal Physiology, Agricultural Economics as well as Plant and Animal Breeding. The Kumasi College of Technology was to carry out research in Food Technology, Forestry and Mechanical Agricultural Engineering.

13. The Commission also recommended the establishment of higher institutions such as the Ghana School of Law, the School of Librarianship and the proposed Ghana Academy of Administration which should be affiliated to the University College of Ghana.
14. They also recommended the establishment of the proposed new Medical School to constitute the Faculty of Medicine of the University College of Ghana.
15. There should be the establishment of School of Music and Drama at the University College of Ghana.¹²⁰

These recommendations largely reflected Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's vision, aspiration and direction for university institutions in the country especially on issues such as independent of the universities from the University of London, establishment of the Institute of African Studies, Africanization of university teaching staff and the establishment of the School of Music and Drama. This explained why the white paper issued by the government endorsed all the recommendations of the Commission on University Education in Ghana.

Implementation of the Recommendations of the Commission on University Education

Immediately after the ICUE had issued its report, the Government also published a statement indicating some of the measures to be adopted towards the implementation of the recommendations of the Commission. This statement was published by the Ministry of Information and printed by the

¹²⁰The Report of the Commission on University Education, December 1960-January 1961, pp. 1-43. Francis Agbodeka, *A History of University of Ghana*, p. 126. Also, H. O. A. McWilliam, & M. A. Kwamena-Poh, op. cit. p. 105.

Government Printing Department in Accra. It highlighted the significant role which the universities must play towards the cause of African unity. It noted that as much as possible the universities should create the opportunities not only for study and research but also foster understanding of the traditions and aspirations of the African people.¹²¹

The statement approved the Commission's interpretation of the major function of the universities in Ghana to be "... responsive to the sense of urgency that exists in a developing nation; to use their resources imaginatively and effectively to contribute to economic and social progress; to interpret their studies for the benefit of the people and to learn from their problems. At the same time they must be free, within the limits of the funds available to them, to plan their own programmes of teaching and research, pursue their own methods of instruction, appoint their own teachers, maintain their own standards."¹²² The statement also emphasized the Commission's recommendation to establish a new University College at Cape Coast. To this end, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah set out to establish the University College of Cape Coast.

Establishment of the University College of Cape Coast (U.C.C.C.)

The setting up of the U.C.C.C. largely reflected Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's politics to accelerate the growth and progress of university education in Ghana. Here, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah wanted this University College to adopt a new path and build up a character peculiarly its

¹²¹ See Statement by the Government on the Report of the Commission on University Education: December, 1960-January, 1961. Accra: Government Printing Press, 1961, p. 3.

¹²² Ibid. Also, Speech by Mr. Kojo Botsio, MP and Chairman of the National Council for Higher Education in Ghana on Document on University College of Cape Coast: Official Opening, 1962, p. 15.

own, while making sure that it attained and maintained standards that could compare favourably with the best universities anywhere in the world.¹²³ Mr. Kojo Botsio, clearly spelt out the politics of the University College of Cape Coast. As he noted, it had “a vital and decisive role to play in the implementation of the Party’s socialist programme for Work and Happiness, designed to bring abundant life to the people of this country.”¹²⁴ To this end, more scientists, technologists and technicians were needed to be trained to facilitate agricultural and industrial strides in Ghana.¹²⁵

It was to ensure the realization of this politics that, as K. O. Kwarteng, S. Y. Boadi-Siaw and D. A. Dwarko observed, “the Government’s decision to establish the University College of Cape Coast was brought to the attention of the ICUE after it had started sitting.”¹²⁶ This issue was considered and upon careful interrogation it was recommended by the ICUE in Ghana.¹²⁷

The major objective for the establishment of the UCCC was to train teachers for second cycle schools in Ghana and thus “by growing to become an impregnable bastion of truth and a rich fount of knowledge which it will continually spread in the fulfilment of its role of producing enlightened citizens for the service of our beloved country.”¹²⁸

Sir Arku Korsah described Cape Coast as ‘Ancient and Historic’ in the sense that it was the Ancient Capital of Ghana and also the place where the

¹²³ The Principal’s Speech, Document on University College of Cape Coast: Official Opening, p. 8.

¹²⁴ See Speech by Mr. Kojo Botsio, MP and Chairman of the National Council for Higher Education in Ghana on Document on University College of Cape Coast: Official Opening, p. 13.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ K. O. Kwarteng, S. Y. Boadi-Siaw and D. A. Dwarko, op. cit. p. 8.

¹²⁷ Ibid. Also, Speech by Mr. Kojo Botsio, p. 14.

¹²⁸ See the Principal’s Speech, Document on University College of Cape Coast, Official Opening, p. 12.

foundation of education in the country was laid.¹²⁹ Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was aware of the intellectual traditions and history of the town. To Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, “Education has been the keystone to all progress, and Cape Coast has been the schoolmaster of this nation.”¹³⁰ He also noted that “there is no finer tribute to Cape Coast than the establishment here of a university college as a result of her contribution to the educational progress of this country.”¹³¹

The establishment of the UCCC was however officially announced at the National Assembly on 10th June, 1960 by Mr. J. A. Dowuona-Hammond, the then Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education and Information.¹³² Outlining the government’s programme and commitment for the expansion of secondary school education to absorb a total intake of about 6,000 students by 1964 in Ghana, Mr. J. A. Dowuona-Hammond pointed out the decision of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah to establish the UCCC to produce professional teachers for secondary schools¹³³ This is corroborated by Kwarteng, Boadi-Siaw and Dwarko who note that the UCCC “will be required to produce the urgently needed mathematics and science teachers for our secondary schools, teacher-training colleges and technical institutions.”¹³⁴

The establishment of the UCCC was also based on the government’s objective to secure the highest standards of education for the nation. This is confirmed by President Kwame Nkrumah’s speech which was presented on

¹²⁹ See the Address of Welcome by Sir Arku Korsah, Chairman of Interim Council, Document on University College of Cape Coast: Official Opening, 1962, p. 4.

¹³⁰ Ibid. p. 9.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² G.N.A. Correspondent, “College to Train Secondary School Teachers,” *The Daily Graphic*, Saturday, June 11, 1960, p. 16.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ K. O. Kwarteng, et al. op. cit. p. 6. Also, Speech by Mr. Kojo Botsio, op. cit. p. 16.

his behalf by Mr. Kojo Botsio during the official inauguration of the UCCC in 1962. It stated, “the establishment of the University College is in consonance with the desires and aspirations of the Party and Government to develop education and learning in Ghana to the highest pitch possible.”¹³⁵

Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah wanted the UCCC to offer the opportunity and contribute its share as the case of other universities in Ghana “with our brethren in other parts of the continent the spread of mental enlightenment which, more than everything else, will give the new nations of Africa the wherewithal for planning and achieving cultural, social and material development.”¹³⁶ This explains why the pioneer students of the UCCC included one student from Nigeria, one from Kenya and eleven from Malawi.¹³⁷

It also explains why during the implementation of the Second Development Plan, the government focused its attention on the provision of secondary and higher education in Ghana.¹³⁸ Officially, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah first declared his intention to establish the UCCC during a Durbar of chiefs and people at Victoria Park, Cape Coast on November 5, 1960.¹³⁹ To this end, an amount of £5 million was earmarked to cover a Seven-Year Plan for the UCCC.¹⁴⁰ This covered the layout and the architectural designs of some of the buildings.

¹³⁵ Ibid. p. 18.

¹³⁶ The Principal's Speech, Document on University College of Cape Coast: Official Opening, p. 12.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ G.N.A. Correspondent, “College to Train Secondary School Teachers,” *The Daily Graphic*, Saturday, June 11, 1960, p. 16.

¹³⁹ The Principal's Speech, Document on University College of Cape Coast: Official Opening, p. 9. Also, K. O. Kwarteng, et al. op. cit. p.7 and Prof. D. K. Agyeman, op. cit.

¹⁴⁰ See the White Paper on the Commission of Enquiry in the University College of Cape Coast, Accra-Tema, Ghana Publishing Corporation, 1969, p. 6.

Immediately after the announcement, a Committee on the proposed UCCC was appointed by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah on 15th February 1961. The Committee was chaired by Mr. J. E. Hagan, the then Central Regional Commissioner. Other members were Mr. F. L. Bartels, Headmaster of Mfantshipim School, Vice-Chairman; Nana Kobina Nketsia IV, Advisor to the Government on Cultural Affairs; Mr. Albert Hammond, Ministry of Education; and Mr. Paul Bartelsen, the Department of Extra-Mural Studies of the UG, Legon.¹⁴¹

The Committee held its first meeting on 24th February, 1961. They discussed ways and means of bringing to fruition Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's vision to establish a UCCC.¹⁴² Through the Committee various measures were put in place that finally led to the opening of the UCCC in October, 1962. The official inauguration however took place on Saturday 15th December, 1962.¹⁴³

The UCCC was to be shaped to follow the trend of university education in the early 1960s. It was to serve government urgent purposes of admitting holders of the School Certificate with passes at certain levels in specified subjects and to offer them a two-year diploma course for the purpose of teaching science and mathematics in secondary schools and teacher training colleges as well as technical institutes. It was also to produce graduates in arts and science subjects from the Higher School Certificate level, with special

¹⁴¹ G.N.A. Correspondent, "College to Train Secondary School Teachers," *The Daily Graphic*, Saturday, June 11, 1960, p. 16.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ See the Document on University College of Cape Coast: Official Opening, p. 1.

emphasis on education as a subject, for teaching in the same types of institutions to meet the increasing demand for graduate teachers.¹⁴⁴

One other issue that needs to be mentioned here is the appointment of the Interim Council for the UCCC by the National Council for Higher Education in Ghana. Members of the Council for the University College were Mr. J. E. Hagan, Regional Commissioner for Central Region, Chairman; Dr. C. A. Ackah, Principal, University College of Cape Coast; Mr. L. H. Ofoosu-Appiah, Associate Professor of Classics, University of Ghana; Dr. J. Y. Wilson, Senior Lecturer in Botany, University of Ghana; Mr. I. K. Abban, Barrister, Cape Coast; and the Registrar of the University College of Cape Coast who acted as Secretary to the Interim Council.¹⁴⁵ The position of Deputy Chairman of the Council was left for members to elect during the Council's first meeting. The Deputy Chairman was to be in office until the replacement of the Interim Council by a permanent one.¹⁴⁶

Making the Existing University Colleges Independent

The statement by the Government on the report of the ICHE had reiterated the CPP Government's intention to accelerate the Africanisation of University staff, the appointment of Interim University Council and the establishment of the Institute of African Studies. It also stressed the need to have the University College of Ghana and the Kumasi College of Technology

¹⁴⁴ Public Records and Archives Administration Department, PRAAD, RG3/5/1944, National Council for Higher Education Agenda and Minutes, 24th May, 1962, p.2, Accra. Also, K. O. Kwarteng, et al. op. cit. p. 6.

¹⁴⁵ PRAAD, RG3/5/1944, Cabinet Memorandum on the Interim Council for the University of Cape Coast, by Kojo Botsio, Chairman of the National Council for Higher Education, August, 1962, Accra. See also, Dwarko and Kwarteng, op. cit. p. 8.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

become independent Universities by 1st October, 1961.¹⁴⁷ To achieve this, Nana Kobina Nketsia IV was appointed as interim Vice-Chancellor at the University College of Ghana by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in June, 1961. His major task was to ensure the implementation of the recommendations stated above. In the estimation of Emeritus Professor J. H. Nketia, Nana Kobina Nketsia IV's appointment as Vice-Chancellor placed him in a strategic position to implement not only the recommendations of the Commission by making the University College of Ghana independent, but also the promotion of the culture of Ghanaians.¹⁴⁸ Nana Kobina Nketsia IV thus initiated steps to ensure the implementation of some of the recommendations of the Report of the ICHE in Ghana upon which he was appointed.

First, he saw to the independence of the university colleges from the University of London to which they were affiliated. But, before this was done, an Interim University Council was appointed. This Council was tasked with the responsibility of producing guidelines for the reopening of the independent university colleges. The Council then appointed members for other offices such as the Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Professor R. W. Wright. Other prominent members of the University Council appointed were Professor G. W. Irwin, Professor A. C. Kuma, Dr. F. G. T. O'Brien Torto, Dr. E. Laing, and Mr. David Carmichael.¹⁴⁹

The Interim University Council established various committees. These were the Academic Board, Faculty Boards, Administrative Boards,

¹⁴⁷ See Statement by the Government on the Report of the Commission on University Education: December, 1960-January, 1961, pp. 3-7.

¹⁴⁸ Prof. J. H. Nketia, op. cit.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. Vice-Chancellor's Annual Report of the University of Ghana, 1961-1962, p.6., University of Ghana Annual Report by the Vice-Chancellor, 1963-1964, p. 1. See also, Francis Agbodeka, op. cit. p.127.

Development and Finance Committees. Another committee was also established to advise the University Council on the official inauguration of the university colleges as independent ones. Through the work of the Committees, on 25 November 1961, the University of Ghana was officially opened as an independent University of Ghana.¹⁵⁰ Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah also became Chancellor of the University of Ghana on that day.¹⁵¹

The ceremony that marked the inauguration of the University of Ghana largely reflected African culture and heritage. For example, a linguist was present to beat the gong-gong which signalled the arrival of distinguished personalities.¹⁵² As Richie Philips points out, the celebration witnessed an impressive Ghanaian and African musical interlude.¹⁵³ The Kumasi College of Technology was also inaugurated a few days after the University of Ghana and it also became an independent university. It assumed the name Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology in 1962.¹⁵⁴ As a result of the independence of the universities of Ghana, their special relationship with the University of London thus ended.

Africanisation of the University Staff

Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was worried about the academic staff which was dominated by non-Ghanaians. This problem was so pervasive that it hindered Osagyefo's politics in Africanisation of the universities' teaching

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. Vice-Chancellor's Annual Report 1961-1962, p. 5. Also, Speech by Mr. Kojo Botsio, op. cit. pp. 14-15.

¹⁵¹ Ibid. Also, J.V.L. Philips, op. cit.

¹⁵² Interview with Richie Philips, Aged 83, Former Lecturer, Department of Psychology, University of Ghana, at East Cantonments, Accra, 03-10-11.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ See Statement by the Government on the Report of the Commission on University Education: December, 1960-January, 1961, pp. 3.

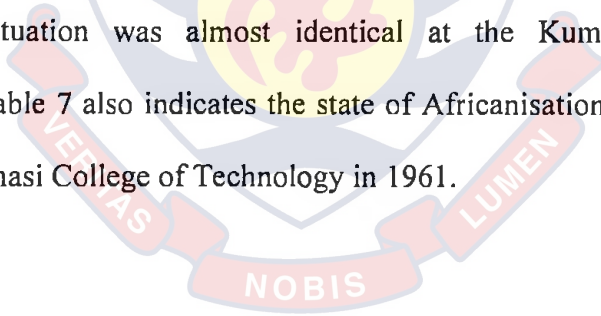
staff. For example, out of the total number of two hundred and one university staff, African lecturers were only thirty-five¹⁵⁵ This represented about a fifth of the total number of the academic staff. Table 6 shows the state of Africanisation of the teaching staff at the University College of Ghana-Legon in 1961.

Table 6- Teaching Staff at the University of Ghana in 1961.¹⁵⁶

Teaching Staff	Non-Africans	Africans	Total
Heads of Department	20	--	20
Senior Lecturers	20	5	25
Lecturers	85	12	97
Total	125	17	142

Source: Report of the Commission on University Education, December 1960-January 1961, p. 17.

The situation was almost identical at the Kumasi College of Technology. Table 7 also indicates the state of Africanisation of the teaching staff at the Kumasi College of Technology in 1961.



¹⁵⁵Francis Agbodeka, op. cit. p. 127. Also, University College of Ghana Annual Report by the Vice-Chancellor, 1961-1962, pp.16-46.

¹⁵⁶ Report of the Commission on University Education, December 1960-January 1961, p. 17.

Table 7- *Teaching Staff at the Kumasi College of Technology in 1961.*¹⁵⁷

Teaching Staff	Non-Africans	Africans	Total
Heads of Department	9	1	10
Senior Lecturers	19	1	20
Lecturers	48	16	64
Total	76	18	94

Source: Report of the Commission on University Education, December 1960-January 1961, p. 17.

From Tables 6 and 7, it can be found that only few Africans were on the teaching staff of the universities in Ghana. The ICUE noted that the training of African teaching staff required quick and decisive action by the Ghanaian Universities. They advocated the setting up of a scheme for the Africanisation of the university teaching staff over five years. The objective was to ensure that within the five-year period majority of the posts of heads of department, senior lecturers and lecturers would to be filled by qualified Ghanaians. Specifically, they stated, "... to ensure that at an early stage of the development of the University it should have basically an African academic staff, capable and worthy of staffing a University of high standing."¹⁵⁸

Many African lecturers were thus promoted at the University of Ghana. The first category of such beneficiaries were three senior lecturers who were promoted to the rank of professorship. They were E. A. Boateng of the Department of Geography, Dr. F. G. T. O' B. Torto of the Department of Chemistry and Dr. A. A. Kwapong of the Department of Classics.¹⁵⁹ Dr. C. G.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid. Francis Agbodeka, pp. 127-129, U.G. Annual Report, p.6.

Baeta was appointed Head of Department of the Study of Religions and also elected to the Chair of the Indigenous and Comparative Religion.¹⁶⁰ L. H. Ofosu-Appiah of the Department of Classics and W. E. Abraham, formerly Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, were promoted to the rank of Associate Professors in January 1962 and April 1962 respectively.¹⁶¹

Other professors and heads of department were appointed. J. H. Nketia of the Institute of African Studies, K. A. B. Jonnes-Quartey and Dr. J. C. de Graft-Johnson, both of the Institute of Extra-Mural Studies and Dr. J. A. K. Quartey of the Department of Chemistry were promoted to the rank of Associate Professors.¹⁶² These appointments and promotions were intended to achieve the policy of progressive Africanisation of the universities' teaching staff and their services.¹⁶³ The new appointment of lecturers were made by ad hoc committees comprising the Vice-Chancellor, three members of the academic staff of the University and the Head of Department in which the vacancy existed.¹⁶⁴

Establishment of the Institute of African Studies

Closely linked with the Africanisation of the University teaching staff was the setting up of the Institute of African Studies. This was the next significant issue which the CPP Government tackled after it had helped the University of Ghana to gain its independence from the University of London. Efforts were made by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah to promote the study of

¹⁶⁰ Vice-Chancellor's Annual Report of the University of Ghana, 1961-1962, p. 6.

¹⁶¹ Ibid. pp. 15-17.

¹⁶² Ibid. p. 6.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

African culture and history at the University of Ghana.¹⁶⁵ A major role of general and university education in Africa is to direct Africans to have a better understanding and appreciation of the culture of the societies in which they live.¹⁶⁶ Colonial university education could not achieve this. Rather, it alienated students from their culture and heritage and thus made them “unfit” in their societies.

During Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah’s period, one of the major aims of university education in Ghana was to encourage the promotion of culture for nation building and national development. The ICUE recommended the establishment of the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana so that every student while at the University, irrespective of the kind of degree he or she offered, would have the chance to acquire a general understanding of African history, institutions and cultures.¹⁶⁷ In the estimation of K. A. B. Jones-Quartey, the Asquith Commission was convinced that “the fostering of extra-mural studies would in particular do much to guard against a danger, of which we are fully conscious, that the university graduates might become a separate community..., divorced from the concerns and aspirations of their fellow citizens.”¹⁶⁸

J.V.L Philips, Emeritus Professor J. H. K. Nketia and Richard Asare Akoto point out that the CPP Government under the leadership of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah wanted to have university education Africanised in

¹⁶⁵ J. H. Nketia, op. cit.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid. Also, Samuel Evans Ekow Budu-Arthur, “The Effect of Missionary Activities on Some Akan Institutions from the Portuguese Settlements on the Mina Coast (1482-1916),” Unpublished PhD Thesis presented to the University of Oxford, 1959, pp.635-636.

¹⁶⁷ Report of the Commission on University Education, December 1960-January 1961, p. 34.

¹⁶⁸ K. A. B. Jones-Quartey, *Education and Revolution: An Inaugural Lecture delivered on Thursday 22nd April, 1971 at the Auditorium, School of Administration University of Ghana*, Legon. Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1972, p. 22.

Ghana.¹⁶⁹ Africanisation of university education in the post-independence period implied that issues related to African cultural perspectives had to be promoted at the universities in Ghana. Such issues included courses offered and staffing so that the education offered at the universities in Ghana could reflect African perspectives.¹⁷⁰

To achieve Africanisation of university education, certain measures were adopted by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. First, the Institute of African Studies which he had already started during the Consolidation period in 1958 at the Department of Sociology, University of Ghana was reconstituted to undertake research on Ghanaian languages and culture. All students were required to take some courses in African Studies.¹⁷¹ To have complete understanding of African matters, the contents of African Studies were to include courses in History, which included the geographical background to African History; Archaeology; Sociology and Social Anthropology, with related studies of African Government, Law, Economics, Religion and Philosophy; and African Languages and Literature and Arts (including Music).¹⁷² Lectures on African studies became compulsory for all first year students at the University of Ghana.¹⁷³ African Studies were designed to cover the geographical range of Ghanaian studies, West African studies and general African studies.

¹⁶⁹ Report of the Commission on University Education, December 1960-January 1961, p. 34. Also, J.V.L. Philips, op. cit. and Richard Asare Akoto, op. cit.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ See Report of the Commission on University Education, December 1960-January 1961, p. 22.

¹⁷² Ibid. p. 33. Also see Vice-Chancellor's Annual Report of the University of Ghana, 1961-1962, p. 6.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

Secondly, research and teaching in the field of African Studies were to be closely associated, stimulating and reinforcing each other.¹⁷⁴ In the universities, there should be a balance between scholars whose primary interest was research and teaching. Research and post-graduate teaching were focused at the Institute of African Studies. To this end, there were two main categories of the staff of the Institute namely, Research Fellows and Associates. The former was tasked to undertake research, teaching and supervision of post-graduate students. They were also required to undertake a limited amount of lecturing to undergraduate students in departments which offer such courses and subjects. The latter were full-time members of the University teaching staff. They were closely associated with the work of the Institute and as such they enjoyed its facilities and participated in seminars. They also worked on African problems.¹⁷⁵

Other members of the Institute of African Studies included Visiting Professors and Lecturers who were invited for only one year to give lectures and conduct seminars and Special Research Fellows who were mainly members who had already made contributions to African Studies through research and thus would have the opportunity to prepare such research for publication. They were appointed for one or two years.¹⁷⁶ There were also research workers from overseas who met Africanists with related interest at the Institute for relatively short periods. Coupled with these were post-graduate students from Ghana and other universities who worked for research degrees on topics in the field of African Studies.¹⁷⁷ Besides, there were

¹⁷⁴ Report of the Commission on University Education, December 1960-January 1961, p. 33.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid. pp. 33-34.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

Ghanaians who were making contributions to African Studies in the fields of linguistic studies, local history, ethnology, literature and arts.¹⁷⁸

Establishment of the National Council for Higher Education (N.C.H.E.)

This was one other contribution of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah to the politics in higher education in Ghana. The National Council for Higher Education in Ghana was first named as National Committee for Higher Education. Members then substituted “Council” for “Committee on their second meeting held on 23rd May, 1962.”¹⁷⁹ It had two wings—Universities and The Ghana Academy of Sciences. Its main functions were: (i) to make policy; (ii) to approve Plans and programmes; (iii) to co-ordinate efforts; and (iv) to provide grants.¹⁸⁰

The members were Mr. Kojo Botsio, Chairman; Nana Kobina Nketsia IV, Interim Vice-Chancellor, University of Ghana; Professor C. Levine, Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology; Mr. S. T. Quansah, Executive Secretary, National Research Council; Mr. J. V. L. Phillips, Executive Secretary, State Control Commission; Mr. G. K. Benson, Registrar of Scholarships; Professor R. W. H. Wright, Pro-Vice-Chancellor, University of Ghana; Dr. R. D. Loken, Manpower Specialist, Office of the Planning Commission; Mr. E. A. Edzii, Registrar, University of Ghana; Mr. D. A. Brown, Deputy Chief Education Officer, Ministry of

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Public Records and Archives Administration Department, PRAAD, RG3/5/1944, National Council for Higher Education Agenda and Minutes, 24th May, 1962, Accra, p.1.

¹⁸⁰ Samuel Obeng, *Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah*, Vol. 2, p. 79.

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Education; Mr. E. C. Quist-Therson, Secretary; and Mr. G. N. Nutsugah,
Acting Deputy Secretary, National Council for Higher Education.¹⁸¹

The Council met on several occasions and deliberated on major issues such as Cabinet decision on entrance requirements to university, formation of Interim Council for the University College of Cape Coast, and courses of study in the universities in Ghana.¹⁸² They first discussed the Cabinet decision taken on 24th April, 1962 on the subject of entrance requirements to the Universities of Ghana. The first and second meetings of the Council were held on 19th April, and 3rd May, 1962. On 24th May, 1962 and on 18th June, 1962 the third and fourth meetings also took place. Another meeting was also held on 27th June, 1962 and the following decisions were taken:

1. Admission to the University of Ghana. Here, eighty students were to be admitted for the first year pre-degree course in October, 1963.
2. Provision of additional accommodation for the University students and staff.
3. Average or less brilliant students were not to be enrolled in degree courses to avoid waste of resources.
4. A special four-year degree course in Arts or Science was designed. It was to begin with the United Nations Special Fund.
5. Establishment of three Worker's Colleges in Ghana. It was to begin at Sekondi-Takoradi.
6. The Government was to seek overseas assistance for the development of higher education in Ghana.

¹⁸¹ PRAAD, RG3/5/1944, National Council for Higher Education Agenda and Minutes, p. 1.

¹⁸² *Ibid.* pp. 1-4.

7. The Vice-Chancellors of University of Ghana and the Kumasi College of Technology and the Secretary of State for the Colonies were to attend a conference on higher education in Africa at Tananarive.
8. The following courses were to become available for university students: Mathematics, Agriculture, Physics, Botany, Chemistry, Geology, Zoology, French, English, Economics, Classics, History, Geography, Law, Pharmacy and Medicine.
9. Appointment and formation of the interim Council for the University College of Cape Coast.¹⁸³

These were the interventions adopted by the CPP Government to accelerate the growth and progress of education in Ghana as part of efforts to realise socio-economic emancipation of the country and thereby achieve its ultimate vision of 'Work and Happiness.' These decisions were underpinned by the politics of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah to transform university education in Ghana to reflect the visions and aspirations of the newly independent state as part of efforts to rebuild it.

Conclusion

This chapter advocates that the direction of education at all levels—primary, middle, secondary, technical, tertiary witnessed a significant change when leadership passed into the hands of Ghanaians through the attainment of internal self-government and independence. Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah rapidly increased expansion and progress of education as part of efforts to rebuild the country. This became possible through certain interventions he

¹⁸³ Ibid. pp.1-4.

introduced such as the Accelerated Development Plan for Education 1951-56, the Second Development Plan 1959-64 and the Seven-Year Development Plan 1963/64 to 1969/70. These plans laid the foundations for the greatest revolution in Ghana's educational system.

Furthermore, these plans have served as significant benchmarks and points of reference for the post-Nkrumah governments to shape the education of the country up to the 21st century. In particular, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah politics in education which resulted at the introduction of fee-free and compulsory basic education was not only the first of its kind in Ghana, but also increased the literate population of the country. Such beneficiaries have served in various fields of the country such as social, economic and political—with the efforts aimed at economic prosperity and poverty alleviation—something Kwame Nkrumah had earlier visualised for the country.

However, due to the ambitious nature of some of the plans of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, it lowered standards of education in some parts of the country, especially the rural areas as such places lacked sufficient teachers and facilities for effective and efficient teaching and learning. Hence, it is argued that the practice where basic school students are made to sit under trees and sheds in the country since independence up to the 21st century has its humble beginnings from the CPP Government's era.

In addition, it was through Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah that the University College of the Gold Coast and the Kumasi College of Technology became independent universities and hence, gained their autonomy from the University of London to which these institutions were affiliated. The Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana and the University of Cape

Coast are direct fruits of the educational interventions of the first President of the Republic of Ghana. All these institutions, have trained and, are still training many Ghanaians in the various fields of knowledge such as agriculture, arts and humanities, administration and sciences for the realization of socio-economic emancipation in the country.



POST-NKRUMAH ERA UP TO THE END OF THE THIRD
REPUBLIC

Introduction

The focus of this chapter is to trace the history of the politics in education in Ghana from 1966 when Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was overthrown up to the end of the third republic in 1981. The chapter, first of all, analyses the educational politics during the regime of the National Liberation Council (NLC). Here, efforts made by the NLC Government to shape primary, middle, technical, secondary, teacher-training and university education to meet its philosophies and hopes are discussed.

In 1969, Ghana had a civilian regime under the second republic when Dr. Kofi Abrefa Busia, who was the flagbearer of the Progress Party, was sworn into office as Prime Minister after its victory in the general elections. His tenure of office, though short, is examined to find out his goals and aspirations for education and especially his focus on pre-university and university education which were not entirely different from that of the NLC Government as Dr. K. A. Busia had played a key role in the direction of education during the former regime. To this end, the direction of education of both the NLC and the Progress Party (PP) Governments is discussed.

As a result of the second military intervention in Ghana in 1972, Colonel I. K. Acheampong became the Head of State and Chairman of the National Redemption Council (NRC). His introduction of the doctrine of revolutionary discipline which affected every aspect of Ghana, especially education is also discussed. Besides, his introduction of the new educational

structure—the JSS and the SSS system in the country and what informed such a change in the educational field is considered.

On June 4, 1979, there was a military uprising in the country spearheaded by the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) led by Flt. Lt. J. J. Rawlings which ended the regime of the Supreme Military Council (SMC) II. On 24th September, 1979, Flt. Lt. J. J. Rawlings handed over the administration of Ghana to Dr. Hilla Limann as President of the Third Republic when the latter won the General Elections that year. Attempts are made here to find out the trend and direction of education during Dr. Hilla Limann's period.

The First Military Regime in Ghana, 1966-69: Its Pre-University Educational Focus

Mention has already been made that the National Liberation Council (NLC) was formed after the overthrow of the CPP Government. As their name implies, they set out to liberate Ghanaians from Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's administration, which to them had oppressed the citizens in their country.¹ Upon assumption of office, the NLC Government undertook certain interventions to salvage the economy of Ghana. Education was one of such significant measures they used to reduce Government expenditure, especially on university education and thereby made more rational use of the resources in the country to achieve greater social justice.²

¹ Richard Asare Akoto, *op. cit.*

² See Report of the Committee appointed by the Executive Council of the National Liberation Council to Advise Government on the Future Policy for Financial Support for University Students in Ghana. Accra: Ghana Publishing Corporation, 1970, p. 10.

It will be recalled from the previous chapter that the CPP Government pursued a politics of accelerating the growth and progress of educational development in Ghana. One direct effect was that there was rapid expansion of education at all levels—primary, middle, technical, vocational, secondary, teacher-training and university.³ When the NLC Government took over the administration of the country in 1966, about 70 per cent of children of school-going age at the primary and middle school levels were at school.⁴

To have a clear idea about the state of education in Ghana in order to continue its expansion the NLC Government appointed an Education Review Committee (E.R.C.) made up of 21 members on 17th March, 1966.⁵ This Committee was chaired by Professor A. A. Kwapong, the then Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ghana. The Committee was charged by the NLC Government “to conduct a comprehensive review of the educational system of Ghana, that is, Elementary, Secondary, Teacher Training and Higher Education and examine the problems arising from the work of National Research and make such recommendations and reforms as it would consider appropriate with a view to their improvement and in order to avoid inefficiency and waste.”⁶

³ Richard Asare Akoto, op. cit. Also, McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, op. cit. p. 116.

⁴ See Report of the Committee appointed by the Executive Council of the National Liberation Council to Advise Government on the Future Policy for Financial Support for University Students in Ghana, p. 6.

⁵ See White Paper on the Report of the Education Review Committee (Together with the Recommendations in Brief of the Education Review Committee and the Report of the Special Committee on Delimitation of Functions of University Institutions). Accra: Published by the Ministry of Information, 1968, p. 1.

⁶ Ibid. Also, Report of the Special Committee on Delimitation of Functions of University Institutions on the White Paper of the Education Review Committee, pp. 51-52, McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, op. cit. p. 116.

The Committee started its work as soon as it was appointed on 17th March, 1966 and issued its report on 23rd July, 1967.⁷ Their report indicated that: “There has been a noticeable fall in educational standards in the country since independence.”⁸ These were in the areas of academic development, quality of teaching and learning, efficiency of supervision, adequacy of staffing, accommodation and equipment as well as norms of discipline and behaviour of staff and pupils in educational institutions in Ghana.⁹

The general proposals of the Education Review Committee included the establishment of National Councils for Education. Here, they proposed the formation of a National Council for Pre-University Education (N.C.P.U.E.), a National Council for Higher Education and a Joint Consultative Council for Education (J.C.C.E.).¹⁰ As stated by the Education Review Committee, “while the National Council for Pre-University Education should be an advisory body tendering advice to the Minister of Education, the Council for Higher Education should be autonomous and should have an independent secretariat and a chairman who should have direct access to the Chief Minister to whom he will communicate the Council’s views.”¹¹ The Joint Consultative Council for Education was intended to co-ordinate the activities of the two councils named above.¹²

⁷ Report of the Committee appointed by the Executive Council of the National Liberation Council to Advise Government on the Future Policy for Financial Support for University Students in Ghana, p. 2.

⁸ McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, op. cit. p. 116.

⁹ See the Education Review Committee’s Recommendations on White Paper on the Report of the Education Review Committee, pp. 15-44. Also, McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, op. cit. p. 116.

¹⁰ See White Paper on the Report of the Education Review Committee, p. 15.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

The interim Report of the Education Review Committee was submitted in September, 1966 and this led to the setting up of two other committees by the NLC Government. The first was a Committee of Experts chaired by Sir John Cockcroft, (and hence it became known as the Cockcroft Committee). This Committee was “to advise on the future of the Ghana Academy of Sciences.”¹³ The other Committee, which was under the chairmanship of Dr. K. A. Busia (Oxford University), was a Special Committee on the Delimitation of Functions of University Institutions in Ghana (S.C.D.F.U.I.G.).¹⁴ Other members of this Committee were Mr. M. Dowuona (Registrar Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria), Mr. C. K. Quist-Therson (Deputy Secretary to the NLC) and Mr. G. B. Boahen (Principal Assistant Secretary, Higher Education Division and Secretary to the Committee).¹⁵ Apart from these, another committee was also appointed by the NLC to “advise Government on the Future Policy for Financial Support for University Students in Ghana.”¹⁶

These were the developments that influenced and shaped the NLC Government’s politics in education in Ghana. The White Paper issued by the NLC Government set out to incorporate the recommendations of the Committees within the framework of the new structure of central administration in Ghana.

The NLC Government tried to fulfil its objectives and philosophies of education which were not much different from that of the CPP Government as

¹³ Ibid. p. 1.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ See the Report of the Special Committee on Delimitation of the Functions of University Institutions on White Paper on the Report of the Education Review Committee, p. 47.

¹⁶ See the Report of the Committee appointed by the Executive Council of the National Liberation Council to advise Government on the future policy for financial support for University Students in Ghana, p. 1.

the NLC Government's politics was also to direct education to the manpower and socio-economic needs of Ghanaians. Education should develop "fully the natural endowments of the individual in order to make him first of all, a responsible citizen, useful to the society economically and in other ways, and secondly, a cultured and humane individual with a high sense of morality."¹⁷ The Government thus would ensure that every individual had the right of equal access to educational opportunities in the country.

With such politics in education in mind, the first step the NLC Government took was that it continued with the provision of free education at the primary and middle school levels to all children of school-going age.¹⁸ Secondly, it endorsed the Education Review Committee's proposal for the structure of education. Elementary education was to have a duration of ten years with a possible exit at the end of the eighth year.¹⁹ The eighth year exit meant pupils had the opportunity to sit for Secondary Schools Common Entrance Examination. It also offered the chance for those who wanted to attend pre-vocational schools at the continuation classes to do so. Other pupils could continue their studies of the ordinary school subjects for the two remaining years.²⁰ As the case of the CPP Government before them, the NLC Government also made an effort to achieve a universal elementary education within a specified period and hence anticipated the need to increase the provision for schooling at the primary level at a greater rate to match the rate

¹⁷ White Paper on the Report of the Education Review Committee, p. 6.

¹⁸ See Report of the Committee appointed by the Executive Council of the National Liberation Council to Advise Government on the Future Policy for Financial Support for University Students in Ghana, p. 6.

¹⁹ White Paper on the Report of the Education Review Committee, p. 6.

²⁰ Ibid. p. 17.

of increase of the population of Ghana.²¹ To meet the NLC Government's target of achieving 100 per cent enrolment of children of school-going age within a 16-year period, it was estimated that "the recurrent expenditure on elementary education should rise from N¢28.0 million in 1968-69 to over N¢85.5 million in 1984-85."²² This estimated budget for primary and middle education thus implied a total national budget of N¢1,172 million in 1984-85.²³

The secondary school course was structured for a duration of five years. At the end of the fifth year, suitable pupils who passed the School Certificate Examination or its equivalent, proceeded to a two-year Sixth Form course which led to the award of the General Certificate of Education (Advanced Level) or its equivalent. The first degree courses at the university were to have a three-year duration while specialized courses were offered for four or more years.²⁴

Towards the realization of the structure of education, the Ministry of Education introduced the Continuation Schools in September 1968.²⁵ This was intended to diversify the curriculum of the Elementary School Middle Forms III and IV. Pupils were required to follow a curriculum which was tilted towards the occupational opportunities of their localities. The aim, according to S. G. Nimako, which was also in consonance with that of the NLC

²¹ See Report of the Committee appointed by the Executive Council of the National Liberation Council to Advice Government on the Future Policy for Financial Support for University Students in Ghana, p. 6.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ White Paper on the Report of the Education Review Committee, p. 2. Also, see Education Review Committee Recommendations in brief on See White Paper on the Report of the Education Review Committee, p. 17.

Government, was “to develop the right attitude towards work in the pupils, and to impart skills that could be used for gainful employment.”²⁶

The Continuation Schools taught commercial, technical, domestic, agricultural and industrial subjects such as farming, fishing and fish smoking, poultry keeping, weaving, animal husbandry, masonry, metal work, woodwork, shoemaking, leather work, tailoring, cobbling, hairdressing, dressmaking and home science.²⁷ The NLC Government wanted the content of education, and in particular, the subjects taught at the elementary level to reflect the changing scientific, technological and cultural needs of Ghana.²⁸ This explains why the NLC Government set up the Curriculum Research and Development Unit within the Ministry of Education in 1967.²⁹ Religious Knowledge was made compulsory as it became one of the examinable subjects in schools. Other subjects on the elementary school curriculum were English, Mathematics, Ghanaian Language, History, Music, Geography, Civics, Science, Art and Crafts, Physical Education and Housecraft.³⁰

On the issue of the medium of instruction for primary schools, the NLC Government agreed on a measure of flexibility which stipulated that “a Ghanaian language should be used in the first year, and that a gradual change to English as a medium of instruction should begin in the second year with practical subjects such as number work, handwork, physical education and games. ... In the cosmopolitan areas, however, English may be used as the medium of instruction as early as the first year in school.”³¹ This medium of

²⁶ See S. G. Nimako, op. cit. p. 24. Also, Richard Asare Akoto, op. cit.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ White Paper on the Report of the Education Review Committee, p. 6.

²⁹ S. G. Nimako, *Education in Ghana 1930-1974*, p. 27.

³⁰ White Paper on the Report of the Education Review Committee, p. 21.

³¹ Ibid.

instruction accepted by the NLC Government differed from what was proposed by the Education Review Committee. The shift was to make it easier for teaching and learning in the cosmopolitan areas where pupils spoke different languages and, as a consequence, the use of a Ghanaian language would become difficult.

The White Paper issued by the NLC Government on their Report stated: “Government does not accept in its entirety the Committee’s recommendation that a Ghanaian language should be used as the medium of instruction in the first three years of the primary course and English as the medium in the remaining years of the course.”³² In the view of the NLC Government, the medium of instruction should be flexible in the metropolitan areas.

The policy on the medium of instruction itself also merits analysis. It stipulated that in schools where English should be used as a medium of instruction from the first year, a Ghanaian language should be taught as a subject throughout the primary course. This, of course, was intended to enable all pupils have understanding of the Ghanaian language in their locality. It was to introduce pupils as early as possible to the English Language which was the official language of the country. This intervention was to ensure that pupils acquire the skills of numeracy and literacy. Also, it was intended to make teaching and learning flexible for teachers wherever they found themselves—rural or metropolitan areas.

The Government decided to establish a secondary technical school for each region in Ghana to be located in an urban centre. Secondary education was intended to offer a broad general education which covered the humanities

³² Ibid. p. 7.

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and the sciences. Subjects such as Mathematics, English and Science were made compulsory for all pupils. Physical Education which included the study of the human anatomy and health science as well as games was made an integral part of the secondary education programme. Other subjects which formed part of the curriculum were Social Studies, Religious Knowledge, Languages and Literature, Practical Craft and Cultural Studies made up of Music, Drama and Art.³³

These subjects were intended to relate pupils to their environment. They were to be based upon experiment and to promote the development of an understanding of the methods of science and a spirit of critical enquiry. Business education was to be introduced in secondary schools for the achievement of the principle of a broad general education. It would also make economic use of equipment and specialist teachers in the country.³⁴

A high priority was also given to the housing of secondary schools which did not have accommodation and which were hiring buildings.³⁵ Attention was first given to schools in areas which were neglected during the CPP Government's administration and which required urgent consideration. As part of the politics of educational expansion, the CPP Government established emergency structures such as sheds and church-rooms to absorb the increasing numbers due to the ADP. As a result, such areas did not have good structures and this explained why the NLC Government first tackled this issue. Hostels and canteen facilities were also provided for day schools by the NLC Government. Scholarships and bursaries to secondary school students

³³ Ibid. pp. 24-25

³⁴ Ibid. p. 25.

³⁵ Ibid.

were awarded on merit. The continued tenure of scholarship and bursary, however, depended on satisfactory progress. Apart from these, all children in the public secondary schools received free tuition, subsidized books and stationery.³⁶

The number of sixth form places was not only increased, but, also, the Government adopted a measure of some flexibility in the courses offered especially science. The act of dividing the teaching of science into rigid sets was abolished. For example, the teaching of sets such as Pure Mathematics, Applied Mathematics and Physics on the one hand, and Botany, Chemistry and Zoology were disallowed.³⁷ The selection of subjects such as science and arts were to help students have access to the universities. Apart from the three academic subjects required by students to study for 'A' level, the Government also introduced English language and the study of current and world affairs. The English language was intended to improve the proficiency of students while the current and world affairs were to expose students to issues of the global village. Sixth Form students also received bursaries which ranged from N¢160 to N¢170 per annum. This amount catered for their tuition and boarding charges.³⁸

Steps were also taken to accelerate the supply of trained and quality teachers and tutors for the elementary schools and the teacher-training colleges.³⁹ To this end, the cost of teacher-training in relation to tuition,

³⁶ See Report of the Committee appointed by the Executive Council of the National Liberation Council to Advice Government on the Future Policy for Financial Support for University Students in Ghana, p. 7.

³⁷ White Paper on the Report of the Education Review Committee, p. 25.

³⁸ See Report of the Committee appointed by the Executive Council of the National Liberation Council to Advice Government on the Future Policy for Financial Support for University Students in Ghana, p. 7.

³⁹ Ibid. Also, White Paper on the Report of the Education Review Committee, p. 10.

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boarding, books and equipment was to be borne completely by the Government.⁴⁰ The NLC Government also set out to replace at least 30, 000 pupil teachers in the country within a five-year period.⁴¹ All elementary school teachers were required to have a post-secondary training certificate. Other forms of training such as in-service ones were instituted to raise the standard of the teaching profession. It also assisted teachers who did not complete secondary education before their training. Graduates who were not professionals by training and who wished to teach were required to obtain professional training. However, such graduates could be employed to work for some time without a professional course. After their employment, they were made to attend a special six-week course in education during the long vacation leading to the award of post-graduate certificate in Education.⁴²

Higher Education in the first Military Regime

It will be recalled that before independence, the people of the Gold Coast had largely linked modernization and progress in their country with higher institutions of learning, and in particular, university education. This explained their demand for the establishment of the University College of the Gold Coast. With internal self-government, the administration of the country passed into the hands of the indigenes when Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah became the Prime Minister of Ghana. Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah first of all, directed higher education towards the training of Ghanaian students

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid. p. 6.

⁴² Ibid.

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immediately after independence who would replace the expatriates when they retired.⁴³

With the overthrow of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, university education, which was looked upon as invaluable in the training of the human resource base of the country, came under the control and politics of the NLC regime. Though a military administration, the NLC Government was aware of the relevance of university education to the general development of the country and therefore shaped it to suit its visions, objectives, philosophies and aspirations. But these could not be achieved in the midst of a serious economic challenge. When the NLC Government assumed office, the economy of Ghana was on the verge of total collapse and to sustain the economy, the government decided to reduce the cost of university education.⁴⁴

By 1966 and through to 1969, university-level education in Ghana had expanded rapidly and had become more diversified. For example, the total enrolment in the three universities was over 5,000.⁴⁵ Government scholarship for each university student was valued at N¢500.00 per annum. N¢100. 00 of this amount was given to the student for his personal expenses which included books. N¢400. 00 was paid into the university account of which N¢120. 00 was used for tuition fee and N¢280 for lodging and boarding.⁴⁶

⁴³ Report of the Committee appointed by the Executive Council of the National Liberation Council to Advise Government on the Future Policy for Financial Support for University Students in Ghana, p. 1.

⁴⁴ Jacob Okyere, op. cit.

⁴⁵ Report of the Committee appointed by the Executive Council of the National Liberation Council to Advise Government on the Future Policy for Financial Support for University Students in Ghana, p. 1.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

Apart from the expenditure on scholarship, first degree graduates also increased from 6 in 1951 to 851 in 1969.⁴⁷ Moreover, 250 persons were Diploma and Certificate holders.⁴⁸ It then became obvious that only a limited number of university graduates could be absorbed into Government service in the country. Going by these analyses, the country did not urgently require so many university graduates. The NLC Government realised that the practice of awarding Government scholarships to cover tuition, boarding, lodging and incidental expenses to all Ghanaian undergraduate, diploma and certificate courses in the universities had gone beyond the 'emergency period.'⁴⁹ To the NLC Government, it was intended to be a short-term measure.⁵⁰ The Government was convinced that it needed to reduce the cost of university education so that the lower levels of education—primary, middle and secondary would not be at a disadvantage.⁵¹

The first thing which the NLC Government did was to appoint committees to look into the university system in Ghana and to advise the Government through recommendations on the directions of university education.⁵² Such committees were the Special Committee on Delimitations of Functions of University Institutions and a Committee on the Future Policy for Financial Support for University Students in Ghana (C.F.P.F.S.U.S.G.).⁵³ The

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ This was the period the CPP Government placed emphasis on the training of Ghanaians at the universities to occupy various positions in the country upon the retirement of the expatriates at independence. It started in 1951 with the introduction of Development Plans for Education.

⁵⁰ See Report of the Committee appointed by the Executive Council of the National Liberation Council to Advise Government on the Future Policy for Financial Support for University Students in Ghana, p. 1.

⁵¹ Ibid. p. 10.

⁵² See White Paper on the Report of the Education Review Committee, p. 1.

⁵³ Ibid.

tasks and recommendations of these committees will, however, be discussed later.

Apart from these committees, the Education Review Committee under the Chairmanship of Professor A. A. Kwabong, which was the first to be established, as already discussed, also made recommendations on university education in their report issued to the NLC Government. One central issue the Committee noted was that “in the determination of national priorities by the Government during the present period of financial stringency and consolidation, the National Council for Higher Education should seek to ensure that the long-term needs of the universities are not jeopardized.”⁵⁴

Their recommendations which related to higher education were: award of scholarships to undergraduate and graduate students based on merit or academic excellence; award of bursaries to deserving students with certain minimum qualifications; the retention of a scholarship in subsequent academic years in the university should be based solely on excellent academic performance; introduction of University Entrance Scholarships (U.E.S.) and Progress Scholarships (P.S.) for brilliant students; interest-free loans for Ghanaian students to facilitate their studies at the universities; free tuition fees for all Ghanaians; tuition fees for foreign students; the policy of granting awards for overseas study in undergraduate courses available in Ghana should be discarded; overseas awards to the specialized training of Ghanaian technicians needed by Ghanaian universities and industries, until such programmes are introduced in the country.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Ibid. p. 31.

⁵⁵ Ibid. pp. 32-34.

Others were that the University College of Cape Coast should be well-developed to train adequate teachers for training colleges and secondary schools; courses such as Associateship in Education, the Post-graduate certificate in Education and Master of Education should continue at the University College of Cape Coast; the practice of allowing all students to study education in addition to their major field of specialization should continue; courses in Engineering, Agriculture, Architecture and Pharmacy should be offered at the University of Science and Technology.⁵⁶

Integration of the College of Art (C.A.) into the University of Science and Technology for the development of courses in Fine Art and Industrial Art for professional sculptors, painters, designers, carvers, gold and silver smiths, ceramics and textiles; re-introduction of diploma course in pharmacy at the University of Science and Technology; the University of Ghana should continue with its present courses in the faculties such as Arts, Law, Social Studies, Agriculture and Science; full absorption of the School of Administration into the University of Ghana; the Ghana Medical School (G.M.S.) should serve as a Faculty of the University of Ghana; the Institute of African Studies was to retain its unique identity until its integration into a significant department of the University of Ghana.⁵⁷

These were some of the recommendations which prompted the NLC Government to appoint a Special Committee on Delimitation of Functions of University Institutions to undertake the following:

- (i) study the Interim Report of the Education Review Committee on the various subjects to be taught at the three University Institutions and the relationship

⁵⁶ Ibid. p. 35.

⁵⁷ Ibid. pp. 35-37.

between the School of Administration and the University of Ghana; (ii) examine the arguments against the establishment of an Advisory Council for Higher Education and the advocacy for the establishment of University Grants Committee; (iii) hold consultations with the authorities of the three Universities and the School of Administration; (iv) submit its recommendations to the National Liberation Council on (i) and (ii) above and any other matters the Committee considers important.⁵⁸

Under the Chairmanship of Dr. K. A. Busia, who was then lecturer at the University of Oxford, the Committee started its work on Saturday, 11th February, 1967. To accomplish its task, the Committee interviewed distinguished and experienced personalities in the field of higher education in Ghana. These were Professor J. H. Nketia (Institute of African Studies), Professor A. A. Kwabong (Vice-Chancellor, University of Ghana), Professor C. G. Baeta (University of Ghana), Mr. J. A. K. Quartey (University of Ghana), Professor K. A. B. Jones-Quartey (Institute of Adult Education), Mr. E. Ampene (Institute of Adult Education), Dr. C. O. Easmon (Dean, Ghana Medical School), Vice-Chancellor, Deans of Faculties and the Academic Board of the University of Science and Technology, Principal and Deans of the Faculties of the University College of Cape Coast, and Representatives of the Education Review Committee.⁵⁹

The Committee issued its report on 23rd February, 1967. Their recommendations were: the establishment of a National Council for Higher Education to offer professional advice to government on educational issues; the Institute of African Studies should continue to be situated at the University of Ghana with semi-autonomous status and having its prime focus on research in issues relating to Africa; the Institute of African Studies should try to

⁵⁸ See the Report of the Special Committee on Delimitation of the Functions of University Institutions on White Paper on the Report of the Education Review Committee, p. 51.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

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introduce courses in African Studies at the University of Science and
Technology and the University College of Cape Coast in collaboration of the
authorities of these institutions.⁶⁰

Additionally, the School of Administration should continue with its semi-autonomous status with an Advisory Board and to obtain grants from government through the National Council for Higher Education and Research; the University College of Cape Coast was to maintain its special relationship with the University of Ghana and focus on the training of graduate teachers; the faculties of Agriculture at the University of Ghana and the University of Science and Technology should continue to offer diploma, undergraduate and post-graduate courses; the College of Art at the University of Science and Technology should be made a faculty and have its earmarked grant; and that no new university be established until full utilization of the facilities of the existing ones.⁶¹

Prior to the submission of their report by the Committee, the NLC Government had scrutinized the overall Government expenditure on university students in order to modify the scholarship scheme. A series of consultations were made with the university institutions after which a memorandum was sent to the scholarship secretariat and the Higher Education Division (H.E.D.) and Ministry of Education (M.O.E.). The memorandum suggested competitive entrance examination to determine three categories of award. These were:

- (i) “full scholarship” for 20 per cent of the annual intake into the universities in accordance with pre-determined intakes into specific disciplines and faculties; (ii) 60 per cent of annual intake to be given ‘exhibitions’ valued at 80 per cent of a full scholarship; and (iii) “bursaries” to be awarded

⁶⁰ Ibid. pp. 53-66

⁶¹ Ibid.

to the remaining students who did not measure up to “scholarship” ... and who appeared to be in real need of help.⁶²

Brigadier A. A. Afrifa, the then Commissioner for Finance, in his speech on 16th July, 1968, noted that “with regard to university education, Government has decided that with effect from the 1969-70 academic year, the award of scholarships and bursaries to students entering our universities should be based on merit.”⁶³

He indicated the basis for such awards to be: (a) full scholarship award for those who excel in a competitive examination; (b) bursaries and half scholarship for those in the middle group; and (c) payment of full fees by parents or loans to be provided by Government for students who did not obtain either full scholarship or half scholarship.⁶⁴ According to Brigadier A. A. Afrifa, this was intended “not only to reduce the burden of university education on the tax-payer but also to make for a more rational distribution of students among the various faculties in relation to our manpower requirements.”⁶⁵

To collect much information about the operation of loan schemes and to examine the whole problem of financing students at the universities in Ghana, the Executive Council of the NLC Government appointed a Committee on 29th July, 1969, to advise it on the “Future Policy for Financial Support for University Students in Ghana.”

⁶² See Report of the Committee appointed by the Executive Council of the National Liberation Council to Advice Government on the Future Policy for Financial Support for University Students in Ghana, p. 2.

⁶³ Ibid. p. 3.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

The Chairman of the Committee was Mr. M. Dowuona.⁶⁶ They were to

examine the following proposals as their terms of reference:

(a) that all Ghanaian students admitted to universities in Ghana be given free tuition and that examination fees should be paid by Government, but at the same time enrolment in the university institutions concerned should be subjected to control; (b) that although many arguments may be advanced in favour of continuing the present system of 'scholarships,' considerations of national financial policy make it necessary to exact some contribution from some or all students at universities in Ghana towards the cost of their board and lodging provided by the institutions; (c) that all Ghanaian students admitted to universities be eligible for a loan covering boarding and lodging and other approved expenses, to be repaid within a specified period after graduation; (d) that loans be subject to interest/service charge; (e) that, as an inducement to enter key areas of service after graduation and especially in the case of teaching, some part of the loan taken may be waived; (f) that for the time being, students from the Northern and Upper Regions should continue to receive grants to cover transport, clothing and maintenance during vacation, which will be recovered; (g) that within a universal loan scheme, the universities may award full 'scholarships' or 'exhibitions' of lesser value in recognition of special merit either at entrance or during students' courses.⁶⁷

The Committee first met on 8th November, 1969 and set up two sub-committees. One of the sub-committees was to co-ordinate and examine the proposals of their reference and the other to consider and proposed effective machinery for the administration of students' loan scheme. Reports of the sub-committees were submitted to the main Committee on 13th December, 1969.

⁶⁶ Other members were: Mr. G. K. Benson, Scholarship Secretariat; Mr. G. B. Boahen, Higher Education Division; Mr. A. A. Wilberforce, Public Services Commission; Mr. S. B. Mfodwo, University of Ghana; Mr. E. Daganus, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology; Dr. K. A. J. Nyarko, University College of Cape Coast; Mr. R. G. Aggrey, Ministry of Finance; Mr. S. B. Jones, Ministry of Economic Affairs; Mr. T. Acquah-Hayford (Legon), Mr. E. K. A. Dove (Kumasi) and Mr. P. Osei-Mensah (Cape Coast) were representatives of the National Union of Ghana Students. Other co-opted members were: Mr. P. R. C. Williams, Ministry of Education; Mr. D. D. Carmichael, Scholarship Secretariat; and Dr. M. B. Givens, Ministry of Economic Affairs. See *Ibid.* p. 5.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

After deliberations, they made their recommendations which were found in Section II of their report. A summary of their recommendations were:

- (i) the system of providing scholarships for every Ghanaian university student should be modified;
- (ii) students in residence at the universities should pay a uniform annual charge of their living costs from the beginning of the academic year to be determined by Government;
- (iii) except food, accommodation and student recreational facilities, students should not pay other items of Hall expenditure;
- (iv) university examination fees for first attempt should not be charged on Ghanaian students at the university;
- (v) tuition fees for the various courses should be determined by the universities, in consultation with the Government, and be paid by non-Ghanaian students who were not sponsored by Government;
- (vi) Ghanaian students at the university institutions should be eligible to receive loans from a Fund to be set up to enable them meet their student Maintenance Charges and personal expenditure which would be payable after their course of study;
- (vii) No group of Ghanaian students at the university should receive privileged treatment by way of allowances since they all have access and could draw a loan;
- (viii) individual students who faced exceptional hardships should be eligible for additional grants for specific purposes from special funds to be created;
- (ix) adequate representation of students on Hall committees which controlled their budget for food and accommodation;
- (x) students should be allowed to opt out of the feeding and accommodation in the Halls if they wished to do so;
- (xi) a new type of scholarship should be introduced to be based on academic merit worth only N¢200.00 per annum out of which N¢50.00 was to be given to the student and the remaining paid into the Hall accounts;
- (xii) loan scheme should be introduced to assist students with initial maximum of N¢500.00 per annum and additional N¢100.00 for personal expenditure, provided that the beneficiary would produce two guarantors who would guarantee for him or her;
- (xiii) apart from service charges of N¢50.00, no interest should be charged on the loans;
- (xiv) repayment of the loan should begin when the beneficiary starts to earn an income.⁶⁸

Even though the NLC Government left office before the Committee issued its report, it was found that the amount spent on each undergraduate

⁶⁸ Ibid. pp. 26-30.

student at the university could give 52 children a full ten-year elementary course and 12 secondary school children a full five-year course.⁶⁹ University education was thus found to exert great burden on Government expenditure. The argument was that, to partly reduce the burden of educational costs on tax-payers, and ensure greater social justice in the country, students should make direct contribution to the public cost of education at the universities.

The NLC Government thus, clearly, decided to shelve Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's politics of free university education, though it could not implement this policy as the report was issued after it had left office in 1969. However, before the NLC Government left office, its vision for education was that, "it would be much more democratic and socially more equitable for Government to provide as free an education as possible to all the children of school-going age up to a minimum level, which may be raised steadily as the country's resources permit, and to require the beneficiaries of higher education to bear a proportion of the cost of their training."⁷⁰ This way, there would be a fairer redistribution of the resources available for education otherwise, "the few who rise to the top of the education ladder would continue to be more and more heavily subsidized, while those lower down the ladder would be placed at an increasingly disadvantage."⁷¹

When the NLC Government had clearly visualised its focus and direction of education, and it was about to implement them, there was a return to civilian rule in the country on 1 October, 1969, where Dr. K. A. Busia, Leader of the Progress Party (PP) formed the next Government. It is suggested

⁶⁹ Ibid. p.30.

⁷⁰ Ibid. p. 11.

⁷¹ Ibid. p. 10.

that Dr. K. A. Busia rather implemented the educational politics of the NLC Government which he had earlier helped to shape.

Education under Dr. Kofi Abrefa Busia

As stated earlier, through the victory of the Progress Party in the general elections held on 29th August, 1969, the NLC Government handed over power of the administration of Ghana into the hands of Dr. Kofi Abrefa Busia.⁷² Prior the elections, the Progress Party Government had stated its focus of education in the 1969 Manifesto of the party which was issued on 2nd August of that year. It stated that, “in line with thinking progressive peoples the world over, the PROGRESS PARTY (sic) regards education not only as the right of the child, but also as a cardinal necessity in any country.”⁷³ Education was perceived as a prerequisite for economic growth and progress. The Progress Party Government was beyond all reasonable doubt committed “to improve the quality of education and to orient it towards producing skills necessary for achieving rapid and sustained economic and cultural development.”⁷⁴

Hence, it is suggested that the main focus of all post-independence governments was to direct education towards the realization of socio-economic emancipation of the country and this explains why all the governments since independence placed emphasis on the production of skills and knowledge for such a transformation. It is thus, argued that politics in education in the post-Kwame Nkrumah era partly had its roots from the

⁷² See Kwaku Danso Bofo, *The Political Biography of Dr. Kofi Abrefa Busia*. Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1996, p. 92. Also, *Ray Kakrabah-Quarshie, Achievement of the Progress Party, 1969-1971*. Accra: Bekumah Agencies, 1971, p. 8.

⁷³ See the Progress Party's Manifesto, 2nd August, 1969, p. 11.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

educational interventions of the CPP Government and therefore not entirely different from it.

The foregoing discussion does not mean that the Progress Party Government did not shape the direction of education in the country. Mention has already been made that Dr. K. A. Busia played a significant role in the educational politics of the NLC. He was, in fact, the Chairman of the Special Committee on Delimitation of Functions of University Institutions appointed by the NLC Government which started its work on 11th February, 1967. Their recommendations, which have already been discussed under the NLC regime, helped in shaping the direction of education especially university institutions in the country. Thus, it is suggested that, Dr. K. A. Busia implemented his own recommendations. This is because when the report of the Committee which he chaired was issued on 23rd February, 1967, to the NLC Government, Dr. K. A. Busia, in turn, became the Prime Minister of the Second Republic on 1st October, 1969.

Dr. K. A. Busia did not do much during his tenure of office. One reason was that he was removed from power on 13th January, 1972. However, he made elementary education more purposeful and to direct it towards skills acquisition intended to enable school leavers gain employment, the Progress Party Government revised the curriculum and added science and vocational guidance to it. Other subjects in the curriculum of the elementary schools were Writing, Reading, Number Work, Social Studies, Religious Knowledge, Physical and Health Education, Ghanaian Languages, Art, Music, Drama and Arithmetic. These subjects were intended to “improve the quality of

education, relating it closely to the needs of the country and providing equal opportunities for all.’’⁷⁵

Also, the curriculum of secondary and technical schools was modified. New subjects such as Secretaryship and Accounting, Surveying, Electrical Appliance Services, Marketing and Refrigeration were introduced.⁷⁶ These were part of the efforts of Dr. K. A. Busia to pursue policies which were geared towards the greater welfare of Ghanaians and thereby promote rapid and sustained economic growth through the maintenance of proper balance in the various sectors of the economy.⁷⁷

To achieve this, the Progress Party Government set out “to improve the educational system and ensure that not only the children and the young people of Ghana benefit but also adults are given an education which will be meaningful and useful in our social context.”⁷⁸ Under pre-University education, priority was given to “improve the quality of teaching, teaching materials and physical facilities of the existing elementary and secondary schools and teacher-training colleges.”⁷⁹

Rationalization and consolidation programmes were to precede controlled expansion as part of measures to ensure judicious use of the resources in the country. There was clear vision for vocational and technical schools. These institutions were expected by the Progress Party Government to absorb the elementary school leavers as a significant measure to check the problem of rural-urban drift.⁸⁰ As a result, facilities for technical and

⁷⁵ See Kwaku Danso Boafo, *op. cit.* p. 83.

⁷⁶ Ray Kakrabah-Quarshie, *op. cit.* p. 13.

⁷⁷ See the Constitution of the Progress Party on Ray Kakrabah-Quarshie, p. 33.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* p. 39.

⁷⁹ Progress Party’s Manifesto, p. 11.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

vocational schools were expanded rapidly. Also, night schools for commercial and technical courses were introduced in Ghana.

The next significant issue the PP Government tackled was in the field of university education. Dr. K. A. Busia was worried about Government expenditure on university education in the country. It is suggested that this informed one of the recommendations of the Special Committee on Delimitation of Functions of University Institutions appointed by the NLC Government of which Dr. K. A. Busia was the Chairman. This stated that, “no new university should be set up until the facilities in the existing ones have been fully utilized.”⁸¹ Obviously, Dr. K. A. Busia did not want the country to spend much money on building a new Agricultural University in Ghana as there were facilities for the teaching of Agriculture at the University of Ghana and the University of Science and Technology at Kumasi.⁸²

The Progress Party Government was of the view that university students should be made to pay part of the cost of their education. According to the party, expenditure on university education put too much burden on taxpayers.⁸³ This explains why in their Manifesto, it was stated that the university institutions “will be required to overhaul their administrative and financial procedures so as to curtail waste, cultivate cost effectiveness and increase efficiency.”⁸⁴ Towards the implementation of this, the PP Government passed the Students’ Loan Scheme Act of 1971.⁸⁵ The Act tried to spread the benefits

⁸¹ See the Report of the Special Committee on Delimitation of the Functions of University Institutions on White Paper on the Report of the Education Review Committee, p. 64.

⁸² Richard Asare Akoto, op. cit.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Progress Party’s Manifesto, p. 11.

⁸⁵ Ray Kakrabah-Quarshie, op. cit. p. 5.

of formal education to the lower levels—primary, middle, technical, secondary and teacher-training colleges.

By the Act, university students of the three institutions—University of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology and University College of Cape Coast—were asked to contribute towards their education “by taking a loan covering 25 per cent of the cost of their stay in the universities.”⁸⁶ The loan was to be repaid in 12 years with a service charge of 1 per cent. The accumulating fund was to be used to set up more primary, middle and secondary schools in the country.⁸⁷ Thus, it is argued that, by the Act, Dr. K. A. Busia was the first post-independence leader of Ghana to implement ‘cost sharing’ at university institutions in the country. The PP Government did not remain in power for long to see the fruits of such attempts. A few months after the passage of the Act, that is, on 13th January, 1972, it was overthrown in a coup d’état staged by Colonel Ignatius Kutu Acheampong.⁸⁸

The National Redemption Council’s Regime: Its Educational Focus and Direction

Following the military intervention in the early part of 1972, the National Redemption Council (NRC) was formed as the next Government and Colonel Ignatius Kutu Acheampong became its Chairman and the Head of State of Ghana.⁸⁹ By this time, the economy of Ghana was in a serious crisis. Col. I. K. Acheampong thus launched a Five-Year Development Plan

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ See McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, op. cit. p. 132.

⁸⁹ GNA Correspondent, “Guidelines for 5—Year Development Plan,” *The Daily Graphic*, January 10th 1976, p. 1.

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(F.Y.D.P.) at Burma Hall with the major objectives of first, to “expand the production base commensurate with the need to raise the living standards of Ghana’s growing population as fast as the resources would promote,” and secondly, “to promote the full and efficient use of all the nation’s resources: human, material and spiritual.”⁹⁰

The NRC Government also introduced the Revolutionary Charter (R.C.), the Charter of Redemption (C.R.).⁹¹ It proclaimed seven major goals of action which were intended to redeem the people. These were first, “One Nation, One People, One Destiny; Second, Total Manpower Development and Deployment; Third, Revolutionary Discipline; Fourth, Self-Reliance; Fifth, Service to the People; Sixth, Patriotism and International Brotherhood; and Seventh, Mobilization of Spiritual, Intellectual and Will Power.”⁹² In the view of the NRC Government, these goals and principles together envisaged first, “a humane, egalitarian and prosperous society in which the care of each is the responsibility of all.”⁹³ Secondly, it visualised “a society of full employment in which the national wealth is evenly shared, and in which factionalism, greed and avarice are of minimal consequence”.⁹⁴

As part of measures to achieve the goals of the Charter, the educational system formed a significant part of its doctrine of ‘revolutionary discipline.’⁹⁵

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ This Charter was introduced by the NRC Government. It was geared to provide all Ghanaians with a useful basis for action towards economic prosperity and social contentment. See Ben Mensah, “Charter of Redemption—What it means,?” *The Daily Graphic*, January 13, 1975, p. 11.

⁹² G. N. A Correspondent, “Let’s Work Harder” *The Daily Graphic*, January 13, 1975, p. 7.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ This theory was introduced by the NRC Government to ensure self-discipline and external discipline which became one of the cardinal principles of the Charter of Redemption. It made great and equal demands on all Ghanaians irrespective of social status. For example, it enjoined the teacher to do his or her work well and hence, it would be a sign of Revolutionary indiscipline for the teacher to wait to be told what to do by an Education officer. E. Y. Brobe-

This is confirmed by Col. C. R. Tachie-Menson when he noted that the Charter of Redemption “aimed at educating the broad masses of the people on their rights and responsibilities and creating the right atmosphere which would encourage active participation by all in the national affairs.”⁹⁶ This was based on the view of the NRC Government that “if children were taught systematically and in an orderly manner throughout their formative years they would surely be self-reliant in life.”⁹⁷ Rear Admiral Amedume also corroborated this idea when he stated that “the time has come to root the African reality by relating our teaching... to the concept of education for self-reliance.”⁹⁸

The focus of education thus shifted to cultural development as it was intended to “embrace economic growth in the country’s effort as enshrined in the Charter of Redemption which implied a revision of existing order of things.”⁹⁹ Education was one of the fundamental questions which, in the estimation of the NRC Government, was decisive in the success of the revolution and the fate of the country.¹⁰⁰ The politics of the NRC Government in relation to education was based on the grounds that “in order to make the ideological foundation of Union Government profitable, the educational system in Ghana should be re-examined to do away with the colonial ideological and cultural backwardness left over from the old society and to

Mensah, “What is Revolutionary Discipline?” *The Daily Graphic*, Tuesday 11th March, 1975, p. 5.

⁹⁶G. N. A Correspondent, “Let’s Work Harder,” *The Daily Graphic*, January 13, 1975, p. 11.

⁹⁷G. N. A Correspondent, “Education to be Restructured,” *The Daily Graphic*, Friday 7th March, 1975, p. 1.

⁹⁸E. Y. Brobe-Mensah, “What is Revolutionary Discipline?” *The Daily Graphic*, Tuesday 11th March, 1975, p. 5.

⁹⁹G. N. A. Correspondent, “Education to be Restructured,” *The Daily Graphic*, Friday 7th March, 1975, p. 1.

¹⁰⁰J. K. Boakye Mensah, “Education and Development” *The Daily Graphic*, April 17, 1978, p. 7.

educate and foster everyone to be a man of a socialist type who will promote the revolution.”¹⁰¹ There can be neither social progress nor national development without proper education.

The NRC Government thus advocated socialist education which involved the moulding of a man to be an independent and a creative social being.¹⁰² This idea of socialist intervention or approach to education was first introduced by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in his effort to build a socialist state where people would stand free and have equal opportunities in all respects with their neighbours and thus, it is argued that, many of the policies adopted by the NRC Government had their origin in the CPP Government’s educational intervention in the country.

Under the NRC regime, Lt.-Colonel P. K. Nkegbe became the Commissioner for Education, Culture and Sports (C.E.C.S.) and thus he headed the Education Ministry. Two months after the assumption of office in March, 1972, the NRC Government, through the Ministry of Education, sent proposals on a new structure and content of education for public scrutiny.¹⁰³ The Government saw the urgent need for educational reforms in the country. It was the politics NRC Government for education to instil in the individual, “an appreciation of the need for change directed towards the development of the human and material resources of the country.”¹⁰⁴ It must largely “generate in the individual an awareness of the ability of man, using the power derived from science and technology, to transform his environment and improve the

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ See the New Structure and Content of Education for Ghana. Accra: Ministry of Information, 1974, p. 1.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

quality of his life.”¹⁰⁵ Also, the system of education should be more relevant to the social and economic needs of the country.¹⁰⁶ Thus, it is argued that Kwame Nkrumah’s advocacy for education to be shifted to science and technology for the realization of socio-economic emancipation became the drum-beat which marched the post-1966 governments in the country.

With such ideas about the direction of education, the suggestions and comments which the NRC Government received from the public made it possible to appoint a Committee under the Chairmanship of Rev. Dr. N. K. Dzobo. Other members were Parents, the Christian Council, the Catholic Secretariat, representatives of Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT), the University of Science and Technology, the University of Ghana, the Trades Union Congress (T.U.C), Ministry of Local Government, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Defence and the Centre for Scientific and Industrial Research (C.S.I.R.).¹⁰⁷ The Committee was “to consider the Ministry’s proposals and the views expressed by the public.”¹⁰⁸ In the estimation of T. Tetteh, “the government urged the Committee not only to identify innovations which could be implemented within the limited resources of the country but also examine how the inadequacies in the education system could be eliminated.”¹⁰⁹

It submitted its report in June 1973. Some of their recommendations were:

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ G. N. A. Correspondent, “Education to be Restructured” *The Daily Graphic*, Friday 7th March, 1975, p. 1.

¹⁰⁷ See S. G. Nimako, op. cit. p. 33.

¹⁰⁸ New Structure and Content of Education for Ghana, p. 2.

¹⁰⁹ See Tetteh T. “The Implementation of Education Policies in Ghana: A case study of the Junior Secondary School Programme under the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC, 1983-1996).” M. Phil Thesis submitted to the Department of Political Science, University of Ghana, Legon, 1999, p. 56.

(i) that the education being administered to pupils was elitist and not practical enough to relate to the manpower development of Ghana. (ii) that it was only 70% of children of school going age that were in school despite the Education Act of 1961 which made education free and compulsory. (iii) that the Educational Act was unable to solve the problem of education in terms of enrolment because parents whose incomes were low, were unable to provide for their children. (iv) that there was a great disparity in the provision of education in the urban areas as compared to the rural ones. (v) that any attempt to reform the system should aim at equal and fair educational opportunities for all in the urban and rural areas. (vi) that only 13% of middle school pupils were admitted into secondary schools, whilst 20% to 25% of Form 5 pupils gained admission into Sixth Form schools. (vii) that there were lack of concern for the needs of Ghanaian society by the education system.¹¹⁰

After a careful scrutiny and considerations of the proposals of the Dzobo Committee, the Ministry's views and those of the public, the NRC Government approved a new structure and content for education in the country. The general principles which constituted the rationale for the restructuring of the educational system were:

- (i) before beginning formal education, every child should have between 18 to 24 months of preparation and pre-disposition;
- (ii) the child should begin formal education at the age of 6;
- (iii) the length of basic formal education should be 9 years and this should be free and compulsory;
- (iv) practical programmes which lead to the acquisition of skills should be an essential part of all formal education;
- (v) throughout the entire pre-university course, emphasis should be laid on—(a) the development of practical activities and the acquisition of manual skills; (b) the development of the qualities of leadership, self-reliance and creativity through the promotion of physical education, sports and games, cultural and youth programmes; (c) the study of indigenous language, science and mathematics.
- (vi) teacher education should be relevant, and geared towards the realization of the stated

¹¹⁰ Ibid. p. 57.

principles and objectives of the new reforms;
(vii) in general, institutions shall be essentially
day.”¹¹¹

As part of the reforms of the NRC Government, the New Structure of the Educational system was made up of the following: (i) Kindergarten Education for the duration of 18 to 24 months for the ages of 4 to 6 year-group. (ii) Basic First Cycle Education—Six years Primary in addition to three years Junior Secondary to be free and compulsory for all children of school going age. (iii) Second Cycle Education which consisted of (a) Senior Secondary Lower, (b) Technical, and (c) Commercial courses. (iv) From the Senior Secondary Lower pupils who would be successful could proceed to (a) a Senior Secondary Upper course which would lead to ‘A’ Level, (b) a Teacher Training programme, and (c) a Polytechnic programme. (v) From the Senior Secondary Upper course successful pupils could enter the University.¹¹²

Elementary Education

The focus of Kindergarten education for the NRC Government was that it should largely create the avenue and opportunities for the whole personal development of the child. To achieve this, the New Structure and Content of Education was carefully designed so that it allowed children the chance to play and actively participate in group activities. It was also intended to pre-dispose children to conditions of formal education and thereby accelerate the learning process when they enter the formal school system.

¹¹¹ See the New Structure and Content of Education for Ghana, pp. 1-2.

¹¹² Ibid. p. 2. Also, see McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, op. cit. p. 133 and S. G. Nimako, op. cit. pp. 33-34.

The direction, and for that matter the objective of Primary education during the NRC regime was to ensure that children at this level excelled in the fields of numeracy,¹¹³ literacy¹¹⁴ and socialization.¹¹⁵ Emphasis was placed on the development of the skills of enquiry and creativity which would enable pupils acquire more marketable skills and enhance their employment opportunities in the country.¹¹⁶ The former included the ability to observe, collect information, analyse information, hypothesize, develop working principles, test and evaluate information and apply principles to new situations.¹¹⁷ The latter also concerned itself with the development of manipulative, aesthetic and body movement skills of the child.

To achieve this, the main Ghanaian language spoken in the locality was made the medium of instruction for the first three years of primary education. It was argued that the child should learn his or her own language. The child should also learn another Ghanaian Language. The intention was that the child should be able to work effectively after school when employed in a different locality where his or her major Ghanaian language is not spoken. English was made a subject of instruction at lower primary and then used a medium of instruction from primary four onwards.¹¹⁸

Other subjects in the curriculum of the primary schools were Mathematics; Social Studies (Economics, History, Geography, Civics and Sociology); Elementary Science (Biological Sciences, Health Education and

¹¹³ Numeracy refers to the ability of children to effectively count and use numbers.

¹¹⁴ Literacy denotes the ability of children to read, write, comprehend and communicate effectively. See the New Structure and Content of Education for Ghana. p. 2.

¹¹⁵ Socialization is used here to refer to the development of skills and attitudes which enable an individual to become an effective citizen in the country. See Ibid.

¹¹⁶ G. N. A. Correspondent, "Education to be Restructured," *The Daily Graphic*, Friday 7th March, 1975, p. 1.

¹¹⁷ The New Structure and Content of Education for Ghana, p. 2.

¹¹⁸ Ibid. p. 4

Physical Sciences); Practical Activities (Animal and Crop Husbandry, local Crafts and Vocations); Cultural Studies (Religion, Music, Drama, Arts and Crafts and Home Science); Physical Education (Games and Sports); and Youth Programmes (Practical and Cultural Activities, Physical Education, Sports and Community Service).¹¹⁹ In addition to these subjects, pupils at the Junior Secondary school studied Classical language, French, General Science, Agricultural Science and Pre-nursing. They were also required to offer at least two of the following subjects; Dressmaking, Catering, Pottery, Woodwork, Technical Drawing, Metalwork, Masonry, Commercial Subjects, Tailoring, Marine Science (Fishing), Crafts, Automobile Practice and Beauty Culture.¹²⁰

The new structure and content of education also set out to develop the attitudinal skills of the child. It was intended to help children develop societal attitudes such as appreciation for change and adaptation to change; the desire for self-improvement; appreciation of the significance of co-operation, tolerance and inter-dependence; inculcation of healthy living habits in children; helping children to cultivate respect for truth; appreciation of the dignity and the inter-dependence of workers; pre-disposition of children to the acquisition of knowledge, skills and pre-vocational experiences intended to help discover their potentials and aptitudes for improvement of the society; and to develop the spirit of curiosity among children as a preparation for secondary education.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid.

Secondary Education

The philosophies and objectives of secondary education were to reinforce the visions of primary education in Ghana. Students at the secondary school level were expected to acquire leadership qualities as preparation for positions of responsibility in their societies. They were also trained to acquire occupational skills for future employment in their societies. Subjects that were studied at the Senior Secondary Lower course included English Language, Ghanaian Language, French, Mathematics, Science, Social Studies, Modern/Classical Language, Agriculture, Literature, Home Science, Pre-nursing, Music, Art, Religious Knowledge, Cultural Studies, Commercial/Technical/Vocational Subjects and Youth Programme.¹²²

The courses at the Senior Secondary Upper were diversified. Pupils were made to specialize in programmes such as Arts, Sciences, Agriculture, Music, Ghanaian Language and Commercial/Business education. French was made non-examinable. Senior Secondary Upper was not considered as terminal, pupils who could not enter the university had the opportunity of being trained for middle level professions at Polytechnics, Specialists and Teacher-Training Colleges (T.T.C.). In the fields of technical and commercial education, training was linked to the industrial or commercial needs of the society. Commercial subjects studied included Commerce, Shorthand, Typing and Office Machines, Arithmetic, Principles of Office Practice, Business Studies and Book-keeping/Accounts.¹²³

Technical/Vocational courses studied were Electrical Engineering Trades, Automobile Engineering Trades, Building/Construction Trades,

¹²² Ibid. p. 5.

¹²³ Ibid. pp. 3-9.

Mechanical Engineering Trades, Agricultural Engineering, Furniture Manufacture, Accounting, Secretarial Studies, Pre-nursing, Horticulture, Crop Husbandry, Animal Husbandry, Fishing, Catering, Carving, Pottery, Commercial and Industrial Arts, Fashion, Dressmaking, Tailoring and Leather Work.¹²⁴ Core Subjects studied were Mathematics, English Language, Ghanaian Language, Liberal/Social Studies and Science.

At the Polytechnic level, students offered courses such as Electrical Technician, General Engineering, Electronic Engineering, Construction Technician, Mechanical Engineering, Business Studies, Textiles, Plumbing, Mining Engineering, Printing, Welding, Sanitary Engineering, Institutional Management, Refrigeration and Laboratory Technician.¹²⁵

Teacher Education

Teacher education was then directed by the NRC Government to enable it achieve the objectives of kindergarten, primary and secondary education in Ghana. Teachers were given a sound basis in the content of the pre-university level to ensure effective and efficient teaching. The new structure and content of education offered professional and manual skills for teachers. This was intended to first of all, enable teachers guide children to learn. They were also expected to whip up the interest of children in the acquisition of basic vocational skills. In addition, they were required to create a congenial atmosphere where children would learn effectively and to integrate the school with the affairs of the community.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid. p. 4.

Also, the NRC Government set out to diversify teacher education through the introduction of practical skills. Teachers were trained to become specialists in one or more subjects to ensure effective and efficient teaching. The minimum basic qualification for admission into training colleges was the G. C. E. “O” Level or its equivalent. Post “O” Level and “A” Level colleges were allowed to offer a three-year and a two-year teacher training programme respectively with intensive internship under effective supervision. Teacher-trainees were required to learn one other Ghanaian language besides their major one.¹²⁷

Graduate and postgraduate professional training were carried out at the University of Cape Coast. However, non-professional graduates from the University of Ghana and Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology who wished to become teachers were given two-term studies and orientation in education. They also did internship in selected schools under competent supervision.¹²⁸

To ensure effective teaching, the levels of work of trained teachers were categorized—Kindergarten and Primary schools were taught by Post “O” Level trained teachers, Junior Secondary schools were taught by Post “A” Level trained teachers. The Ghana Teaching Service (G.T.S) was established to “create the necessary conditions of service that will generate in all categories of members of the Service a high degree of motivation and a lasting desire to remain in the profession.”¹²⁹ To R. Y. Gbeho, “the establishment of the Teaching Service brought new hopes and aspirations not

¹²⁷ Ibid. pp. 3-9.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Ibid. p. 9.

only to teachers and students but also to the nation as a whole.”¹³⁰ It was instituted to ensure not only effective teaching output in the classroom but also the welfare of teachers.¹³¹

University education was not left out by the NRC Government as it was linked to the general transformation of the economy. However, this will be discussed under Supreme Military Council (SMC) I.

On 9th October, 1975, there was a major re-organization of the Government of the Republic of Ghana which brought into being the Administration of the Supreme Military Council (SMC) I. This became the highest Legislative organ of the state. The SMC I was made up of the Chairman, Col. I. K. Acheampong, the Chief of Defence Staff, the Army Commander, the Air Force Commander, the Navy Commander, the Border Guards Commander and the Inspector-General of Police. The members committed themselves to the Service Discipline on matters of discipline.

University Education

When the NRC Government was reconstituted into the SMC I, Professor N. O. Anim was appointed as Director-General of the Ghana Education Service. One of the first things the SMC I Government tackled was in the field of higher education. First, it set out to ensure a healthy relationship between the university institutions and government. To achieve this, the NRC Government appointed a five-man Committee of Inquiry under the

¹³⁰ R. Y. Gbeho, “Salary Hold-Up,” *The Daily Graphic*, Tuesday 7th January, 1975, p. 7.

¹³¹ Ibid.

Chairmanship of Nii Anyetei Kwakwaranya II, La Mantse, on 28th May, 1976.¹³²

The Committee was given the following terms of reference:

(a) To enquire into the causes which give rise to student unrest, demonstration and disturbances in the University of Ghana, the University of Science and Technology and the University of Cape Coast; (b) To determine the forms which such unrest, demonstrations and disturbances take and their effects; (c) To investigate any other matters which appear to the Committee to be related to the foregoing; and (d) To submit its findings to the Supreme Military Council, giving reasons and making such recommendations as it may think fit, and, in particular, making recommendations as to the measures which the Committee considers appropriate for the purpose of preventing such unrest, demonstrations and disturbances in the Universities and ensuring that peace and harmony prevail therein in the future.¹³³

As was pointed out in the White Paper, "it was the hope of the Government that the Committee would not only establish the root causes and repercussions of such disturbances in the three Universities but also make appropriate recommendations for the prevention of their recurrence."¹³⁴ The recommendations of the Committee centred on issues such as channels of communication between students and the university authorities; student representation on university boards and committees; payment of student maintenance and other grants; student feeding; university facilities and property; vacation residence; tutorial system and the relationship between students, hall tutors and university employees; transportation; student leadership; sports and recreational facilities; academic facilities; the campus system; university chaplaincy; and security at the universities.¹³⁵

¹³² PRAAD: Accra. RG3/6/78 "White Paper on the Report of the Committee of Inquiry (Student Disturbances), p. 1.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid. pp. 1-7.

The SMC I Government accepted almost all the recommendations of the Committee and implemented them to prevent future occurrence of student unrest, demonstration and disturbances. Action taken by the SMC I Government in relation to the recommendations of the Committee were: First, the Government agreed to provide funds for the conversion of the existing student accommodation for double occupancy and for the building of additional academic facilities and halls of residence. Secondly, it directed the University of Cape Coast to restore the tutorial table allowance which had been withdrawn from tutors of that university. In addition, it entrusted the issue of appointment and disciplining of hall officials into the hands of the university authorities. Moreover, the Government urged the university authorities to deal severely with any student or group of students who engaged in the unlawful and dangerous act of ponding. Also, the SMC I Government gave top priority to the provision of additional academic facilities such as lecture rooms, laboratories and libraries for the universities.¹³⁶

Apart from these, the SMC I Government decided to regulate the award of scholarships, bursaries and loans to university students. One reason for this was that the Government wanted to reduce its expenditure on higher education. On 8th October, 1976, the Secretary to the Supreme Military Council referred the issue to the National Council for Higher Education for their consideration and proposal. The Government proposed that:

- (a) the universities may award full scholarships to all the students who study any of the disciplines in the priority areas approved by Council at its meeting held on 21st July, 1976; (b) the universities may also grant scholarships to a few students who study the disciplines in the non-priority areas; and that (c) the students who do not fall under the above categories may be

¹³⁶ Ibid. pp. 4-6.

granted loans by the banks to finance their education in the universities.¹³⁷

These proposals were referred to a sub-Committee appointed by the Government made up of representatives from the universities, the Scholarships Secretariat, the Ghana Commercial Bank, the Conference of Headmasters, the Ghana Manpower Board and the Ministry of Education.¹³⁸

After several meetings which started from April and ended in September, 1977, the Sub-Committee issued its report with these recommendations: (i) Board and Lodging—the cost of board and lodging should be excluded from the educational expenditure and that Government should stop the practice of paying for the board and lodging of university students; (ii) Critical and non-critical areas of study—to determine the subjects of study that qualify for Government financial support. Critical areas included fields of study where the country's human resource development were not met. Non-critical areas comprised all other fields of study not categorised as being critical.¹³⁹

Critical areas of study included subjects such as Computer Science, Botany, Chemistry, Biology, Mathematics, Geology, Zoology, Agriculture, Pharmacy, Engineering (Chemical, Electrical, Electronics, Mechanical, Civil and Mining), Architecture, Ceramics, Building Technology, Design, Education (subjects leading to qualification in teaching as a career), English, French, Ghanaian Languages, Management, Accounting, Economics and Geography. The non-critical areas were History, Astronomy, Archaeology, Classics, Religious Studies, Music, Government, Law, Physical Education and

¹³⁷ See Public Records and Archives Administration Department, PRAAD, Accra; RG3/6/75, Report of the Sub-Committee Appointed by the Council to make Recommendations on the Financing of Higher Education, p. 1.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

Sociology. (iii) Methods of Financing—Here, the Sub-Committee proposed a continuation of the tuition free policy which the Government implemented for Ghanaian students in the universities but suggested that student maintenance expenses should depend on one of these sources namely, scholarships, bursaries and loans. Scholarships were to cover full board, accommodation, books and incidental expenses and to be awarded based on academic excellence.¹⁴⁰

Bursaries were also to cover board and accommodation and should be awarded on the recommendation of the universities for students in the critical areas of the economy. 10% of bursaries were to be reserved for students of distinction in the non-critical areas who did not obtain scholarships. Where students offered both critical and non-critical subjects, bursaries should be awarded based on the following:

- (a) First Year—Full Government bursary if the student offers two subjects in the approved critical area;
- (b) Second Year—Where a student offers three subjects at the same level, Government bursary might be awarded if two of the three subjects were in the critical areas.
- (c) Third and Fourth Year—As for second year students but with the following modification; where a student offers only one subject a bursary would be provided if that subject is in a critical area.¹⁴¹

Loans could be accessed from banks and the Social Security and National Insurance Trust (SSNIT) by all students who did not obtain scholarships and bursaries.¹⁴² Ghanaian post-graduate students were eligible for scholarships and also entitled to bursaries irrespective of courses offered in the universities. Foreign students at all levels were to pay tuition fee and their

¹⁴⁰ Ibid. pp. 3-4.

¹⁴¹ Ibid. p. 4.

¹⁴² Ibid.

maintenance expenses in the universities. The SMC I Government accepted these proposals and accordingly set out to implement them.

Apart from these, the SMC I Government also introduced a new educational set-up under a five-year programme which was intended to restructure the educational system. The first fundamental provision of the new educational structure was a compulsory two-year kindergarten education for pupils from the age of four.¹⁴³ This was followed by a six-year primary education for children at the age of six. The six-year primary course was followed by a three-year Junior Secondary School which became an exit point of the first cycle system of the new structure of education.

There was also a subsequent two-year Senior Secondary School.¹⁴⁴ Also, the existing two-year Post-Secondary Teacher Training period was to be extended to three years with the aim of raising competency in the training of teachers. Furthermore, a four-year teacher training course was maintained to produce teachers to teach in the primary schools. Moreover, under the new educational set-up, more than 25,000 teachers across the country were mobilised to undergo special training. This was intended to “put them in tune for 1980, the dateline for starting a five-year programme aimed at restructuring the nation’s educational system.”¹⁴⁵

This led to the introduction of a ‘Ghanaianization policy’ where the focus of education shifted to the training of the requisite manpower and in particular, the technical and scientific fields.¹⁴⁶ The SMC I Government also

¹⁴³ S. Gjaba-Mensah, “The New School,” *The Daily Graphic*, Thursday 20th July, 1978, p. 5.

¹⁴⁴ Wendy Asiama, “The New Educational Set-up, 25,000 to retrain” *The Daily Graphic*, Tuesday 21st October, 1975, p. 1.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ Kofi Ata-Bedu, “The Need for Career Advance,” *The Daily Graphic*, Wednesday 10th December, 1975, p. 6.

set out to address the challenge of ‘mass-elite gap’¹⁴⁷ which was bedeviling the educational system in Ghana. Kindergarten education was shaped to reflect its politics which was intended to prepare the children to learn and to become independent of their homes. At this level, the child’s first idea about numbers, shapes, colours and sizes began and hence, the compulsory kindergarten education became a necessary wheel which was used to prepare and propel the child to receive formal education at the age of six years.¹⁴⁸

The free and compulsory six-year primary education was to lay the foundations for the acquisition of practical skills for future employment. Emphasis was also placed on cultural education. Children were to be taught elementary science, agricultural science and environmental studies. Children were also to be trained in the local languages such as Twi, Ga, Ewe, Dagbani or Nzema to enable them not only comprehend most idiomatic expressions in the vernaculars but also read or write them effectively.¹⁴⁹

The new educational system was designed to equip pupils to fit into most vacant job openings. It became obvious through the statistics of the labour market that there was an acute shortage of carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, fitters and shoemakers due to the fact that the young educated people shunned such jobs.¹⁵⁰ The products also neglected the production of cash crops such as cotton, cocoa, rice, coffee and yam. The new system was designed to help the youth in the acquisition of basic skills in the middle level professions. Animal husbandry, fishing and other middle level professional skills were

¹⁴⁷ The term is used in the study to refer to a selective pattern of education which divided the society into those who have and those who have not. Education should thus provide equal opportunities for all children of school-going age.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ S. Gjaba-Mensah, “The New School,” *The Daily Graphic*, Thursday 20th July, 1978, p. 5.

introduced in the J.S.S curriculum alongside food and cash crop production. Home Science courses for girls were also diversified to embrace catering, sewing, handicrafts, laundry, backyard gardening, animal husbandry and small-scale poultry keeping. By the end of the J.S.S course, in the estimation of the SMC I Government, products who were offered admission to senior secondary lower, technical or commercial courses would further their courses and acquire skills while those who could not further their education, because they had armed themselves with some basic skills could “employ themselves with some capital, or find jobs in the existing constructional firms and agricultural institutions.”¹⁵¹

The Junior Secondary School Implementation Committee (J.S.S.I.C.) was established in 1977 to prepare guidelines for phasing out middle schools and to replace them with Junior Secondary Schools after the 1980/81 academic year. Their report embodied the recommendations and offered definite guidelines on the setting up of Junior Secondary Schools, in terms of curricular requirements, quality of staff, physical facilities and model plans for small and large size Junior Secondary Schools.

As confirmed by Dominic Victor Owiredu, the then Director of Budget, Ghana Education Service, “the J.S.S programme expected to be the most significant development in Ghana’s new educational programme, would replace the present middle schools which would be phased out gradually after 1980/81 until eventually they no longer exist.”¹⁵² By July, 1978 seventeen Junior Secondary schools were operating on an experimental basis across the country. In addition, 300 middle schools were to be converted into J.S.S in

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Charles Torkornoo, “Junior Schools Report,” *The Daily Graphic*, Monday 10th July, 1978, p. 3.

1980, the date for the full implementation of the scheme. Such was the vision and politics of Col. I. K. Acheampong in relation to the educational system of the country.¹⁵³

However, Col. I. K. Acheampong could not remain long in office to ensure nationwide implementation of the new structure for education and it was this which was later to be fully implemented by Flt. Lt. J. J. Rawlings. On July 5, 1978, Col. I. K. Acheampong was forced to resign as Head of State and Chairman of the SMC I. In his letter of resignation to the SMC I, Col. I. K. Acheampong pointed out that he “had taken the decision in the interest of the unity and stability of the nation.”¹⁵⁴ Lt. General F. W. K. Akuffo, the then Chief of Defence Staff assumed the Chairmanship of the Council. This brought into being the administration of the SMC II in Ghana. Other members of the SMC II were Major General R. E. A. Kotei, Chief of Defence Staff; Brigadier Odartey Wellington, Army Commander; Mr. Ernest Ako, I. G. P.; Rear Admiral J. K. Amedume, Navy Commander; Major Gen. Utuka, Border Guard Commander; Air Vice-Marshal G. Y. Boakye, Air Force Commander; Col. I. K. Amoah, Commander of the First Infantry Brigade and Brigadier Nunoo Mensah, Chief of Staff of the Ministry of Defence.¹⁵⁵

The task of the SMC II Government was not only to return the country to civilian rule, but also to sustain the economy of Ghana. As the SMC II could not solve the economic and political problems such as inflation, shortage of essential goods, fall in the prices of cocoa and corruption, a group

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ GNA Correspondent, “Akuffo is New Head of State,” *The Daily Graphic*, Thursday 6th July, 1978, pp. 1 and 16.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid. p. 16.

of the junior officers in the Air Force led by Flt. Lt. J. J. Rawlings overthrew it on 4 June, 1979 and the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council was formed.

Thus 1978 to 1981 is described as the era of coups d'état by Flt. Lt. J. J. Rawlings. As a result, no significant educational politics was formulated and implemented. During the third republic which brought into being the administration of the People's National Party (PNP) Government led by Dr. Hilla Limann and because its tenure was very short, it could not achieve anything significant in the field of education. The PNP Government could not either introduce a new structure or implement the existing ones until the Provisional National Defence Council's regime which came into office on 31 December, 1981.

Conclusion

The chapter has discussed the politics in education in the post-Nkrumah period up to the end of the third republic of Ghana. It has shown the efforts made by governments after Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah to sustain some of the educational interventions and policies of the first republic such as fee-free basic education and the reform of the education system to meet the socio-economic needs of the country and that of the global village. This issue of fee-free basic education which was started by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and continued by the NLC, PP and NRC Governments was shaped by the PNDC Government which rechristened it Free Compulsory and Universal Basic Education (FCUBE).

However, the post-Nkrumah governments up to the NRC era tried to phase out the free university education for Ghanaian students in the country

which was started during the first republic but with little success. This intervention marks the origins of “cost sharing” in the country’s tertiary institutions which was fully implemented and shaped during the fourth republic and has still continued to exist up to the 21st century for certificate, diploma, undergraduate and post-graduate programmes.

Furthermore, unlike the CPP Government, the NLC did not rapidly expand the growth and progress of education in Ghana. Its focus was that the country had had enough human resource for vacant positions and therefore there was the need to ensure that education, especially university education, should not overburden the tax-payer on the grounds of free education at all levels. The Government was of the view that, since university education brought direct benefits to the individual student after school, the burden of educational costs on the tax paying community was to be reduced by asking the beneficiaries to partly repay the generosity of their society in training them.¹⁵⁶ This was intended to, “make it possible for educational facilities to be expanded more widely and more quickly to others.”¹⁵⁷

This issue, which was part of the measures to revamp the economy has become a legacy in the country.¹⁵⁸ Moreover, it was also intended to ensure rational use of the country’s resources for the realization of social justice, which formed a significant part of social conscience and ethics of the period. Free basic education, according to this thinking, was to be provided for all children of school-going age up to a minimum level where they could read and write, and then “require the beneficiaries of higher education to bear a

¹⁵⁶See Report of the Committee appointed by the Executive Council of the National Liberation Council to Advise Government on the Future Policy for Financial Support for University Students in Ghana, p. 10.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Richard Asare Akoto, op. cit.

proportion of the cost of their training.’’¹⁵⁹ Even though this could not be implemented before the NLC Government left office, it is argued that this initiative was the first of its kind in Ghana.

Dr. K. A. Busia also endorsed the NLC Government’s policy of asking university students to pay part of the costs of their education on the grounds of fairer redistribution of the resources in the country. Rationalization and consolidation programmes were introduced by the PP Government to control expansion of institutions and thereby ensure effective utilization of the limited resources in Ghana.¹⁶⁰ This explains why Dr. K. A. Busia replaced free university education and scholarships with students’ loan scheme. By virtue of this, he became the first Ghanaian leader to attempt implementing ‘‘cost sharing’’ in the country’s university education which was initiated by the NLC before leaving office due to a return to the second republic, but Dr. K. A. Busia was not successful in this direction.

The NRC Government tried to reverse the politics in education it had inherited but was not successful due to lack of funds and commitment. The government was of the view that ‘‘while the dream of an entirely fee-free education system continues to elude us due to lack of resources, your government has committed astronomical sums, in terms of our budget, to educating the people.’’¹⁶¹ However, the study has shown that this did not reflect in the educational intervention of the NRC Government.

¹⁵⁹ See Report of the Committee appointed by the Executive Council of the National Liberation Council to Advice Government on the Future Policy for Financial Support for University Students in Ghana, p. 10.

¹⁶⁰ The Progress Party Manifesto, p. 11.

¹⁶¹ GNA Correspondent, ‘‘3 Years of NRC Rule,’’ *The Daily Graphic*, Monday 13th January, 1975, p. 5.

Apart from the foregoing discussion, Col. I. K. Acheampong re-established a rapport between the universities and the government which had become hostile during the PP Government's regime.¹⁶² Col. I. K. Acheampong also restructured the education system and introduced the J.S.S and the S.S.S concepts to meet the social and economic needs of the country by helping the products to acquire more marketable skills for future employment. This became possible when the Government found that Ghana lacked the requisite manpower at various levels of personnel especially in the technical and scientific fields.¹⁶³ The new structure was also to reduce the period of schooling and thus curtail waste of resources which had had a serious repercussion on the economy. Col. I. K. Acheampong was thus the pioneer of the JSS and SSS concepts, legacies which have been reshaped into the current JHS and SHS concepts in the 21st century.

However, full implementation of the new structure and content of education—the J.S.S and S.S.S systems was realised during the regime of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) led by Flt. Lt. J. J. Rawlings.

¹⁶²GNA Correspondent, "SMC to handle Varsities," *The Daily Graphic*, Tuesday 18th July, 1978, p. 1.

¹⁶³Kofi Ata-Bedu, "The Need for Career Advance," *The Daily Graphic*, Wednesday 10th December, 1975, p. 6.

CHAPTER SIX

EDUCATIONAL POLITICS OF FLT. LT. J. J. RAWLINGS AND J. A.

KUFOUR

Introduction

This chapter first of all examines the kind of politics that influenced the education system in Ghana during the era of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) which overthrew the administration of the Peoples National Party (PNP) on December 31, 1981. Measures which were introduced by the PNDC to shape and direct education such as the 1987 educational reforms and the University Rationalization Policy are discussed. It also discusses the steps taken by Ft. Lt. J. J. Rawlings in the educational field during his administration as the first President of the Fourth Republic from 1992 to 2000.

The Chapter also highlights the ideologies and politics which motivated the educational intervention of President John Agyekum Kufuor from 2001 to 2008. Basically, J. A. Kufuor set out to direct education to respond largely to the national developmental goals of poverty alleviation and wealth creation during his regime.

Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) 1982-1991

It will be recalled from chapter five that Ft. Lt. J. J. Rawlings, after having staged a coup d'état that ousted the administration of the SMC II regime from office in 1979, returned the country to civilian rule and that brought the Peoples National Party (PNP) into power under the leadership of Dr. Hilla Limann on September 24, 1979. However, as S. G. Gocking points

out, due to mismanagement of the country's economy by Dr. Hilla Limann,¹ Flt. Lt. J. J. Rawlings assumed power in a military takeover on December 31, 1981 under the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) which administered the country from 1982 to 1992 and then as a democratically elected President of the fourth republic up to 2000. Members of the PNDC were: Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings (Chairman), Rev. Dr. V. Kwabena Damuah, WOI. J. Adjei Boadi, Mr. Joachim Amartey Kwei, Brigadier Nunoo-Mensah, Sergeant Allolga Akata-Pore and Mr. Chris Atim.²

On assumption of office, the PNDC Government advocated “a fundamental break from the existing neo-colonial relations, and from the existing foreign monopoly control over the economy and social life.”³ To this end, it set out to stabilize the economy and restructure major aspects of the country such as banking systems, industrialization, infrastructure, ports and harbours, agriculture and especially education where the Government introduced major reforms. The PNDC Government was of the view that modern science and technology must be applied to ensure sustained and self-reliant economic growth.

As part of effort to achieve this, Flt. Lt. J. J. Rawlings directed education to reflect the philosophies and objectives of his government. The politics of the PNDC Government in relation to education was underpinned by the urgent need for a “reorientation of the structure and content of education based on a careful assessment of the changing conditions and needs of the nation and the

¹ See Goger S. Gocking, *The History of Ghana*. London: Greenwood Press, 2005, p. 185.

² See Mike Oquaye, *Politics in Ghana: Rawlings' Revolution and Populist Democracy*, Accra: Tornado publications, 2004, p. 125.

³ George S. Gocking, op. cit. p. 193.

world at large.”⁴ As is confirmed by Mike Oquaye, “the PNDC Government intended that its new educational system should be geared towards the realization of the development goal of the nation.”⁵ J. J. Rawlings linked the country’s economic prosperity to its educational system.⁶ Due to this, the PNDC Government aimed at “correcting the negative consequences of a steady decline in the quality of education over the past decade due to inefficient management and scarcity of educational materials and qualified personnel.”⁷ The application of modern science and technology to education could not be achieved without equipping the potential manpower of the country and, as explained by Mike Oquaye, this necessitated a comprehensive restructuring of the education system in Ghana during the PNDC era.⁸

The PNDC Government first of all, introduced allocation of quotas into the admission process of secondary schools and this was done to ensure that students get access to the various secondary schools in the country.⁹ Also, to ensure effective training of teachers, it restored the teacher-trainee allowances (state financial support) system in Ghana.¹⁰ This was intended to enable teacher-trainees have financial support to procure teaching and learning materials for their work and to have a sound stay in their various colleges.¹¹ One other significant thing the PNDC Government did was the “introduction

⁴ See Final Draft Report of the University Rationalization Committee, Commissioned by the Ministry of Education, Accra: Government Printing Press, 1988, p. 1.

⁵ Mike Oquaye, *op. cit.* p. 480.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Final Draft Report of the University Rationalization Committee, Commissioned by the Ministry of Education, p. 1.

⁸ Mike Oquaye, *op. cit.* p. 480.

⁹ See M. K. Antwi, *Education, Society and Development in Ghana*, Accra: Unimax Publishers Ltd., 1992, p. 44.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Richard Asare Akoto, *op. cit.*

of curriculum enrichment programmes which seeks to bring elements of national culture into the basic education.’’¹²

Apart from these, the government tackled the issue of supply of primary school textbooks. This was done to ensure that primary schools all over the country would have a common, relevant and recommended textbooks from the Ghana Education Service. The government also introduced for the first time a single national uniform for all pupils in the public basic schools.¹³ One reason for this move was to distinguish pupils in the public schools from the private ones. It is argued that the politics of single national uniform was to let the pupils have an identity as Ghanaians. One other significant thing which the PNDC Government is well remembered for was the reform of the educational system in Ghana.

The 1987 Educational Reforms under Flt. Lt. J. J. Rawlings

The 1987 restructuring of education has been described as a major Educational Reform programme in Ghana.¹⁴ The reform was proclaimed by the PNDC Secretary of State for Education in October, 1986. Its implementation, however took place from September, 1987. According to Mike Oquaye, Flt. Lt. J. J. Rawlings saw the old system of education as “a narrow conception of education which had become increasingly obsessed with academic speculation to the virtual exclusion of serious practical skills”¹⁵ The aim of the old system was to obtain paper certificate as a prerequisite for

¹² M. K. Antwi, *Education, Society and Development in Ghana*, p. 44

¹³ *ibid.*

¹⁴ See *Primary Education Programme: Status Report on Training Programme*, Ministry of Education, Accra: Government Publishers, Nov. 1992, p. 1.

¹⁵ Mike Oquaye, *op. cit.* p. 479.

employment and thus those who could not achieve this objective fell by the wayside.¹⁶

This claim by Mike Oquaye needs to be interrogated because it appears that he has watered down the education system of the NRC Government in his quest to highlight the politics which underpinned the need for reforms by Ft. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings. This is because the educational reforms of the NRC Government were also intended to direct education to the socio-cultural needs and human resource development of the country and as such cannot be described as a narrow-based education.¹⁷ Also, it was the educational system of the NRC which Ft. Lt. J. J. Rawlings implemented with slight changes under the 1987 Educational Reforms. An interrogation of relevant documents and informants has demonstrated that the JSS and the SSS system rather lowered the standard of education in Ghana. The system was perceived as an unnecessary experiment undertaken with haste which consequently jolted the established system of education in Ghana.¹⁸

With the new educational system of the PNDC Government, every child of school-going age was to have nine years of basic education—comprising six years primary school and three years Junior Secondary School (JSS). In effect, every Ghanaian child was required to enter Primary one at age 6 and to go through Primary six and through to JSS. Basic education was then followed by three years of senior secondary school and three or four years of

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Richard Asare Akoto, *op. cit.*

tertiary education.¹⁹ This educational reform thus reduced the duration of pre-university and university education from 17 to 12 years.²⁰

In general, the reforms set out to “provide increased access to education especially in the northern half of the country and in other areas where the intake was persistently low by making basic education available to every child; to make senior secondary education available to 50 per cent of junior secondary school (JSS) leavers; and to provide tertiary education for 25 per cent of the senior secondary school leavers.”²¹ The reform was largely drawn up by the PNDC Government “to ensure that the country works towards the achievement of our national goals of expanding access to education, improving the quality of education, making education more relevant to the socio-economic needs of the country and of the individual.”²²

The most significant aspect of the 1987 Educational Reforms, in the estimation of Richard Asare Akoto, was the JSS system.²³ An effort is thus made here to discuss the JSS system in detail.

The Junior Secondary School (J.S.S) System

Schools which were turned into JSS by Col. I. K. Acheampong, as has been discussed in Chapter Five, were already in existence on experimental basis and thus it is argued that Flt. Lt. J. J. Rawlings only streamlined the

¹⁹ *The Weekly Spectator* “The Educational Reforms” by Tom Dorkenoo, , Saturday, January 31, 1987, p., M. K. Antwi’s Article entitled, “Development of Education in Ghana 1880-1990: Colonial Education Policy and Practice in the *Introduction to Education in Ghana*, Edited by Okechukwu C. Abosi and Joseph Brookman Amissah, Accra: Sedco, 1992, p. 22 and his book, *Education, Society and Development in Ghana*, Accra: Unimax Publishers Ltd., 1992, p. 44. Also, see Primary Education Programme: Status Report on Training Programme, Ministry of Education, p. 1.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid. pp. 44-45.

²² See Primary Education Programme: Status Report on Training Programme, Ministry of Education, p. 1.

²³ Richard Asare Akoto, op. cit.

whole idea pertaining to the JSS system and gave it a new emphasis.²⁴ It is also suggested that the PNDC Government adopted the JSS concept with little modification.

Apart from the foregoing discussions, under the 1987 Education Reforms, the curriculum was designed in line with the PNDC Government's objectives that the child should be equipped with basic competencies of numeracy (ability to manipulate figures); literacy (ability to read and write); and socialize harmoniously in the Ghanaian setting.²⁵ An examination was introduced at the end of the three years Junior Secondary School programme to ensure the acquisition of these competencies and for subsequent selection of qualified pupils into a second cycle institution in subjects such as English, Mathematics, Social Studies, Science, Agricultural Science, a Ghanaian Language, Soil Science, Animal Husbandry, Crop Production, Cultural Studies and Vocational Skills made up of leather work, textiles, pottery, carving, book crafts. Other subjects were French (optional), Pre-Technical Skills and Physical Education.²⁶

Selection depended on two factors. First, the ability of pupils to pass in the final year JSS examination and secondly, their choice of courses at the SSS.²⁷ With the cessation of the Common Entrance Examination for pupils in Primary 6 and 7, every pupil in public and private school got automatic admission into the JSS. The expectation was that 70 per cent of all pupils who completed the JSS would proceed to second cycle institutions. The remaining

²⁴ Richard Asare Akoto, op. cit.

²⁵ Primary Education Programme: Status Report on Training Programme, Ministry of Education, p. 1.

²⁶ Tom Dorkenoo, "The Educational Reforms," *Weekly Spectator*, Saturday, January 31, 1987, p. 3.

²⁷ Ibid.

30 per cent would then enter into various apprenticeships such as masonry and carpentry. In September, 1987, the time of the commencement of the new system, it was estimated that 250,000 pupils would enter the Junior Secondary Schools.²⁸

However, those who have already passed the JSS entry stage, that is pupils in Middle Forms 1 to 4, continued to sit the Common Entrance Examination (C.E.E.) until 1989 when it was finally phased out. Mrs. Vida Yeboah, the then Under-Secretary for Education and Culture, noted that the 118 Model JSS were restructured in such a way that the equipment required to run were so expensive that it did not yield its intended impact.²⁹

The objectives for the new emphasis on the JSS system by the PNDC Government were first, to enable products acquire a considerable knowledge in the fields of Science and Mathematics which would prepare them for scientific and technological discoveries for the realization of socio-economic emancipation. Secondly, it was to expose pupils to pre-vocational and technical skills in order to enable them use the skills acquired at this level and in particular, to help those who could not further their education to a higher level to work with the skills acquired. The PNDC Government thus wanted the JSS programme to build a school system that reflected Ghanaian realities and that made each formally educated child more productive.³⁰

This explains why the new scheme set out to make the “individual innovative and constructive in changing the old order of cultural, social and

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ See GNA Correspondent, “An address by Mr. Kofi Totobi-Quakyi, the PNDC Secretary for Information on Educational Reform will enhance Productivity,” *Ghanaian Times*, Monday, March 14, 1988, p. 3.

political development of the country.”³¹ Also, the JSS system was intended to make pupils understand foreign languages such as French since English was compulsory and a Ghanaian language which would facilitate easy communication in Ghana and the rest of the world. Moreover, the JSS system was designed to help pupils have an in-depth knowledge of their people with particular reference to cultural and social studies so that they could help their societies to be more adaptable to the changing times. Thus, Mr. Kofi Totobi-Quakyi stated that “whatever new approaches we are adopting now cannot be divorced from the need to shift the content and orientation of education towards the inculcation of new values.”³²

Basic education was thus restricted to ensure that children develop the basic life-determining and supporting skills for the discovery of their full capabilities to function efficiently in the society.³³ The PNDC Government envisaged that “a product of the JSS is expected to make one of the objectives of the scheme achievable in the acquisition of vocational and technical skills to accelerate the rural industrialization programme which has become the primary concern of the government.”³⁴ This way, the products of the JSS would become doctors, technicians, engineers, etc. which would help to reduce over-reliance on foreign experts and thereby facilitate their absorption into the factories and industries due to their training and specialization in

³¹Daniel Bentum, “The JSS system must succeed,” *People's Daily Graphic*, Tuesday, January, 6, 1987, p. 3.

³² See GNA Correspondent, “An address by Mr. Kofi Totobi-Quakyi, the PNDC Secretary for Information on Educational Reform will enhance Productivity,” *Ghanaian Times*, Monday, March 14, 1988, p. 3.

³³ Primary Education Programme: Status Report on Training Programme, Ministry of Education, p. 1.

³⁴Daniel Bentum, “The JSS system must succeed,” *People's Daily Graphic*, Tuesday, January, 6, 1987, p. 3.

various fields. The JSS system was designed to support agricultural productivity and self-employment.³⁵

This is corroborated by Kofi Dantsil who stated that “the JSS concept predicts practical oriented end-products”³⁶ as boys and girls would be taught academic, technical and vocational subjects. This shows that the new educational reforms of Flt. Lt. J. J. Rawlings were child-oriented which centred on children directing their studies to tap their creativity effectively. To this end, Mrs. Sarah Opong, who was the then Co-ordinator for the JSS programme, noted that the “concept is aimed at among others, pre-disposing pupils to basic technological knowledge and skills so that they can decide on what technical skills to follow in future.”³⁷ This is also confirmed by Mrs. Sylvia Boye, when she stated that “education should help the individual to understand himself and others and enable him to determine his own future as well as to contribute to the development of the society.”³⁸

It appears from the foregoing discussions that the JSS system did not face challenges. This was not so as it was faced with some difficulties. First, there was the question of the effective preparation for the full implementation of the JSS system in Ghana. Here, financial difficulties hindered the early efforts and militated against the smooth turning of the JSS system into a functional reality in the entire country. It was not until 1988 that \$45 million

³⁵GNA Correspondent, “Education must be geared towards National needs,” *People's Daily Graphic*, Friday, January 2, 1987, p. 8.

³⁶Kofi Dantsil, “The JSS Teachers' Course,” *People's Daily Graphic*, Tuesday, July 2, 1987, p. 5.

³⁷Zenobia Beecham, “GES urged to ensure maintenance of JSS tools,” *People's Daily Graphic*, Wednesday, July 1, 1987, p. 1.

³⁸GNA Correspondent, “Education must be geared towards National needs,” *People's Daily Graphic*, Friday, January 2, 1987, p. 8.

was given by the World Bank OPEC Fund for the JSS programme³⁹ which was intended to be used for infrastructural expansion and thus increased intake of JSS pupils in the schools across the country.

The programme started without sufficient preparation and in the words of Mike Oquaye, it was “hurriedly executed.”⁴⁰ In some parts of the country such as the Brong Ahafo Region, there was a feverish preparation for the JSS programme. A number of communities in this area feverishly prepared through self-help. For example, classroom and workshop blocks were funded through special levies and voluntary contributions.⁴¹ This was done so that the JSS could take off in the area and as Mike Oquaye points out, “the assumption that communities would provide buildings and basic requirements for the JSS in their areas had been proved wrong. In many cases, considerable enthusiasm had been shown by the rural people but their meagre resources proved unequal to the task. Several communities felt over taxed in terms of contributions towards JSS infrastructure.”⁴²

There was also the issue of qualified teachers required to teach in the Junior Secondary Schools. Obviously, in the JSS system, if the performance of teachers was not good, the whole system would not be successful no matter the amount of money pumped into it. As Koku Wotordzor observed, “in planning for any educational programme, serious thought must be given to the type of teacher to service and conduct it.”⁴³ Even though there were adequate

³⁹ Tom Dorkenoo, “The Educational Reforms,” *Weekly Spectator*, Saturday, January 31, 1987, p. 3.

⁴⁰ Mike Oquaye, op. cit. p. 480.

⁴¹ Tom Dorkenoo, “The Educational Reforms,” *Weekly Spectator*, Saturday, January 31, 1987, p. 3.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Koku Wotordzor, “Type of Teacher Ghana Needs,” *People’s Daily Graphic*, Friday, July 3, 1987, p. 3.

teachers for subjects such as social studies, science and languages, others like vocational and technical subjects did not have sufficient teachers and as corroborated by Mike Oquaye, “a dearth of teachers, particularly science teachers plagued the system.”⁴⁴ The trades could not be taught by non-specialists in the field as they needed special attention and professional training. The teacher required to provide education for developmental needs, as expected by the 1987 Educational Reforms, should be capable of identifying the special attitudes of learners and help them to develop their special gifts so that they would contribute effectively to the socio-economic development of the country.⁴⁵ There was also the problem of inadequate facilities such as workshops for practicals and science laboratories for experiments as well as shortage of technical workshops, textbooks and furniture. These facilities were crucial for products of specialist schools to tackle their tasks with ease.

The foregoing discussion does not mean that the PNDC Government did not adopt measures to solve the problems and thus ensure the smooth take-off of the programme. It was to overcome the problem of teachers who would teach the new system that a series of JSS Teachers’ courses were organised. Eligible participants for the course were post-secondary trained teachers who were exposed to the JSS syllabus in the various subjects which would be taught in the new system.⁴⁶ The teachers were also exposed to the new approach of teaching in the JSS. They were trained in subjects such as Mathematics, Science, Agricultural Science, Physical Education, English,

⁴⁴ Mike Oquaye, op. cit. p. 480.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Kofi Dantsil, “The JSS Teachers’ Course,” *People’s Daily Graphic*, Tuesday, July 2, 1987, p. 5.

Social Studies, Ghanaian languages, French, Vocational Skills, Technical Skills, Life Skills and Cultural Studies which comprised Religion, Music and Drama.⁴⁷ By September 10, 1987, 15, 000 teachers drawn from all over the country had been trained as part of the preparation towards a successful implementation of the JSS programme. Also, 240 teachers had been trained at the primary school level to prepare pupils for the JSS.⁴⁸

The training course for post-secondary trained teachers helped them to have an advanced knowledge of all the new learning areas embodied in the JSS curriculum and thus it is argued that the PNDC Government stopped the practice of the middle school system where a teacher would take one class and would teach all the subjects. The PNDC Government was thus the first to introduce subject teaching in basic schooling in Ghana. The workshops and courses for teachers refreshed their minds and improved upon their teaching methodologies. This is confirmed by Kofi Dantsil who notes that teachers “managed during their studies to gather new ideas and update their facts for a new undertaking.”⁴⁹

By January, 1987 the PNDC Government had committed itself to start full implementation of the JSS system on September 1, 1987. This was confirmed by the Chairman of Education Commission in its letter dated 7th January, 1987 that “I am writing to confirm that the Commission is fully satisfied with the extensive preparations which the Ministry of Education and Culture is making to ensure the successful take-off of the 9-year Basic

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Johnson Gyampoh and Monica Acheampong, “15,000 tutors set for JSS plan,” *People's Daily Graphic*, Thursday, September 10, 1987, p. 3.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

Education programme in September, 1987.’’⁵⁰ On this date, JSS 1 replaced Middle Form 1 classes. Apart from the JSS concept, the PNDC Government also had a clear focus for second cycle and tertiary education which formed part of the reforms.

Second Cycle and Tertiary Education

The changes in the content and structure of education were not only felt with the implementation of the JSS system but also the second cycle and tertiary levels as well. By 1987, exactly twenty-six years after the promulgation of the Education Act of 1961, only 7% of children of secondary school-going age were in school.⁵¹ At the secondary school level, the reform was intended to intensify time utilization. Like the JSS, parallel syllabuses were developed for senior secondary schools which placed emphasis on the study of science, mathematics and indigenous languages, the major objective being ‘‘to make each student competent in the current world of mass consumer products and services.’’⁵²

The institutions of higher learning were also shaped to serve the needs of the country. The PNDC Government intended to ‘‘rationalize education at the tertiary level to ensure relevance to national development in harmony with lower levels of education and cost effectiveness in the use of manpower and resources.’’⁵³ This was done through ensuring the reduction of waste and cost of education, reorganization of the management of education to infuse

⁵⁰Tom Dorkenoo, ‘‘The Educational Reforms,’’ *Weekly Spectator*, Saturday, January 31, 1987, p. 3.

⁵¹ Final Draft Report of the University Rationalization Committee, Commissioned by the Ministry of Education, p. 85.

⁵² M. K. Antwi, *Education, Society and Development in Ghana*, p. 45.

⁵³ Final Draft Report of the University Rationalization Committee, Commissioned by the Ministry of Education, p. 1.

efficiency and to strengthen vital units of the entire management of education for improvement in planning, budgeting, monitoring and evaluation.⁵⁴

Tertiary institutions were thus put into two categories during the PNDC era namely, potential tertiary institutions and viable tertiary institutions. The former was made up of teacher training colleges, polytechnics and other post-secondary training institutions. Even though some of these institutions carried tertiary courses and students, they did not have the potential to upgrade their staff, admission requirements, libraries and other facilities to become viable tertiary ones. The latter referred to universities and some diploma awarding institutions that satisfied the requirements for consideration as tertiary institutions.⁵⁵

The PNDC Government envisaged a new system of tertiary education made up of the universities, the polytechnics and regional colleges of applied art, science and technology. These institutions came under supervision and co-ordination of the division of the Ministry of Education and Culture in charge of higher education. The government set out to introduce reforms in the universities and sought to rationalize them to reflect the needs of the country.⁵⁶

University Rationalization Policy (U.R.P.)

To obtain basic information for a medium term university sector development plan to be formulated, the PNDC Government appointed the University Rationalization Committee (URC) in December, 1986. Members of

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid. p. 10.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

the Committee were: Mrs Esi R. A. Sutherland-Addy, PNDC Under-Secretary for Education and Culture was the Chairperson.⁵⁷

By 1986, resources for teaching at the various universities had declined while the overall costs of running the universities was high. Also, the unit cost per student at the universities was very high as compared to those in secondary and basic schooling. For example, student maintenance facilities and amenities per student at the University of Ghana in 1988 cost \$2, 191.00.⁵⁸ Moreover, the universities used large amounts of foreign exchange. The quality of teaching and learning at the universities had fallen due largely to high student-staff ratios and inadequate teaching materials and other support services like libraries.

These, therefore, required a comprehensive study of the university sector to first, analyse the then cost structures and to propose necessary changes in order to increase the cost-effectiveness for producing qualified graduates. Secondly, the cost of completing uncompleted buildings at the universities, the extent of utilization of the existing facilities and the need for additional ones had to be assessed. There was also the need to assess teaching material requirements, departmental structures, course offerings and options.⁵⁹

Given the background to the appointment of the University Rationalization Committee (URC), their major tasks would include:

- (a) examine the overall cost structure of the Universities and assess in which areas resources

⁵⁷ Other members were Mr. J. B. Abban, Senior Lecturer & Head of the Department of Economics, University of Ghana; Dr. M. A. Awuku, Senior Lecturer in Science Education, University of Cape Coast; Dr. E. A. Tackie, Senior Lecturer, Department of Architecture, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi; Professor C. Okonjo, Consultant on Education to the Ministry of Education and Culture; and Professor B. C. F. Lokko, Director, School of Administration, University of Ghana. See *Ibid.* p. iii.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* p. 33

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* ii.

need to be increased so as to allow a more efficient use of resources and in which areas could be decreased with no deleterious effects; (b) examine, in particular detail, non-departmental activities such as municipal services and the cost and performance implications of alternative ways of financing these; (c) examine the large budget component which does not cover salaries or teaching materials with a view to re-assessing the present ways of financing these; (d) make a detailed study of student financing and the possibilities and implications of removing the feeding subsidy and charging for accommodation; (e) assess the levels of subsidy provided to staff e.g. Housing, health services, electricity and water charges, their comparability with those offered in other sectors and the feasibility and implications of their reduction or increase; (f) examine staffing levels across the Universities and recommend norms for teaching faculty, senior technical staff, senior administrative and junior staff; (g) assess the present utilization of facilities – teaching support and non academic – and make any recommendations which might effectively increase the level of utilization; (h) recommend, if any, additional facilities required for the present and future student population; (i) assess the implications (capital costs, recurrent costs, student numbers) of completing the unfinished buildings on the University campus; (j) assess the pattern (and costs) of course offerings and the teaching options available and make recommendations regarding the desirability and feasibility of rationalization within and between Universities; (k) assess the costs of a selective re-equipping of a rationalized teaching structure to a minimum necessary to provide an adequate level of University instruction; (l) in the absence of any Government statement regarding the planned expansion of enrolments at the Universities, demonstrate the cost implications of no growth; 30 per cent and 50 per cent growth a year over the next ten years addressing, in particular, the student accommodation implications of any expansion and recommending how these can best be managed; (m) on the basis of all these three scenarios, provide recommendations of no growth, or relative growth across faculties and universities or alternatively, provide criteria and guidelines for making such decisions; (n) examine research policy, output, organization, dissemination and funding and make recommendations aimed at strengthening research

work and increasing the articulation between areas of research and the effective demand for the results and increasing the accountability of faculty; (o) assess the present system of government budgeting for Universities and provide recommendations for any further improvements regarded as feasible and necessary; (p) assess any other aspect of University organization having a bearing on improving the cost effectiveness while maintaining or increasing the quality of teaching; (q) in the context of national educational reforms, assess the role of University education as an element of tertiary level of education and make suggestion for the fourth cycle of education.⁶⁰

With these terms of reference, which were intended for a national policy on higher education to be established, and a medium term plan for reforming and revamping the universities to be formulated, the URC first of all, embarked on a preliminary study to ascertain the state of the institutions on the ground and to explore all aspects of the universities. Apart from these, the URC also consulted experts in the areas of Manpower, Financial Structures, Academic Structures, Administration, Income Generation and Facility Utilization.

It spent one year before issuing its final report on February 15, 1988, with their recommendations, a summary of which will be provided here for emphasis:

- (a) There should be an addition of a fourth cycle of education which would create centres of excellence within the country for the pursuit of research, the propagation of research findings and the expansion of the knowledge base of academic personnel;
- (b) That tertiary system of education should be made up of 3 main groups—the Universities and University Colleges, the Polytechnics and a Unified Comprehensive College System (Regional Colleges of Applied Arts, Science and Technology);
- (c) That all tertiary institutions should come under the Ministry of Education and Culture;
- (d) To ensure democratic

⁶⁰ Ibid. pp. ii-iv

aspirations and efficiency of the administrative system, each university should have a chancellor, who should be an eminent citizen of Ghana, expansion of the membership of the university council, the Pro-Vice Chancellor, the Registrar and Chief Director for Higher Education should sit in attendance.⁶¹

Others were to ensure sound financial management, the councils should assume direct responsibility for finance, property contracts and personnel; that convocation should meet at least three times a year and all employees of a university should meet the Vice-Chancellor once a year; a new principal officer of the position of Business Manager should be appointed to manage and co-ordinate income generation and production units of each university; each faculty should have an officer of the level of Assistant Registrar largely responsible to the Dean of the Faculty; that the Head of State should be made visitor to all public universities and should visit each institution at least once every five years and be final arbiter in all things of the university such as the removal of Chancellor and a member of the Council for misconduct or incompetence; that the Advanced Teacher Training College, National Academy of Music, Specialist Training College and the University of Cape Coast should form the School of Education; Kumasi Advanced Technical Teachers College and Mampong Agricultural Teachers College should become colleges of the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology and be jointly supervised by the School of Education, UCC and suitable faculties of UST.⁶²

The Regional Colleges of Applied Art, Science and Technology should standardise courses for easy teaching and learning; the Heads of Department should be professors or Associate professors and the rest of the teaching staff

⁶¹ Ibid. pp. 5-12.

⁶² Ibid. pp. 12-14

either lecturers or assistant lecturers, demonstrators and technical staff; the semester system should be introduced in the universities; the system of paying professional allowances to professional accountants and doctors should exist to serve as a motivating factor for them in the tertiary system.⁶³

The universities should be allowed to recruit their staff through the appointment and promotion board; conditions of service for appointment and promotion of staff should be equal in all the universities; promotions should be based on research, teaching and service; dissemination and application of research findings should be given the needed attention; reformation of courses at the lower level of education in line with basic prerequisites for selected areas of study—communication and management skills, African Studies programmes and an appreciation of arts and science by students of the universities; the structure and content of teacher education should be designed to cover core subjects, major and minor subject area(s) of study ; the University of Cape Coast should be entrusted to design degree courses to improve the pedagogic system of teacher education.⁶⁴

Polytechnic education was also reshaped through the work of the URC. First, such institutions should undertake courses to cover areas such as Home Management, Computer Science, Computer Programming, Transport Management, Library and Archival Studies, Social Work, Adult and Literacy Education, Legal Administration, Physical Planning, Statistics, Food Technology, Industrial Design, Graphic Design, Estate Management and Printing Technology; other courses to be offered for diploma in the Polytechnics were General Course in Engineering, General Course in

⁶³ Ibid. pp. 15-16.

⁶⁴ Ibid. pp. 17-21.

Construction, Refrigeration Mechanics, Motor Vehicle Mechanics Work, Painting and Decoration, Carpentry and Joinery, Basic Cookery, Building Quantities and Secretarial; Polytechnics were to adopt the semester and course credit system; external examinations should be abolished in tertiary institutions.⁶⁵

On the issue of rationalization of course offerings at tertiary institutions, the URC recommended that: the School of Mines at Kumasi and Tarkwa should be transformed into the University of Mines, to be situated at Tarkwa; all non-degree courses should be transferred from the universities to the polytechnics and the regional colleges of art, science and technology; School of Ghana Languages at Ejumako Teacher Training College, Specialist Training College and the National Academy of Music were to merge and become the University College, Winneba; the School of Bilingual Secretaryship of the Ghana Institute of Languages in Accra should be transferred to the Department of Business Studies, University of Cape Coast;⁶⁶

Post-graduate studies were not left out. The Committee found research and post-graduate work at the universities below expectation. It thus recommended that: 25 per cent of student population should be post-graduates by 1994; a minimum number of student should undertake a particular post-graduate programme to ensure that such courses are cost effective; avoidance of duplication of expensive courses at the graduate level; instruction at post-graduate level should comprise theory, practice, research and management skills; research was to be undertaken by all students in the tertiary institutions;

⁶⁵ Ibid. pp. 21-22.

⁶⁶ Ibid. p. 24.

and that government funding should be provided to facilitate research in the fields of teaching and graduate studies.⁶⁷

On the issue of student funding, the URC recommended that: free tuition should be given to all Ghanaian students at the tertiary institutions; policy on student maintenance should match national resources and priorities of the country; tertiary students should pay a uniform maintenance charge of recreational facilities, food and accommodation; every student at the tertiary level should be eligible to access loans to cover maintenance charges which would be repaid after graduation; full scholarships should be given to only exceptional students who offer courses intended to fulfil manpower requirements of the country; Educational levy should be instituted to provide funds for scholarships and bursaries; universities should dissociate themselves from catering services for private organizations to take over; halls of residence at the universities should become hostels under the supervision of a business manager for the provision of commercial services to students; and government should withdraw boarding and lodging subsidies at the universities.⁶⁸

These were the developments that shaped the PNDC Government's effort to rationalise spending in the tertiary level of education and thus improve its quality and increase access to all qualified students. This way, the government's effort at directing higher education to "meet the needs of the national economy and spearhead the badly needed movement towards sustained and self-reliant national development both by providing the right calibre of manpower and research base"⁶⁹ would be achieved in the country.

⁶⁷ Ibid. p. 25.

⁶⁸ Ibid. p. 35.

⁶⁹ Ibid. p. 36.

Ideally, it is suggested that, these measures and policies were adopted by the PNDC Government based on their determination to position tertiary education effectively so as to enable it absorb the number of children in schools who would reach tertiary level due to the implementation of the Free and Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) programme. Such products, would acquire the necessary skills to function effectively and hence, contribute to the socio-economic and political development. Apart from these, the policies and interventions reflected an effort to contain the cost of higher education within the national economic growth and thus largely demonstrated an ideology of economic shaper which transcended on the politics of cost reduction in the educational system of Ghana. Such approaches to the economy—Economic Recovery Programme and Structural Adjustment Programme—represented internal and external politics and thus affected the direction of the education system in the post-colonial era.

These measures were all taken during the military regime of the PNDC Government and as Ghanaians always wish to have a democratic rule, the PNDC era which began with dictatorship ended with democracy when the Draft Constitution was adopted through a referendum on 28 April, 1992, which also brought into power the administration of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) after it had won the elections and was inaugurated into office in January, 1993. The NDC was indeed, an offshoot of the PNDC and as Baffour Agyeman Duah argues, it was “reputed to have roots in the military regime of the so-called revolutionary era.”⁷⁰

⁷⁰ See Baffour Agyeman Duah, *Ghana: Governance in the Fourth Republic*. Accra: Ghana Centre for Democratic Development Publishers, 2008, p. 23.

Flt. Lt. J. J. Rawlings was sworn in as the first President of the Fourth Republic of Ghana and he ruled the country for two terms of office which spanned from 1993 to 2000. As a matter of fact, there was no significant change in the direction of education in the period of Flt. Lt. J. J. Rawlings' civilian administration from that of the military rule except that the former had a constitution which clearly spelt out the objectives for education at all levels in Ghana.

With the Constitution in force, the objectives for education which were intended to shape and direct education in Ghana were made explicit for Governments to follow. It stated that, "the state shall provide educational facilities at all levels and in all the Regions of Ghana, and shall, to the greatest extent feasible, make those facilities available to all citizens."⁷¹ Not only this, but it also advocated first, in the field of Basic Education, the provision of free, compulsory and universal basic education for the country. Secondly, it provided for "equal and balanced access to secondary and other appropriate pre-university education, equal access to university or equivalent, with emphasis on science and technology."⁷²

This provision of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana which focused on science and technology appears to have been a restatement of the major objective of the 1987 Educational Reform which was that children should be trained to acquire considerable knowledge in the fields of science and mathematics for a world of scientific and technological discoveries in order to sustain the policy of rural industrialization embarked upon by the

⁷¹ See the Constitution of the Republic of Ghana 1992, p. 40. Also, Kwadwo Afari-Gyan, *The Ghanaian Constitution: An Introduction*. Accra: Friedrich Ebert Foundation Publishers, 1998, p. 33.

⁷² Ibid.

government.⁷³ It is argued that the educational provisions of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana were largely influenced by the political decisions of the PNDC Government. This confirms the assertion by Harber Clive that “schooling and politics are therefore inextricably linked in all societies.”⁷⁴ Hence, schooling in Ghana often reflects government’s policy and decision for education.

Apart from these, the 1992 Constitution of Ghana stated that government should use the country’s resources for the provision of “a free adult literacy programme, and a free vocational training, rehabilitation and resettlement of disabled persons and life-long education.”⁷⁵ These were the benchmarks that directed and shaped educational provision during the administration of the NDC Government up to 2000, as already discussed. On December 7, 2000, John Agyekum Kufour won the general elections and became the next President of Ghana. He then set out to shape education at all levels to meet the challenges of the 21st century.

President J. A. Kufuor’s Educational Intervention in Ghana

The general vision of the NPP Government was to sustain economic growth, provide an equal opportunity for all, a commitment to law and order and above all, a healthy, disciplined, enlightened and caring society.⁷⁶ As part of its measures to develop the people in order to develop Ghana, the NPP Government would adopt a policy of technological empowerment through

⁷³ Daniel Bentum, “The JSS system must succeed,” *People’s Daily Graphic*, Tuesday, January 6, 1987, p. 3. Also, Final Draft Report of the University Rationalization Committee, Commissioned by the Ministry of Education, p. 1.

⁷⁴ See Harber Clive, *Politics in African Education*, p. 3.

⁷⁵ Constitution of the Republic of Ghana 1992, p. 40. Also, Kwadwo Afari-Gyan, op. cit. p.

33.

⁷⁶ Agenda for Positive Change: Manifesto 2000 of the New Patriotic Party, p. iv.

first, “formal system of education in schools and universities, which is concerned with preparing the youth before they enter the work force” and secondly, the “training and equipping of people with particular skills... to bring about a major revolution.”⁷⁷

The political decisions or politics of the NPP Government mainly influenced its educational policies in Ghana and this, it is argued, did not only shape the direction of education to reflect the current needs of the country, but the global village as well. This explains why the government wanted the education system to largely raise the living standards of the people to high levels. Educational policies and reforms which the NPP Government undertook thus expected products to respond largely “to national development goal of poverty alleviation and wealth creation.”⁷⁸ President John Agyekum Kufuor wanted the education system in the country to create a well-balanced individual with the requisite knowledge, skills, values and aptitudes essential for a radical socio-economic and political transformation of the people and the nation.⁷⁹

This educational focus of the NPP Government was not much different from other actors before them and thus it is argued that, the need for education to be directed towards the realization of socio-economic emancipation became a significant politics that tilted education in the post-colonial era. This also explained why the NPP Government was of the view that the education system in the country should be designed to enable products “become enterprising,

⁷⁷ Ibid. p. 26.

⁷⁸ See Meeting the Challenges of Education in the Twenty First Century: Report of the President’s Committee on Review of Education Reforms in Ghana, Accra: Adwinsa Publications Ltd., 2002, p. xx. Also, White Paper on the Report of the Education Reform Review Committee, Accra, Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, 2004, p. 10.

⁷⁹ Ibid. p. 9. See also, Report of the President’s Committee on Review of Education Reforms in Ghana, 2002, p. xx.

and adaptable to the demands of a fast-changing world driven by modern science and technology.’’⁸⁰ This way, the youth between the ages of 12 and 19 would assist a nation “aspiring to build a knowledge-based economy within the next generation.’’⁸¹

The national developmental goals of the NPP Government in the 21st century were thus expected to;

1. Promote social justice and equity by ensuring universal basic education and equal educational opportunities for all Ghanaians;
2. Provide individuals with knowledge, occupational skills and attitudes for national development with a sense of dignity for labour and for preserving the nation’s environmental resources;
3. Promote the culture of lifelong learning for all citizens who will continue to develop their intellectual capacities, technical skills and their abilities, to enable them to cope with technological and other changes in the global world;
4. Promote the spirit of self-reliance that will enable individuals to be responsible for their well-being as well as that of the community;
5. Develop in the individual the ability to create, innovate, think critically and be independent-minded;
6. Strengthen national consciousness and cultivate attitudes of good citizenship and patriotism, and through that, help preserve the nation’s cultural heritage by promoting national languages and desirable traditions and values;
7. Develop attitudes conducive to harmonious relations among different ethnic groups and the international community.⁸²

These national developmental goals of the NPP Government enabled it to adopt the politics of ‘holistic approach’ to education. By this approach, President John Agyekum Kufuor wanted the education system to create avenues which were intended to develop the full potential of the individual in order for him to make a meaningful contribution in all aspects of the society.

⁸⁰ White Paper on the Report of the Education Reform Review Committee, 2004, pp. 9-10.

⁸¹ Ibid. p. 10.

⁸² Report of the President’s Committee on Review of Education Reforms in Ghana, 2002, pp. 14-15.

This also explains why the Manifesto 2000 of the NPP clearly spelt out their direction and politics in education. The NPP stated its priority for education to be

(1) providing access to basic education for all Ghanaian children, and to higher levels of education for all capable of benefiting from it. (2) Raising the quality of teaching and learning in our schools, colleges, institutes, universities and polytechnics; and ensuring that quality education and training are available to all citizens, rich or poor, wherever they live, especially, in the historically disadvantaged areas such as the Northern, Upper West and Upper East Regions. (3) Extending basic computer literacy to pupils prior to their graduating from secondary level education.⁸³

The NPP Government saw as a national duty the need to resolve the ongoing crisis it identified in the educational field with the view to build up human resources in all disciplines. This was intended to build the economy of Ghana and hence improve the quality of life of its people. The educational system in Ghana “should equip the individual with knowledge, skills and competencies needed for the job market and also to prepare the individual to be a useful citizen in society, capable of adapting to changes triggered by technological and other innovations.”⁸⁴ This direction of educational relevance explains why on assumption of office, the first thing the NPP Government did in the field of education was the appointment of a Committee to review the previous education reforms in Ghana which President John Agyekum Kufuor inaugurated on 17th January, 2002.⁸⁵

Professor Jophus Anamuah-Mensah was the Chairman of the Committee.⁸⁶ The need to have education reflect modern societies in the world

⁸³ Manifesto 2000 of the New Patriotic Party, p. 27.

⁸⁴ Report of the President’s Committee on Review of Education Reforms in Ghana, 2002, p. 13.

⁸⁵ White Paper on the Report of the Education Reform Review Committee, 2004, p. 5.

⁸⁶ Mr. Paul Effah (Secretary), Hon. James Adusei Sarkodie, Rev. MSGR Hilary Y. M. Senoo, Professor Henrietta J.A.N. Mensa-Bonsu, Professor Kofi Awusabo Asare, Dr. Clement

did not only show in the professionalism and dedication of the members of the President's Education Review Committee, but it was also demonstrated largely in their numbers. They were 29-member Committee of high intellectual standing many of whom were educationists, professors and stakeholders in the field of education.⁸⁷ By this, they were in a position to advise President John Agyekum Kufuor through recommendations in relation to the direction of education for the country with a view to making it responsive to current challenges in the 21st century.

The Committee was tasked to review the "goals and philosophy of the present educational system, the principles which should guide curricular design, pre-school/basic education, secondary/technical/vocational education, and teacher education, tertiary education as well as management and financing of education."⁸⁸ Apart from these, other issues such as private sector participation in education, information and communication technology (ICT), special education, guidance and counselling, distance education, and library and information services were given great attention by the Committee.⁸⁹

To achieve their objectives, the Committee scrutinized previous education Committees' reports and documents, white papers issued for education and also consulted several people through press briefings, oral

Somuah, Hon. Kosi Kedem, Professor Daniel Afedzi Akyeampong, Professor Frank Obed Kwami, Mr. Kwabina Quansah, Dr. (Mrs) Sylvia A. M. Boye, Rev. Emmanuel Apea, Mr. Edward Bawa, Mr. Alfred Kofi Appiah, Mrs. Beatrice Addo, Rev. Dr. Robert Aboagye-Mensah, Mrs. Marie Alice Agyeman, Mr. Emmanuel K. Agyeman, Mr. Emmanuel Aquaye, Ms. Dinah Dadzie, Alhaji Rahim Gbadamosi, Mr. Seji Saji, Mr. Cletus Joseph Kosiba, Mr. Lucas Kodzoga Alagbo, Mr. Joe A. K. Frempong, Dr. James Flolu, Ms. Lydia Osei, Mr. Gerald Annan-Forson and Professor Robert Addo-Fening. See Report of the President's Committee on Review of Education Reforms in Ghana, 2002, p. i.

⁸⁷ White Paper on the Report of the Education Reform Review Committee, 2004, p. 5.

⁸⁸ Report of the President's Committee on Review of Education Reforms in Ghana, 2002, p.

xx.

⁸⁹ Ibid. See also, White Paper on the Report of the Education Reform Review Committee, 2004, pp. 5-6.

presentations, visits to institutions, phone-in-radio programmes as well as district and regional tours of the entire country.⁹⁰ The work of the Committee brought into fore the defects of the existing structure of education which was introduced during the PNDC regime in 1987 as having excluded pre-school education, over-emphasised general type of education and neglected technical, vocational and the informal sector of the country.⁹¹

Moreover, the 1987 Education Reforms did not do more to strengthen the basic skills of numeracy and literacy in the youth. In the estimation of the NPP Government, a fundamental weakness of the 1987 basic educational system “is that too many subjects are taught at the Primary and JSS levels, and poorly taught owing to shortage of qualified teachers and materials.”⁹² Due to this, pupils of average ability could not acquire sufficient grounding in basic numeracy, literacy and social skills.⁹³ According to the statistics of the White Paper report of the Ministry of Education, “the survival rate from Primary grade 1 to Primary grade 6 has been only 79. 9%, 80.8% for boys and 78. 9% for girls.”⁹⁴ The situation was quite calamitous with the transition of pupils from JSS grade to SSS 1 grade. Here only 40% of JSS graduates managed to gain admission into SSS.⁹⁵

With these challenges identified, the Education Reform Review Committee carried out its tasks and submitted its report in September, 2002 with their recommendations and suggestions, many of which were incorporated into the 2007 Education Reforms. A summary of their

⁹⁰ Ibid. p. 9.

⁹¹ Ibid. pp. 11-12. Also, Report of the President’s Committee on Review of Education Reforms in Ghana, 2002, p. xxi.

⁹² White Paper on the Report of the Education Reform Review Committee, 2004, p. 12.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid. pp. 13-15

⁹⁵ Ibid.

recommendations will be provided for emphasis. First, it proposed a new structure and content for education in Ghana under which a new basic education structure was to consist of 2 years kindergarten, 6 years primary, and 3 years junior secondary school. The new structure in effect made basic education 11 years instead of the existing 9 years of the PNDC one; Basic education was to be followed by 3 years senior secondary which would lead to post-secondary and tertiary education; There was to be parallel technical/vocational education which would lead to polytechnics and the world of work; Apprenticeship should lead to the world of work; and a 3-4 years of tertiary education in Ghana.⁹⁶

Secondly, the Committee suggested the establishment of Open Community Colleges (O.C.C) and an Open University (O.U.) which would create the opportunity for work-study programmes and life-long education.⁹⁷ Also, specialised institutions⁹⁸ would be upgraded to diploma awarding institutions to be affiliated to relevant polytechnics and universities. Other critical components of education such as ICT, distance education, credit transfer, special education and guidance and counselling were to be given special attention under the proposed new structure and content of education.

It appears that almost all the recommendations of the President's Committee on Review of Education Reforms in relation to the objectives of education at all the levels, medium of instruction, hours of contact, access and participation, duration, continuous assessment, staffing, funding, quality and relevance, management and governance, post-graduate training and research,

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid. pp. 36-48.

⁹⁸ This is used to refer to post-secondary institutions which were not considered tertiary under the 1987 education reforms.

etc. were considered by the NPP Government⁹⁹ and thus featured in the 2007 Education Reforms of President John Agyekum Kufuor. These recommendations of the Committee are interrogated under the 2007 Education Reforms in Ghana.

President John Agyekum Kufuor Education Reforms in Ghana, 2007

When the Committee submitted its report in September 2002, it took about five years for the new education reform to be introduced. One reason for this, in the estimation of Jacob Okyere, is that the NPP Government first scrutinised the report carefully to see whether or not it reflected its philosophies and direction of education in the 21st Century. Having become satisfied, the government endorsed the recommendations of the Committee through the issuance of its White Paper in October, 2004.¹⁰⁰ After this, the government introduced new education reforms in Ghana which took-off on Tuesday, September 11, when the 2007/2008 academic year began.¹⁰¹

As noted by Professor Dominic Fobih, the then Minister of Education, Science and Sports, the new reform programme was expected to cost more than GHC 12.160 billion over the next eight years for the provision of infrastructure, textbooks, curriculum development, equipment and management of education.¹⁰² By September 2007, some preparations had been made in the area of infrastructural expansion especially for the kindergarten pupils. For example, there were 11, 228 classroom blocks while about 6, 046

⁹⁹ See White Paper on the Report of the Education Reform Review Committee, 2004, pp. 14-52.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ See Nyarko Hammond, "Education Reform takes off Tuesday," *The Ghanaian Times*, Friday, September 7, 2007, p. 1.

¹⁰² Ibid.

were also earmarked for rehabilitation.¹⁰³ Also, District Directors and the District Assemblies were directed by the NPP Government to collaborate and establish kindergarten by converting available community centres and church buildings into interim classroom blocks for about 3, 609 basic schools which did not have KGs.¹⁰⁴ This discussion shows that the NPP Government was determined to implement its education reforms even in the midst of inadequate infrastructural facilities, a phenomenon which was based on the government's conviction that, "the implementation is a process that will be continually refined and assessed, and re-assessed to address challenges, such as teacher provision, infrastructure, curriculum, textbooks and conditions of service for teachers."¹⁰⁵ This was confirmed by President John Agyekum Kufuor when he noted that, "the implementation, which is plotted in detail over a period of ten years, calls for sustained realistic budgeting by the government to provide logical support, including fair incentives for teachers and also continued review at all levels of the educational system."¹⁰⁶

The new education reform was thus fully started in the 2007/2008 academic year in Ghana. This reform programme was largely necessitated by the NPP Government's "response to the challenges of the present global era, as well as the country's vision and requirements for the 21st century."¹⁰⁷ Under the new reform programme, universal basic education was made 11 years which comprised 2 years of KG education, six years of primary and

¹⁰³ Ibid. p. 4.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. See also, Kate Hudson and Emmanuel Bonny, "My first day at school," *The Daily Graphic*, Monday, September 10, 2007, p. 17.

¹⁰⁵ Nyarko Hammond, "Education Reform takes off Tuesday," *The Ghanaian Times*, Friday, September 7, 2007, p. 4.

¹⁰⁶ Kate Hudson and Emmanuel Bonny, "My first day at school," *The Daily Graphic*, Monday, September 10, 2007, p. 17.

¹⁰⁷ GNA Correspondent, "Education Reform 2007," *The Ghanaian Times*, Tuesday, September 11, 2007, p. 4.

three years of junior high school.¹⁰⁸ The existing three years secondary school became a four-year senior high school.¹⁰⁹ Technical, vocational and agricultural institutions would offer 4-year courses and included the core SHS subjects.¹¹⁰

Teacher training colleges were to be upgraded and conditions improved with special incentives for teachers in rural areas. Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies were made responsible for the infrastructure, monitoring and supervision of basic and senior high schools. A new National Inspectorate Board (NIB) was established to oversee periodic inspection of basic and secondary schools to ensure quality education. Educational services were widened to embrace guidance and counselling, library and information and distance education.¹¹¹ Greater emphasis was placed on Information and Communication Technology (ICT) and Science Technology. There was to be 3-4 years tertiary education.¹¹² The focus of the government in relation to the levels of education—basic, secondary, teacher training and tertiary—is discussed in detail.

Basic Education

The most dramatic innovation of the 2007 Education Reform was the addition of KGs to primary schools as part of the Free Compulsory Universal

¹⁰⁸Nyarko Hammond, "Education Reform takes off Tuesday," *The Ghanaian Times*, Friday, September 7, 2007, p. 1. Also, Report of the President's Committee on Review of Education Reforms in Ghana, 2002, p. xxi and White Paper on the Report of the Education Reform Review Committee, 2004, p. 10.

¹⁰⁹, Nyarko Hammond, "Education Reform takes off Tuesday," *The Ghanaian Times*, Friday, September 7, 2007, p. 4.

¹¹⁰ White Paper on the Report of the Education Reform Review Committee, 2004, p. 22.

¹¹¹ Ibid. Also, see GNA Correspondent, "Reform 2007 at a glance," *The Ghanaian Times*, Wednesday, September 12, 2007, p. 17, Nyarko Hammond, "New School Reform Begins," *The Ghanaian Times*, Wednesday, September 12, p.1 and GNA Correspondent, "The Education Reform at Last," *The Ghanaian Times*, Saturday, September 8, 2007, p. 4.

¹¹²White Paper on the Report of the Education Reform Review Committee, 2004, pp. 11-52.

To welcome the KG One pupils, the first day on which they reported was observed as “My First Day at School.” This was a celebration which the NPP Government instituted in 2004 in an effort to make school a happy place for the pupils and to “welcome the new entrants to the world of formal education on a happy note.”¹¹⁴ During this event, children at the KG mostly at the age four were presented with assorted gifts such as toffees, biscuits, exercise books, pencils, plastic drinking cups embossed with Ghana @ 50, miniature flags and caps with the inscription “My First Day at School.”¹¹⁵

The politics that influenced the emphasis on kindergarten as part the basic school agenda during President John Agyekum Kufuor’s era was underpinned by his desire to pre-dispose children to conditions of formal schooling, inculcate in them the desire for learning and to create the opportunities for the entire development of children.¹¹⁶ According to the Government White Paper on the Report of the Education Reform Review Committee, the aim of kindergarten “is to ensure that all Primary school children have a basic education that is rooted in good kindergarten training.”¹¹⁷ At this level of education, lessons would be learnt through play with emphasis on Numeracy and Creative Arts.¹¹⁸ The dominant Ghanaian

¹¹³ Ibid. p. 17. See also, Kate Hudson and Emmanuel Bonny, “My first day at school,” *The Daily Graphic*, Monday, September 10, 2007, p. 17.

¹¹⁴ See Nyarko Hammond, “New School Reform Begins,” *The Ghanaian Times*, Wednesday, September 12, 2007, p. 1.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ GNA Correspondent, “Education Reform 2007,” *The Ghanaian Times*, Tuesday, September 11, 2007, p. 4.

¹¹⁷ White Paper on the Report of the Education Reform Review Committee, 2004, p. 17.

¹¹⁸ Kate Hudson and Emmanuel Bonny, “My first day at school,” *The Daily Graphic*, Monday, September 10, 2007, p. 17.

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language of the area and English, where necessary, were to be used as the medium of instruction at the kindergarten and even lower primary.¹¹⁹

At the primary level, the major objectives were first, to consolidate the knowledge and skills acquired at the kindergarten level. Secondly, to build a solid foundation for the skills of inquiry, creativity and innovation. Children were also to be taught the skills of good citizenship. To achieve this, the focus on primary education by the NPP Government was the acquisition of literacy, numeracy and problem solving skills. This was corroborated by President John Agyekum Kufuor when he stated that, “when schools resume tomorrow and the new syllabi with emphasis on literacy and numeracy put into operation, the nation expected that products of the system would be better prepared to face the world when they finished school.”¹²⁰ Subjects to be studied at the Lower Primary were; English, Basic Mathematical Skills, Natural Science, and a Ghanaian Language.¹²¹

Music and Dance, Art and Craft, ICT and Physical Education were largely to be taught as practical and creative activities.¹²² English and Ghanaian Languages teaching would focus on writing, reading, dictation and comprehension. Religious and Moral Education, Culture, Hygiene, Civics, Life Skills, Science and Agriculture were to be taught at the lower primary as part of reading, writing, dictation and comprehension.¹²³ The Upper Primary subjects were English, Basic Mathematical Skills, Integrated Science,

¹¹⁹GNA Correspondent, “Reform 2007 at a glance,” *The Ghanaian Times*, Wednesday, September 12, 2007, p. 17.

¹²⁰Emmanuel Bonny, “Away with pessimism on Educational Reforms: President tells critics,” *The Daily Graphic*, Monday, September 10, 2007, p. 1.

¹²¹Ibid.

¹²²White Paper on the Report of the Education Reform Review Committee, 2004, p. 18.

¹²³Ibid. See also, Report of the President’s Committee on Review of Education Reforms in Ghana, 2002, p. xxiii.

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Citizenship Education and the dominant Ghanaian Language. At this level too, Music, Dance, Physical Education and other Creative Arts should be taught as practical subjects.¹²⁴

The Junior Secondary School which was rechristened Junior High School under the 2007 Education Reform constituted a three-year post primary education. It was intended to enable pupils discover their abilities, interests, aptitudes and potentials. The JHS should properly equip pupils to move into a diversified system of senior high schools such as Technical, Vocational, Agricultural and General education.¹²⁵ Also, scientific and technical knowledge and skills which were required to prepare pupils for further academic work and technical/vocational training were to be inculcated in them. Subjects to be taught at the JHS were Mathematics, English, Integrated Science involving Agricultural Science, Social Studies, a Ghanaian Language, Pre-Vocational, ICT and French.¹²⁶

To improve teaching and learning at the JHS level, well-qualified teachers for subjects such as Mathematics, Science, English and Creative Arts were supplied. Also, laboratories, workshops, libraries and teaching learning/materials were provided. The curriculum emphasised the acquisition of skills such as literacy, numeracy, creative arts and problem-solving.¹²⁷ It was hoped by the government that these interventions would improve the

¹²⁴ GNA Correspondent, "Reform 2007 at a glance," *The Ghanaian Times*, Wednesday, September 12, 2007, p. 17.

¹²⁵ White Paper on the Report of the Education Reform Review Committee, 2004, p. 19.

¹²⁶ GNA Correspondent, "Reform 2007 at a glance," *The Ghanaian Times*, Wednesday, September 12, 2007, p. 17. See also, White Paper on the Report of the Education Reform Review Committee, 2004, p. 19.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* pp. xxv-xxvi. See also, GNA Correspondent, "Reform 2007 at a glance," *The Ghanaian Times*, Wednesday, September 12, 2007, p. 17.

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transition from JHS to SHS and thereby make a majority of the youth have a full course of secondary education before their entry into the world of work.¹²⁸

Secondary Education

Students would then decide to go into different streams at senior high school after JHS. To this end, parallel streams of secondary education were developed under the new reforms namely; Senior High School, Technical Institutes, Vocational Institutes and Apprenticeship which would train students for the options of General, Technical, Business, Vocational and Agricultural Education to enter into a tertiary institution or the job market.¹²⁹ These should have a “common content and flexibility for the recognition and development of individual aptitudes and the adaptability of its products to changing job opportunities and technological developments.”¹³⁰ Here, the focus of the government was to train a majority of the JHS products to be equipped to “prosper in a global economy driven by knowledge, skill and technology.”¹³¹

At the SHS, the core subjects were English, Mathematics, Integrated Science, Social Studies and ICT. Apart from these, students would be required to offer one of the following programmes; General Arts, General Science, Agriculture, Home Economics, Visual Arts, Technical, Vocational and Business.¹³² French was to be introduced later due to inadequate teachers to teach it. Government’s politics or decision was that places for post-JHS level “should be made available on a universal basis to all Ghanaian youth, and that

¹²⁸ White Paper on the Report of the Education Reform Review Committee, 2004, p. 20.

¹²⁹ GNA Correspondent, “Reform 2007 at a glance,” *The Ghanaian Times*, Wednesday, September 12, 2007, p. 17.

¹³⁰ White Paper on the Report of the Education Reform Review Committee, 2004, p. 22.

¹³¹ *Ibid.* p. 21.

¹³² GNA Correspondent, “Reform 2007 at a glance,” *The Ghanaian Times*, Wednesday, September 12, 2007, p. 17.

the SHS system should be organized both as terminal education for entry into the world of work, and as a preparatory stage for entry into tertiary education.”¹³³ It should have a four-year duration which was intended to fully prepare students to pursue University, Polytechnic, Vocational and Teacher Training at globally competitive standards.¹³⁴

Students who would decide to enter into an apprenticeship scheme would obtain some assistance from the government. The White Paper indicated that government would assume full responsibility for the first year of the apprenticeship programme.¹³⁵ Apart from these innovations, the curriculum was also diversified to cater for different interests, abilities, aptitudes and skills of students. This way, it would provide the chance for students to pursue further education and training. It would also expose those who would not wish to further their education at the higher level to various occupational skills. President John Agyekum Kufuor was unhappy about the way Technical/Vocational Education and Training had been neglected in the country. For example, by 2002, there were 474 state Senior Secondary Schools in Ghana as against 23 technical and 29 vocational institutes.¹³⁶ The neglect of technical and vocational education and training was not only felt in the number of such schools established, but also the budget allocation of government. In 2002, the Ministry of Education budget allocation to Technical/Vocational Education and Training was only 1 per cent of funds to run such institutions.¹³⁷

¹³³ White Paper on the Report of the Education Reform Review Committee, 2004, p. 21.

¹³⁴ Ibid. p. 24.

¹³⁵ Ibid. p. 26.

¹³⁶ Report of the President's Committee on Review of Education Reforms in Ghana, 2002, p.

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¹³⁷ Ibid.

To address these challenges, the new education reform of President John Agyekum Kufuor put emphasis on technical and vocational training. The Technical, Vocational and Agricultural streams of the SHS were made to offer broad elective subjects such as Building Trades, Business Studies, Electrical Engineering, Hospitality Trades, Mechanical Engineering and Agriculture.¹³⁸ The NPP Government also committed itself to develop the curricula of Technical and Vocational Institutes to reflect the needs of children in the country. To this end, Technical/Vocational Education and Training were reshaped through rehabilitation and upgrading to provide employable skills through formal and informal training at various levels of education.¹³⁹

At the pre-tertiary level, Technical and Vocational Education were offered at Technical Institutes, Vocational Institutes, Agricultural Institutes and Apprenticeship. Here, emphasis was placed on subjects such as English, Mathematics, Science and ICT to facilitate the development of students' competence and knowledge acquisition. Apart from these interventions by the NPP Government which made a major shift in the state education policy in favour of Technical and Vocational Training, the disciplines were also offered as elective subjects in the SHS.¹⁴⁰

To co-ordinate, regulate and develop policies for Technical and Vocational Training, the NPP Government decided to establish the Council for Technical and Vocational Education and Training (C.T.V.E.T.) in Ghana. Also, graduates from Vocational and Technical Institutes, by the 2007 Education Reforms, would be allowed to continue their education at the

¹³⁸ Ibid. pp. xxviii-xxxiii

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid. See also, GNA Correspondent, "Reform 2007 at a glance," *The Ghanaian Times*, Wednesday, September 12, 2007, p. 17.

Polytechnics in order to pursue higher studies. The Competency-Based Training curriculum delivery methodology was also adopted for Technical/Vocational Education and Training system. This was the system in which strong emphasis was placed on the acquisition of practical skills by students for employment.¹⁴¹

As already pointed out, the President's Committee on Review of Education Reforms recommended that secondary education should be three years on the grounds that with the mainstreaming of kindergarten and the provision of one well-resourced SSS in each district, the quality of education would improve through enhanced teaching and learning, and as a consequence, there would be no need to increase the duration of secondary education to four years. However, the NPP Government rejected this proposal. On the contrary, it introduced a 4-year SHS under the new education reforms of 2007.

It is thus argued that the direction of education at all levels is largely influenced by governmental politics and policies of a country, of which the latter is the dominant factor. This is because the politics of various governments mainly influenced the formulation of educational policies and interventions in Ghana.

Teacher Education

Apart from secondary education, the NPP Government was of the view that the entire success of the new reforms depended on effective and efficient training of teachers as this was the pivot upon which the success of any

¹⁴¹GNA Correspondent, "Reform 2007 at a glance," *The Ghanaian Times*, Wednesday, September 12, 2007, p. 17.

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education reform process rested.¹⁴² In the words of President John Agyekum Kufuor, “in implementing the reforms, a lot of attention was being paid to the role and well-being of the teacher,” saying that “unless teachers at every stage of the educational system embraced the reforms, no amount of money spent on facilities would make the difference in achieving the nation’s goals.”¹⁴³

Teacher education, “which is the process through which individuals are equipped with competencies for imparting knowledge and skills,”¹⁴⁴ was of utmost concern to the NPP Government. By 2002, there were some weaknesses in teacher education such as its undefined standards for teacher development, inadequate avenues for the training of specialized Technical and Vocational teachers, inadequate public teacher training colleges, inadequate initial teacher preparation, lack of co-ordination among various agencies of teacher education—Ministry of Education, Teacher Education Division, Inspectorate Division, Curriculum Research and Development Division (C.R.D.D.), NGOs and Development Partners, etc.¹⁴⁵

The 2007 Education Reforms, thus tried to address these challenges through the following; first, there was to be established a National Teaching Council (N.T.C.) to co-ordinate and regulate the programmes of Teacher Education and Training in Ghana. Education-oriented universities should be made directly responsible for the certification of teachers in Ghana. Basic school teachers who were not trained would now be given the opportunity to

¹⁴² White Paper on the Report of the Education Reform Review Committee, 2004, p. 30.

¹⁴³ Emmanuel Bonny, “Away with pessimism on Educational Reforms: President tells critics,” *The Daily Graphic*, Monday, September 10, 2007, p. 1.

¹⁴⁴ Report of the President’s Committee on Review of Education Reforms in Ghana, 2002, p.

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¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p. xxxv.

attend remedial courses through Distance Education. To this end, Distance Learning Colleges were set up at some of the tertiary institutions including University of Cape Coast and University of Education, Winneba, to train and re-train teachers.¹⁴⁶ Apart from these, a programme was to be designed to upgrade all Certificate “A” teachers to Diploma. This implied that the lowest qualification for teaching in the basic school would be diploma and this, it is argued, was influenced by the NPP Government’s politics of providing quality education for the people.

Also, the competencies and skills of serving teachers were to be upgraded and updated through continuous development of teachers. As a result of this, all public teacher training colleges were to be upgraded into diploma-awarding institutions to ensure adequate preparation of teachers for effective teaching and learning at the basic schools. To tackle the problem of inadequate initial teacher education, the curriculum for training colleges was designed to place emphasis on English, Mathematics and Science. The curriculum for teacher education was to include ICT, Creative Arts and Citizenship Education. Training programmes for kindergarten teachers were developed to form part of the curriculum in the Teacher Training Colleges to enhance the teaching and learning at the KGs. Moreover, special consideration was given to the training of teachers in the areas of Technical, Vocational, Agricultural, Special Needs Education, Guidance and Counselling, ICT and French.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶GNA Correspondent, “Reform 2007 at a glance,” *The Ghanaian Times*, Wednesday, September 12, 2007, p. 17. See also, White Paper on the Report of the Education Reform Review Committee, 2004, pp. 30-32.

¹⁴⁷GNA Correspondent, “Reform 2007 at a glance,” *The Ghanaian Times*, Wednesday, September 12, 2007, p. 17.

The reforms of the NPP Government were not only felt in the field of basic and specialised training institutions but also polytechnics and universities as well. The polytechnics and universities were looked upon as indispensable in the socio-economic development of the nation. They were also seen as having played unique roles in the creation, dissemination and application of knowledge, which were significant for the adaptation of knowledge to meet the needs of the Ghanaian society. To this end, the entire system of education would have to be strengthened through the role of such institutions. This explains why the government set out to make funds available to support the rehabilitation and expansion of facilities of tertiary institutions in Ghana. The government also committed itself to ensure effective collaboration between these institutions, industry and society, thereby making their programmes relevant to the socio-economic needs of the country.

To achieve this, the NPP Government tried to first of all, give priority to the improvement and expansion of academic and physical infrastructure of the various tertiary institutions to ensure their operation at optimum capacity. Secondly, the private sector was encouraged to participate in the provision of hostels and the running of the existing halls of residence. Also, to expand access to tertiary education, the NPP Government set out to provide distance education as an alternative mode of delivery of the polytechnics and the universities. Moreover, the public universities namely, University of Ghana, University of Cape Coast and Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology were made to re-examine their mandates and programmes to reflect the advances in knowledge and the trends of the economy.

Furthermore, tertiary institutions were made to re-examine their course offerings for effective rationalization.¹⁴⁸

On the issue of staffing, the NPP Government decided to adopt measures which would attract and retain qualified staff of tertiary institutions. A more comprehensive salary structure was established to retain potential lecturers and seasoned professors. Government also committed itself to provide seed money which were to be used to set up housing schemes in the tertiary institutions for lecturers. Funds from GETfund were also allocated to facilitate infrastructural development and improve facilities for research.¹⁴⁹

The NPP Government also tackled the issue of financing education in the country. Obviously, the report of the President's Committee had shown that in 2001, for example, the primary sector and the tertiary level received only about 20 per cent and 50 per cent of their budget allocations while that of technical and vocational sub-sector received only 1 per cent of its total budget for education.¹⁵⁰ Out of these funds, between 80 to 90 per cent went into the payment of personal emoluments to the neglect of teaching and learning activities.¹⁵¹

To improve the financing of education, funds for basic education were obtained from direct government budgetary allocation, District Assemblies, the Ghana Education Trust Fund, development partners and fees by parents and guardians. Also, the NPP Government decided to continue the policy of

¹⁴⁸ Report of the President's Committee on Review of Education Reforms in Ghana, 2002, p. xxxvii.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. pp. xxxix-xli.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. p. liv

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

'cost-sharing'¹⁵² in education which it inherited. On the issue of funding at the secondary level, President John Agyekum Kufuor adhered to the 1992 Constitution which called for progressive introduction of free education as part of measures to provide equal and balanced access to secondary education dependent on the availability of resources.¹⁵³ As the resources were not enough for free secondary education, funds were to be obtained from donor funding, PTAs, Endowment Fund, GETFund, District Assemblies scholarship schemes, Old Students Associations and Direct government provision.¹⁵⁴

In the time of the NPP Government, enrolment in tertiary institutions had increased more rapidly and went beyond the capacity of government support. Moreover, the trend of the time required new technologies and the necessary infrastructure to meet the increasing competitiveness in the global market.¹⁵⁵ Meanwhile, tertiary institutions faced a lot of challenges such as workshop facilities, library facilities, laboratory facilities, salaries of university/polytechnic staff, classroom infrastructure, teaching and learning materials, use of training equipment, repair and maintenance of facilities, administrative expenditure, etc.¹⁵⁶

To surmount these challenges, the NPP Government intensified income generation from the traditional sources of funding tertiary institutions such as

¹⁵² This concept implies that beneficiaries of education should contribute directly or indirectly to ensure effective running of the system. Such beneficiaries include parents, pupils/students, district assemblies, government, etc. For more details of the concept of cost-sharing see Report of the President's Committee on Review of Education Reforms in Ghana, 2002, p. 188.

¹⁵³ See Constitution of the Republic of Ghana 1992, p. 40 and Kwadwo Afari-Gyan, op. cit. p. 33.

¹⁵⁴ Report of the President's Committee on Review of Education Reforms in Ghana, 2002, p. 190. See also, White Paper on the Report of the Education Reform Review Committee, 2004, pp. 41-42.

¹⁵⁵ Richard Asare Akoto, op. cit.

¹⁵⁶ Report of the President's Committee on Review of Education Reforms in Ghana, 2002, p. 192.

Endowment Funds, GETFund, direct government provision, District Assemblies' scholarship schemes, donor funding, internal generated funds and fees from foreign and local students. Cost-sharing was also strengthened at tertiary institutions where government and students shared the cost of library facilities, workshop facilities, laboratory facilities, utilities in academic area, teaching/learning material, provision of furniture, examinations, field trips, thesis/project, maintenance of structure, medical and administrative expenditure.¹⁵⁷

The politics of financing education at all levels, especially the adoption of cost-sharing by the NPP Government demonstrates that education at all levels—basic, secondary and tertiary—have been shaped or guided depending on the visions of various governments in the country.

Conclusion

This chapter has so far discussed political decisions or politics that run education during the first two regimes of the fourth republic of Ghana namely Ft. Lt. J. J. Rawlings and John Agyekum Kufuor. They pursued internal educational politics which took the form of reducing government expenditure on general education in Ghana. Politics of cost reduction in Ghana at the pre-university level was adopted to shape education during the fourth public.

This first began with Ft. Lt. J. J. Rawlings when he fully implemented the JSS and the SSS concepts which in effect reduced the duration of pre-university education from 17 years to 12 years. He was thus the first post-colonial government to significantly reduce the duration of pre-university

¹⁵⁷ Ibid. p. 193.

education in the country. Hence, leading to a reduction of government expenditure at these levels of education in the country. Not only this, but the PNDC and NDC Governments also directed education to reflect that of the global village due to technological advancement and modernization. This explains why the 1987 Education Reforms placed emphasis on vocational, technical and social skills intended to help products acquire employable skills needed to function effectively in the Ghanaian society and the world at large.

However, there was a problem of inadequate personnel to teach the vocational, technical, science and technology courses and consequently, resulted in waste of resources, especially as some of the tools and equipment sent to the schools were not used. The study demonstrates that many of the products of the JSS, particularly those in the rural areas could not acquire the necessary technical and vocational skills to become employable after school. Inadequate teachers to teach science and technology subjects, therefore hindered the realization of the objectives of the JSS and SSS Concepts.

Furthermore, policies adopted by the PNDC Government at the tertiary level such as the University Rationalization Policy were intended to shape education by reducing government spending at the tertiary level and thereby improve its quality and increase access to qualified students with the view of ensuring that higher education meets the needs of the national economy. Thus, the issue of “cost sharing” in the country’s higher institutions was fully implemented by Flt. Lt. J.J. Rawlings.

Moreover, President John Agyekum Kufuor saw the formative years of children as very crucial to their total development and hence, the need to help them overcome their educational disabilities especially those from less

endowed family backgrounds. This explains why the NPP Government, for example, was of the view that, “kindergarten education should progressively become part of the universal, free and compulsory basic education structure.”¹⁵⁸ By this, President Kufuor became the first post-independence leader to formally add kindergarten to the basic education system in Ghana. Governments have realized the significance of such educational intervention and currently, kindergarten is still part of the basic education in the country as good primary education is rooted in good kindergarten education.

Not only basic education, but all levels of education underwent intensive revolution which aimed at inculcating the requisite skills and knowledge needed to function in the 21st century. This also explains why the 2007 Education Reform was underpinned by the NPP Government quest of “leading the nation to embrace these higher standards because it recognizes that Ghana faces unique opportunities for accelerated national economic development, especially in the context of the ECOWAS and NEPAD economies, which can only be realized by the possession of a labour force with superior levels of education and training.”¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸ White Paper on the Report of the Education Reform Review Committee, 2004, p. 17.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid. p. 16.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

This study has offered an in-depth study of the educational history of Ghana especially the political decisions or politics of various governments that influenced and shaped the direction of education in the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods. Additionally, it has interrogated educational interventions of governments such as the promulgation of education ordinances, policies and reforms and has thus highlighted the politics of governments which manifested themselves in a change of educational objectives, philosophies, qualification for implementers, a significant change of school name, duration and even time for closing. Not only these, but the curricula, syllabi, contents of books, educational facilities, funds allocated to education, resources and the structure of the Ministry of Education in the country, to some extent, underwent changes in the administration of the various governments.

The study shows that the politics of governments are involved in educational decision making at all levels—basic, secondary, teacher training and tertiary in the country. Hence, the close link of politics to education of various candidates for political office who stated categorically what they would do in the field of education in their manifestos, a phenomenon which has become the fashion in the post-independence era. The issues they raised in their manifestos on education mainly constituted their benchmarks or direction and, this is also equated to some aspects of their politics in education in the study. Having won power, they became substantive governments and thus shaped education based on their

politics clearly stated in their manifestos. Thus M. K. Antwi states, “it is the State which ultimately controls policies and development of education in its own sphere through its use of legitimate power.”¹

As the study has demonstrated, both indigenous and Western education were intended to find the right direction of education for the people of the Gold Coast so that its citizens could function effectively and thus fully tap the natural resources such as land, timber, gold and diamond for their advancement and economic emancipation. Indigenous education in the Gold Coast put emphasis on an all inclusive education such that every individual was properly shaped and socialized with its values, knowledge and skills required to function effectively in the socio-economic and political fields of the society. Such objectives of the indigenous educational politics also explains why the individuals were trained in participatory, recreational and intellectual skills. As a result, indigenous education developed in the individual the ability to create, innovate, think critically and be independent-minded, thereby making products acquire employable skills needed at the time. Hence, the issue of unemployment was not widespread during this period as education became a greatest up-lifter of individuals in the society. However, not only was this type of training limited to the individual’s immediate environment, but also could not meet the competition of the global village as well.

The initial stages of Western educational politics had as its prime focus the training of a few personnel needed to assist in the work of the various European nations such as the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Danes, and the English. Their introduction and spread of Western education in the Gold Coast, even though an

¹ See M. K. Antwi, *Education, Society and Development of Ghana*, p. 229.

off-shoot of their exploration and religious activities, marked the origins of literacy and numeracy acquisition which the country has benefited and is still benefiting from. These early European nations as well as the various Missions which worked in the Gold Coast such as the Basel, Wesleyan, Bremen, Catholic, A.M.E. Zion, and the S.D.A. were the agencies for the introduction and spread of Western education in the Gold Coast. They were not only the pioneers of basic, secondary and teacher training education, but also introduced certain interventions which shaped the education of the country such as sending brilliant students overseas for further studies, placing emphasis on girls' education, agricultural and industrial training as well as supplying pupils with free textbooks and other stationery like pens, chalk, pencils, erasers and slates. This explains why President John Agyekum Kufuor took this issue up and provided school feeding programme and Capitation grants.

Moreover, the thesis advances the view that the pre-colonial governments also directed education in the country to reflect their visions and philosophies. Their main goal was not to educate all children of school-going age in the country so that they would be enlightened and consequently overthrow the system, but to offer quality education to a few individuals needed in their administration. For example, the British Chief Commissioner in the Northern Territories from 1905 to 1909, A. E. Watherston wished to "train the next generation of Northern Ghana to become men of more comprehension, well-educated and of less superstition."² He also wished "to educate a few selected intelligent men of each tribe in English, so that as soon as funds can be provided for the introduction of an

² See David Kimble, *op. cit.* p. 79.

educational system, they may be in a position to act as interpreters to the native trained school teachers when they arrive in the country.’’³

Their emphasis on the quality of education more than its expansion explains why they introduced various educational ordinances—1852, 1882, 1887 and 1925—all intended to regulate the conduct of education and thus ensure its quality. Gordon Guggisberg wanted products of his educational intervention to be men in thought, industries and the professions so that they would not be denationalized, but their skills would be grafted carefully to reflect that of the global village. He thus made industrial and vocational training the central focus of his educational provision. In addition, he placed emphasis on co-education, character training, teacher training, physical education and inspection of schools. These issues, have served as significant benchmarks, especially the need to enhance industrial and girls’ education, for the post-colonial governments to reshape their education to reflect the aspirations of the country. Apart from this, Gordon Guggisberg’s Education Ordinance of 1925 remained in force until the introduction of the Accelerated Development Plan for Education in 1951.

Also, the Achimota School that Gordon Guggisberg established has become an invaluable asset to the country as it has produced great politicians and presidents for both Ghana and other countries such as Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, (first President of the Republic of Ghana), Edward Akufo Addo (Head of State, Second Republic of Ghana), Flt. Lt. J.J. Rawlings (PNDC Chairman and first President, Fourth Republic of Ghana), Professor John Evans Atta Mills (third President, Fourth Republic of Ghana), Kow Nkensen Arkaah (First Vice

³ Bagulo Bening, *op. cit.* p. 3.

President, Fourth Republic of Ghana), Susanna Al-Hassan (Ghana's first Female Minister of State), Alhaji Sir Dauda Jawara (Gambia first Head of State), Robert Mugabe (President, Republic of Zimbabwe), Alhaji Adamu Atta (former Governor of Kwara State, Nigeria), Komla Agbeli Gbedemah (former Minister of Finance), William Ofori Atta (co-leader of Ghana Independence Movement and former Minister for Education, Culture and Sports), Yaw Osafo Maafo (former Parliamentarian and former Finance Minister), Kwame Addo-Kufuor (MP and former Minister of Defense) and Gloria Amon Nikoi (first Female Minister of Foreign Affairs).

Furthermore, on the attainment of self-government and independence, and especially, with educational provision now in the hands of a Ghanaian leader, the politics in education changed from the production of a few personnel to the training of many people. Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah rapidly expanded educational facilities at all levels—basic, secondary, teacher training, polytechnic and university—with his introduction of development plans for education such as the ADP, SDP and SYDP. The politics of “free basic education” was also started by the first president with his overall vision of gradually achieving free education at all levels for the realization of socio-economic emancipation in the country.

Also, through Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the two universities then in existence, the University College of Ghana and the Kumasi College of Technology gained their independence from the University of London. The Institute of African Studies was attached to the University of Ghana and the University of Mines and Technology, Tarkwa as well as the University College of

Cape Coast was also established. These were the only independent public universities that served the entire country until the establishment of the University of Education, Winneba and University for Development Studies, Tamale. These institutions of higher studies were to become the academic focus of national life and so were shaped to reflect the social, economic, cultural and political aspirations of the people.⁴ They were also expected to enlighten and uplift the people by “wiping out the legacy of illiteracy, miseducation, superstition, distortion and false values.”⁵ This was intended to help people have a correct understanding of nature and thus contribute to intellectual, social and material resources in a dynamic effort to establish the just and prosperous society of Ghana.⁶

Thus, even though Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah could not realize some of such goals due to his overthrow in 1966, he left important legacies which the post-Nkrumah governments built upon and are still building on. Attempts by governments, especially, in the 21st century to provide free and compulsory basic and second cycle education in the country have its origin from Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah’s educational politics and intervention. Also, efforts made to expand university education, it is argued, has its roots dating back to the Nkrumah’s era. In addition, all tertiary institutions such as polytechnics and universities are now offering African Studies as a core subject for all

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ See Speech by Mr. Kojo Botsio, MP and Chairman of the National Council for Higher Education in Ghana on Document on University College of Cape Coast: Official Opening, op. cit. pp. 18-19.

⁶ Haizel E. A. op. cit. p. 75.

undergraduate students and this is a legacy bequeathed to the country by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.

The education politics in the post-Nkrumah period up to the end of the third republic is described as an “era of educational consolidation” as it was not much different from that of the first republic. Like Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah before them, the NLC and the PP Government wanted education to fully develop the natural endowments of citizens to become useful and contribute to economic development with a high sense of morality. They therefore continued Kwame Nkrumah’s ambitious educational policies of the provision of fee-free basic education to all children of school-going age. They also absorbed the cost of teacher education with respect to tuition, boarding, books and equipment.

However, both the NLC and the PP, unlike the CPP Government, tried to reduce the cost of university education on tax-payers, especially where government scholarships covered tuition, boarding, lodging, and incidental expenses of all Ghanaian undergraduates as well as those doing diploma and certificate courses, so that the lower levels of education would not be at a disadvantage. This intervention was an aspect of their effort to curtail waste, cultivate cost effectiveness and increase efficiency of university education, but were not successful due to their overthrow. Their attempts, however, have been reshaped by subsequent governments to the current state of “cost-sharing” in university education where by students pay the cost of boarding, lodging, books and incidental expenses.

Furthermore, Col. I. K. Acheampong's firm conviction that the systematic teaching of children throughout their formative years would surely lead to self-reliance in life made him to adopt a new structure for education which focused on science and technology. This resulted in the introduction of the JSS and SSS concepts intended to help products acquire more marketable skills for the economic and social progress of the country, but could not be fully implemented due to his overthrow. Nonetheless, his concepts were taken up and reshaped by the PNDC Government.

Flt. Lt. J.J. Rawlings was thus an 'implementer' of the JSS and SSS concepts. This was because, these concepts were fully implemented during his era, as he saw the economic prosperity of the country as dependent on its education system. In his 1987 Education Reform, pre-university education was intended to enable products acquire vocational and technical skills and hence, pre-dispose them to basic technological knowledge for accelerated rural industrialization and economic growth. Also, like the NLC and PP Governments, the PNDC Government rationalized education at the tertiary level to ensure cost effectiveness in the use of manpower and resources in the country.

However, there were inadequate personnel to carry out such policies at the pre-university level. The study has shown that there were many JSS that did not have teachers to teach the technical skills and vocational subjects. In many cases, tools and equipment for such subjects were kept in schools without using them due to lack of teachers. This situation did not help the policy to achieve its objectives. This explains why many of the JSS products could not work with the

skills they were originally intended to acquire. Nonetheless, Flt. Lt. J.J. Rawlings created the awareness about the need to orientate the structure and content of education to meet the changing conditions and needs of the nation and the world at large. He also created the awareness about the need to reduce the duration of pre-university education in the country.

Furthermore, these concepts were lifted and redesigned into the JHS and SHS by the NPP Government to equip products with particular skills towards the achievement of the then national developmental goals of poverty alleviation and wealth creation in the country. This was particularly significant for the production of a well-balanced individual with the requisite knowledge and skills for a radical socio-economic and political transformation. Such politics of J. A. Kufuor resulted in the official inclusion of kindergarten into the basic education system in the country with the view to lay a solid foundation and pre-dispose kindergarten pupils to conditions of formal schooling in order to inculcate the desire for learning in children to create the opportunities for their entire development. These interventions of J. A. Kufuor were part of measures to solve the economic challenges inherited from the previous administration in order to create a prosperous state for the people of Ghana.

Hence, the politics of governments have, indeed shaped, and is still shaping the direction of education from the pre-colonial through to colonial and post-colonial periods in Ghana. This largely explains the inconsistencies of the education system in the country. A current example is a change in the duration of SHS from four years to three years in the 21st century.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

MAJOR ACTORS OF PRE COLONIAL AND COLONIAL EDUCATION IN GHANA



MAJOR STEPHEN HILL

1851-1854

He introduced the First Education
Ordinance of the Gold Coast



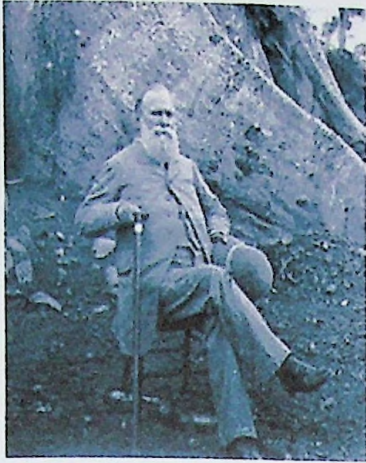
SIR SAMUEL ROWE

1881 - 1884

He promulgated the 1882
Education

Ordinance of the Gold Coast





WILLIAM BRANDFORD GRIFFITH
(1885-1887)

He introduced the 1887 Education Ordinance
Of the Gold Coast



FREDRICK GORDON
GUGGISBERG (1919-1927)

He introduced the 1925
Education Ordinance of the
Gold coast



SIR ALAN CUTHBERT MAXWELL BURNS
1942-1947

He used Colonial Development and Welfare
Fund to improve education in the Gold Coast

APPENDIX B

GHANAIAN ACTORS OF EDUCATION: 1951 - 2008



OSAGYEFO DR. KWAME NKUMAH

(1951-1966)

He introduced ADP for Education in 1951
and Education act of 1961

LIEUTENANT GENERAL

JOSEPH ANKRA (1966-1968)

He appointed the Kwapong
Committee which

conducted a comprehensive
review of the

Educational system in Ghana



BRIGADIER AKWASI AFRIFA

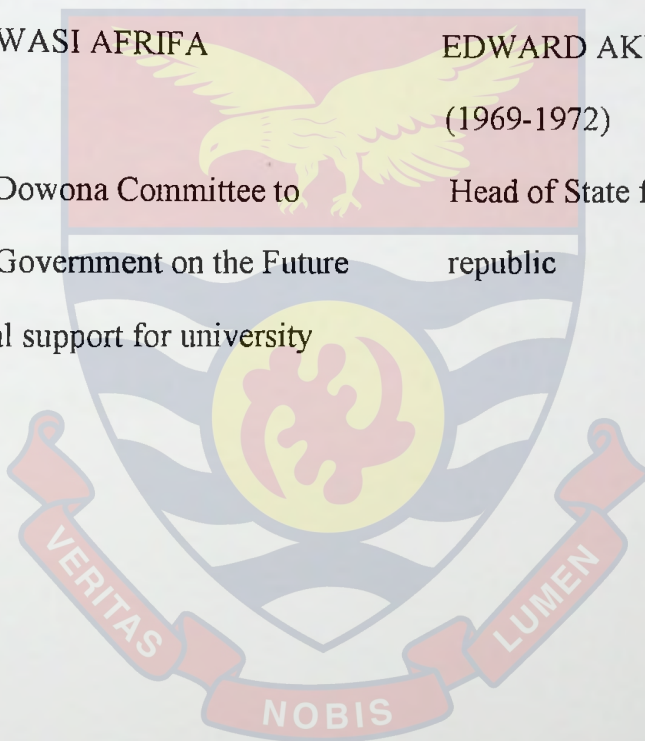
1968-1969

He appointed the Dowona Committee to advise the N.L.C Government on the Future policy for financial support for university students in Ghana

EDWARD AKUFO ADDO

(1969-1972)

Head of State for the second republic





DR. K. A. BUSIA

1969-1972

He passed the Students' Loan Scheme Act of 1971 which sought to spread the benefits of formal education to the lower levels (primary, middle, technical, secondary and teacher training colleges)

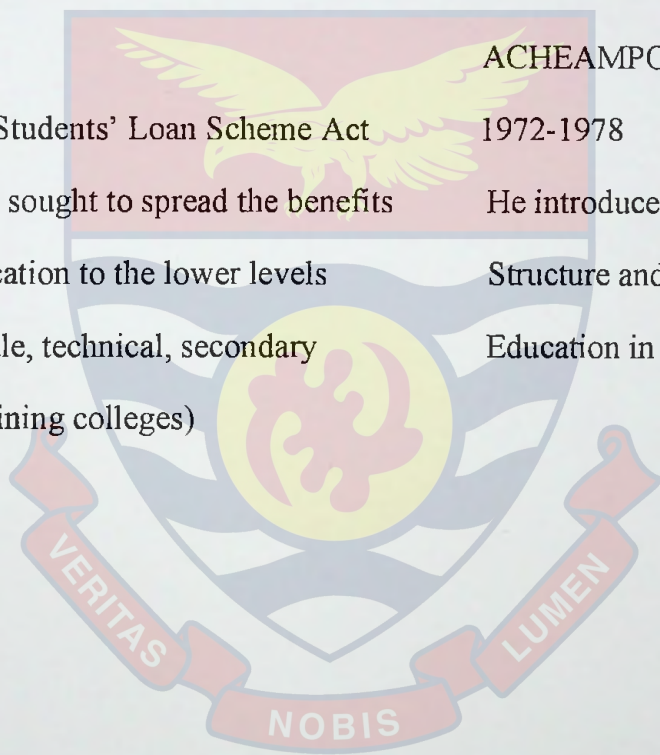


GENERAL IGNATIUS KUTU

ACHEAMPONG

1972-1978

He introduced a New Structure and Content for Education in 1974





LT GENERAL F.W.K AKUFFO

1978-1979

He was the Chairman of S.M.C II

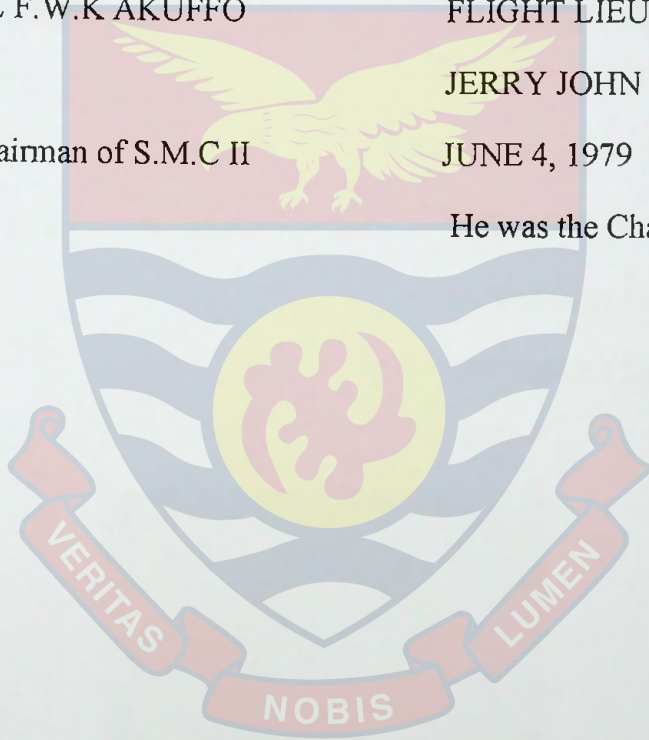


FLIGHT LIEUTENANT

JERRY JOHN RAWLINGS

JUNE 4, 1979

He was the Chairman of A.F.R.C





DR. HILLA LIMANN

1979-1981

He was the President of the third republic
of Ghana



FLIGHT LIEUTENANT

JERRY JOHN RAWLINGS

1981-2001

He introduced the 1987 Education
Reforms in Ghana

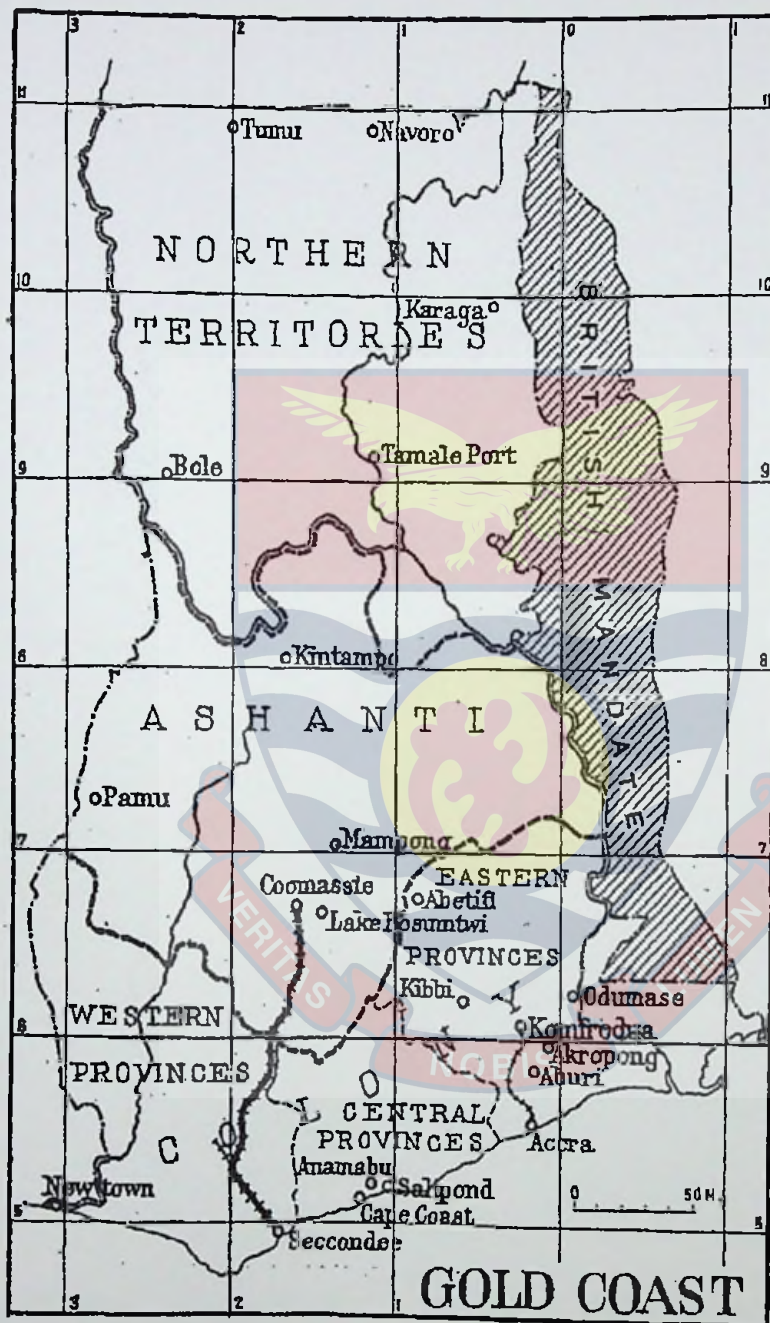


JOHN AGYEKUM KUFOUR

2001-2009

He introduced the 2007 Education Reforms in Ghana

APPENDIX C—MAP OF GOLD COAST



THE GOLD COAST, BRITISH WEST AFRICA

Schools are concentrated largely in the Eastern Province. Ashanti has limited educational provision, while the Northern Territories are practically without school facilities. Togoland, shown on the map, is a British mandated territory, part of the former German Togoland.

Source: Jesse Jones, *Education in Africa*, p.123