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**Aid for basic education development in Ghana – the
recipients' experience**

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MA BSc

**Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree
of Doctorate in Education (Ed D)**

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January 2018

Abstract

Development agencies have been sending educational aid to Ghana for more than three decades, their declared purpose being to support the country's educational development. Despite the aid and development agencies' own literature indicating the aid is promoting education development, there has been little research exploring the aid's actual outcomes as experienced in country by recipients. This dissertation therefore sought to explore experiences of Ghanaian educational aid recipients: teachers, head teachers, district, and national education managers, focusing on whether and how educational aid has contributed to or hindered educational development. Using an interpretive approach, the participants' perceptions of their experiences of aid were sought. The interviewing method was used to collect data as it gave the opportunity to hear from the recipients' individually. 13 participants were interviewed from the Ministry of Education, the Ghana Education Service, two primary schools and a District Education Office. King's (2007) template analysis strategy was used to identify important themes in the recipients' accounts of experiences, and the themes interpreted to arrive at findings. Six major findings were identified, the most significant being that the outcomes of aid are mixed – having both positive and negative impacts. Positive impacts include increased funding and learning experiences, whilst the negatives include aid conditionality. The other findings are that aid may be funding non-priority items; an urgent need to improve the delivery of aid; measuring the outcomes of aid is a challenge; there are tensions around the appropriateness of aid; and, aid not being the first option for recipients to seek assistance. Implications of these findings for practice include recommendations to: decentralise needs assessment for aid processes from the national authorities to include a cross section of regional, district and school staff in consultations; development agencies to allow recipients to decide what and how funds are used to meet local educational needs; the recipient nation to develop a standardized evaluation framework that can generate necessary data to report aid results; the need for the national government to incrementally wean the country off aid by pursuing alternative sources of funding; and in the short term, the need for development agencies to provide sustainable aid if the need arises. The concluding observation is the urgent need to recognise that aid can be improved for the betterment of those who it is intended to benefit.

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Acknowledgement

To God be the glory.

For lack of more potent words for expressing gratitude, I will simply like to say, “thank you” to my supervisors, Professor Penny Enslin and Dr. Muir Houston, for supporting me in completing this dissertation.

To those who participated so freely in the interviews to provide the data for this study, I also say thank you.


A special thank you goes to my husband Mr. Paul Laryea, my sons Aiden and Ethan, my helpers especially Lizzy Tsotso, and my rock-solid mother Mrs. Florence Owusu for their combined support especially in the final stages of writing the dissertation when I literally ‘dropped off’ the family radar to create time and space to write.

Finally, to my dear friends, loved ones and family, especially Ms. Angela Boakye – Adjei, Mrs. Susan Okine, Nana Osei Akumia Snr, Mrs. Yeama Antah and Dr. Kofi Owusu, I say thank you for your support in diverse ways including your words of encouragement, egging me on to complete this dissertation.

God bless you all ☺

Author's declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contributions of others, this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signature:  _____

Printed name: Mama Bema Owusu

Abbreviations

List of abbreviations used in the dissertation:

ADEOP:	Annual District Education Operational Plan
ADPR:	Annual District Performance Report
AESOP:	Annual Education Sector Operational Plan
CBE:	Complementary Basic Education
CBI:	Cluster Based INSET
CDDE:	Capacity Development for Development Effectiveness
CL:	Curriculum Leader
CoE:	College of Education
CS:	Circuit Supervisor
DA:	District Assembly
DAC:	The Development Assistance Committee of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)
DDE:	District Director of Education
DEO:	District Education Office
DEOC:	District Education Oversight Committee
DEM:	Decentralisation Education Management
DFID:	The UK's Department For International Development
DIC:	District INSET Committee
DP:	Development Partner
DTO:	District Training Officer
DTST:	District Teacher Support Team
EFA:	Education for All
EMIS:	Education Management Information System
ESP:	Education Strategic Plan
FCUBE:	Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education
GBS:	General Budget Support
GER:	Gross Enrolment Rate
GES:	Ghana Education Service

GMR:	Global Monitoring Report
GoG:	Government of Ghana
GPI:	Gender Parity Index
HT:	Head Teacher
ICT:	Information Communication Technology
INSET:	In-Service Training
JICA:	Japan International Cooperation Agency
MDBS:	Multi Donor Budget Support
MDG:	Millennium Development Goals
MMDDes	Metropolitan, Municipal and District Directors of Education
MoE:	Ministry of Education
MoF:	Ministry of Finance
MoLGRD:	Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development
MP:	Member of Parliament
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
NaCCA:	National Council for Curriculum and Assessments
NEA:	National Education Assessment
NER:	Net Enrolment Rate
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organisation
NIB:	National Inspectorate Board
NIU:	National INSET Unit
NT(s):	National Trainer(s)
NTC:	National Teaching Council
ODA:	Official Development Assistance
ODI:	Overseas Development Institute
OECD:	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PAF:	Performance Assessment Framework
PBME:	Planning, Budgeting, Monitoring and Evaluation
PCR:	Primary Completion Rate
PTA:	Parent and Teacher Association
PTR:	Pupil Teacher Ratio
SAP:	Structural Adjustment Program
SBI:	School Based INSET

SBS	Sector Budget Support
SMC:	School Management Committee
SPIP:	School Performance Improvement Plan
SRC:	School Report Card
TA:	Technical Assistance
TC	Technical Cooperation
TED:	Teacher Education Division of Ghana Education Service
TICAD:	Tokyo International Conference on African Development
TLM:	Teaching and Learning Materials
ToT:	Training of Trainers
UNESCO:	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WB:	World Bank
WCEFA:	World Conference on Education for All

Chapter 1. Introduction

Advances in education in developing countries often tend to be backed by international aid. Educational aid as a subcomponent of international aid is complex, often stirring strong emotions in discussions for or against aid. Educational aid efforts often come under scrutiny in assessments of their impact in recipient countries, particularly in relation to concerns about effectiveness (World Vision, 2006; Riddell, 2007b; Riddell, 2009). There is a sense of disillusionment with aid in some quarters (Easterly, 2015; Sinclair, 2015) since despite governments' and international organisations' efforts to realise universal access to education for all children, challenges still exist. As long ago as 1981 Hurst (1981:118) asserted that 'approximately only two thirds of... children of primary-school age in... developing countries attend school at all'. 34 years and countless aid efforts later, UNESCO (2015: I) reports there are still '58 million children out of school globally and around 100 million children who do not complete primary education'. Of course, there are other reasons for the disillusionment with aid apart from lack of progress in achieving universal attendance at primary school. Easterly (2005) reports that after spending 'trillions... in aid over the past five decades... most aid-intensive regions wallow... in continued stagnation'.

1.1 Educational aid efforts and goals

Aid efforts may have started off with good intentions. Concerted aid efforts to improve basic (kindergarten, primary and junior high) education can be traced to the 1990 Jomtiem World Conference (WC) on Education For All (EFA) when the global community came to a consensus that:

human development must be at the core of any development process; ... that education — the empowerment of individuals through the provision of learning — is truly a human right and a social responsibility... (WCEFA Inter-Agency Commission, 1990: 1).

This declaration is said to have inspired developed nations to take up the task of supporting countries that could not afford to make education accessible to their populace to do so. Support entailed providing educational aid, in the form of teaching and learning materials, teaching expertise and funding, to recipient countries. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the leading coordinating body of international development assistance, defines educational aid as any assistance, be it financial or material resources, provided by aid agencies from developed to developing countries towards ‘organised and sustained communication designed to bring about learning’ (OECD, 2009: 24). Support efforts intensified when the global community met again in Dakar, Senegal in 2000 to reaffirm their commitment to education, and to adopt the Dakar Framework for Action (UNESCO, 2000). This framework identified six goals for improving education including: the need to expand early childhood, girls and all children’s participation in education; increase adult literacy levels by 50 percent; and improve the quality of education by 2015. Also in 2000, the world community met to endorse a wider developmental agenda termed the United Nations (UN) Millennium Declaration that has become more commonly known as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (United Nations, 2000). Out of the eight MDGs two targeted education, focusing on ensuring access to quality education and increasing gender parity. These two goals, together with the other declarations, provide the opportunity for donors to reaffirm their pledge to increase support to developing countries, serving as the driving force behind coordinated aid for education development (UNSECO, 2005; Easterly, 2009: 26; UNSECO, 2015: xiv).

Interestingly, for goals meant to impact development globally, Sinclair (2015: 47) notes the ‘MDGs were largely cooked up by well-intentioned donors’. The then lead of the MDG writing process, Lord Mark Malloch-Brown, is reported to have said the MDGs were written in the basement of the UN Office in New York by a few actors (Tran, 2012). The top-down planning of the MDGs meant that goals were set for all countries regardless of the starting points of each, and recipient country voices on development priorities may not have been courted. By the 2015 end line, in developing regions, the gender parity target was achieved although the universal education access target was missed (United Nations, 2015: 4-5). The development of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the new goals that replaced both EFA and MDGs from January 2016 (UNESCO, 2015: 283), appears to have been more consultative, with stakeholder engagement at all levels of the international development

community (school level actors, recipient governments, philanthropic organisations, civil society and donors) (UNESCO, 2015: 283). By the UN undertaking such extensive consultations, it seems to have been recognized that it is ‘no longer acceptable for a collection of... donors to decide goals for others’ (Sinclair, 2015: 47; Easterly, 2015; UNESCO, 2015: xv).

Despite how these goals were enacted, the SDGs also seek to make the world a better place. However, with 17 goals and 169 targets, there is concern about how achievable the goals are (Easterly, 2015; UNESCO, 2015: 281). Two of the 17 SDGs, *Goal 4: inclusive and equitable quality education and lifelong learning*, and *Goal 5: achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls*, are of relevance to the international education development field. These goals have the potential to be rallying points for educational aid provision given the central role of aid, together with other sources of financing including the private sector, required to achieve the goals. The large number of goals and targets will also mean that partnerships between development stakeholders (donors and recipients) need to be strengthened to achieve targets by the 2030 end line.

Since the enactment of these goals, momentum to deliver on aid commitments to achieve the goals has been increasing, but wavering in some years. UNESCO (2009: 208) reports there have been years of increasing educational aid, from \$7.3billion in 1999 to \$11.3billion in 2006, however donors have not fully honoured their promises and aid levels may be stagnating. Despite year-on-year donor funding ‘to make primary education accessible to all children’ (UNESCO, 1995), a funding gap still exists (UNESCO, 2015). Some donors point to the global financial crisis, austerity measures, and pressing domestic demands as having had an impact on aid (UNESCO, 2010: 24). Greece for instance understandably deferred its aid obligations to a later date (UNESCO, 2010: 23) due to its spiralling economic crisis. Japan, Spain and the United States, who are among the highest funders of education (UNESCO, 2010b: 16), were expected to and did reduce their educational aid in 2010 due to the financial crisis. The United Kingdom (UK) however has protected the percentage of aid it gives from austerity cuts (UNESCO, 2010: 16). Aid cuts from the big funders could have an impact on education expenditure in recipient countries, considering that aid is one source of income for education budgets.

1.2 Progress so far?

Donors of aid have often claimed in their own publications that aid is promoting educational development (DFID, 2010a; USAID, 2014). They claim that without aid thousands of school age children would be out of school or studying in premises unsuitable for learning. The UK's Department for International Development (DFID) states that its global educational aid 'supports some 5 million children in school, and has helped to train over 100,000 teachers and built or refurbished 12,000 classrooms' (DFID, 2010a). The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) also notes that its aid has 'expand[ed] access to school for millions' (USAID, 2014). In a nuanced support of such donor assertions Greenhill, Watt, Griffiths, and Burnley (2006: 4) add

[a]id can make a real difference to the lives of the world's poorest... It can build schools... train and employ the millions of teachers... needed to meet the basic rights of poor people. But to do this aid must be real: that is, genuinely available to fight poverty.

Whether aid is genuinely available or not to promote development seems to be confronted by documented challenges about how aid is given, as will be shown in Chapter 2. Despite the decades of increasing educational aid provision, there is widespread scepticism about aid's effectiveness (World Vision, 2006; Riddell, 2007b; Riddell, 2009). For instance, Greenhill *et al* (2006: 4) suggest the reasons why aid does not achieve its intended results are 'that almost half of all aid remains 'phantom: it is either poorly targeted, double counted as debt relief, tied to donor goods and services, or badly co-ordinated and highly conditional'.

Crucially for this researcher, there is a gap in our knowledge of these problems. With some exceptions in the literature, there has been little systematic research exploring actual outcomes and impact of aid on the beneficiaries, the people in whose name the aid is given. This is important because aid giving is a two-way process, one of giving, the other of receiving, and it

involves two key stakeholders: donors and recipients. Although there is a plethora of donor funded research on aid giving, there is an underrepresentation of research on aid receipt, most importantly of recipient funded research on aid giving by donors, and on how recipients experience the aid given to them - that is, aid from the perspective of the recipient. Existing literature may already challenge some educational aid practices, but it is suggested that those challenging donor practices may not be giving adequate representation to the recipients of aid. As Easterly (2006b: 17) notes in relation to the lack of feedback and accountability: “[t]he needs of the poor don’t get met because the poor have little political power with which to make their needs known and they cannot hold anyone accountable to meet those needs.”

Recipients have been allowed no significant part in the decision-making processes for aid (Burnell, 1997: 207). In most cases, neither the aid delivery method, the amount, nor duration of aid to be given is decided by the recipient. Little is known about whether and how, from the recipient country’s experience, educational aid has contributed to or hindered educational development (Brock-Utne, 2002: 67). This is important because hearing from aid recipients at least brings alternative views to bear on the aid literature. The picture is not different in Ghana.

1.3 Ghana

Ghana is in western Africa, on a land area of 239 square kilometres (Government of Ghana, 2013), almost the size of the UK. The country’s population is approximately 24.6 million (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012: 1). In terms of economic development, Ghana is ranked as a lower middle-income country based on world development indicators such as per capita income and the degree of integration into the global economy (The World Bank Group, 2014). This ranking means that whereas the country has a gross national income per capita of more than \$1,035 (approx. £647) but less than \$12,616 (approx. £7,885), it is also home to some of the one-third of people across the world living on less than \$2 (approx. £1.25) a day (The World Bank Group, 2014).

In relation to overall development, there have been improvements in road infrastructure, electricity provision and general living standards. As of 2012, about 42% of the road network was paved and 72% of the population had access to electricity (Ghana Highway Authority, 2014: 9). This means there are shortfalls in social amenities including discontinuous access to electricity, a large percentage of untarred roads, and limited access to health care. Ghana's average life expectancy is 61 years compared to a world average of 71 years, and to developed nations such as UK and Japan of 81 and 84 years respectively (The World Bank Group, 2016a). Nationally, the adult literacy rate is 71% compared to a global average of 85% (The World Bank Group, 2016b). Nevertheless, Ghana has a large services sector which contributed 49.5% of the country's GDP in 2013, followed by the industry sector with 28.6%, and the agriculture sector with 22% (Ghana Statistical Services, 2014: 3). The services sector is dominated by transport and storage, public administration including social security and defence, and trading consisting of repair of vehicles and household goods. The industry sector is also dominated by construction, and quarrying and mining including of crude oil. The agriculture sector although represented by small scale subsistence farming is dominated by crops farming including cocoa, forestry and logging, livestock rearing, and fishing (Ghana Statistical Services, 2014: 4).

Educationally, the country has made reasonable progress, judging by sub-Saharan African standards, although not by global standards, as is presented in Chapter 3. Primary net enrolment improved from 59% in 2004/05 to 89.3% in 2013/14 (Ministry of Education, 2014: 7), however, there are low levels of attainment in relation to student learning. About 90% of grade 2 students (aged 7) could not read with comprehension, per the 2013 Early Grade Reading Assessment (EGRA), and one contributory factor may be that only 70% of teachers are trained (Ministry of Education, 2014: ix). The management of the education system also faces challenges including the slow pace of decentralisation (explored in Chapter 3), teacher deployment bottlenecks and high teacher absenteeism. On funding, although the percentage of the national budget allocated to education has fluctuated from 22% in 2004, to 37% in 2012, to 21% in 2013 (The World Bank Group, 2016c), the bulk of the funding, 77.9% (Ministry of Education, 2015: 52), is spent on remunerations. With such a spending pattern, not much is left for recurrent costs such as purchasing textbooks and Teaching and Learning Materials (TLMs).

1.4 Working history and assumptions

I started working in the international development field in Ghana as an education professional in 2007. Prior to this I worked for over five years as a Senior Student Support Facilitator at Ealing, Hammersmith and West London College, a Further Education (FE) college. My role involved supporting teaching and learning needs of users, contributing to the development of research and study skills, and joining other staff in evaluating learning materials. Students and teachers alike were supported to access books, online information and computer enquiries. It was during this period that I undertook a Master of Arts (MA) degree in Management of Learning and Teaching to gain more knowledge for my practice.

Working in the FE context exposed me to the role of inner city colleges in promoting social inclusion. I gained the understanding that education can be used for the ‘self development of each individual learner... and simultaneously, the development of the good of mankind’ (Kemmis and Smith, 2008: 16). My interest in the subject of education was raised, I yearned to learn more about the theory of education, its aims, philosophy, and how it is used globally for development. It became important to me in my day-to-day practice to support individuals to realise their potential through the college, bridging the gap between their former schools and Higher Education (HE). After years of intensive practice in the college however, I came to a point where I needed change. This led to looking further afield, to what I initially thought would be a working holiday. When the opportunity came for the Education Advisor role to manage the education cooperation programme of the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) Ghana, I took it.

My work with the aid agency had three components. The first was operational management of the education programme, including management of four projects. These comprised an In-Service Education and Training (INSET) project with the aim to improve teachers’ teaching abilities; a capacity development in educational planning project with the aim to improve the Ghana Education Service’s (GES) decentralised management capacity; a school construction

project with the aim to improve access to education for children in rural areas; and a Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) project aimed at supporting the introduction of Competency Based Training (CBT). The second component was strategic planning and formulation of the Agency's cooperation framework; I undertook research through field surveys, literature reviews, and discussions with stakeholders to promote better understanding of Ghana's education sector. The third component was advocacy of the agency's assistance programmes to stakeholders in other aid agencies, the Ministry of Education (MoE), GES, and the agency's headquarters.

My underlying assumption on joining the international development field was that we were involved to seek a better world for the poor (Wenar, 2011; UNESCO, 2015: 265); and that we were all in the aid business to help others improve themselves through education, for example through making access to education a reality for poor children. Wenar (2011) quoting Singer (1972: 107) defines development aid as 'aid [that] aims to improve the well-being of the poor in the medium to long term, ideally enabling the poor to be self-sufficient'. Some of my experiences however have proved otherwise. In over 10 years of field experience, whilst I have experienced new classrooms being built for communities that hitherto had children studying under bamboo ferns, I have also experienced some challenges of aid mentioned by Greenhill *et al* (2006) first hand. That is aid's phantom-ness: being either poorly targeted, double counted as debt relief, tied to donor goods and services, or badly co-ordinated and highly conditional (Greenhill *et al*, 2006: 4).

Through my role I have come to understand aid agencies' perspectives and methods used to deliver educational aid. I have observed that aid can be given as part of foreign policy to build good relations, tackle developmental challenges, buy favour, and reward alliances. What I have not been able to grasp fully, however, is the actual outcomes of educational aid for the recipient country's education sector, and the underrepresentation of the recipients' voice in this area. What are the experiences of recipients of educational aid? This question came up after several difficult decisions had been made in my line of duty. An example is as follows. After delays in implementing activities under a TVET project, due to delays by the recipient government to set up the counterpart organization we were to support, discussions had to be

held between the local aid agency and its headquarters about strategising a way forward. Note that this discussion was within the aid agency and not with the recipient country. The headquarters recommended that we narrow the scope of the project by taking some originally promised activities off the project to complete the project within the remaining project period. ‘Donor officials often face strong pressure to... ensure... projects are delivered on time’ (Greenhill *et al*, 2006: 37). The TVET programme had several modules that when completed amounted to a certification level. The original agreement with the recipient government was to support the TVET programme in its entirety to change from traditional supply-driven and lecture based training to a demand driven, industry led competency based training with practical, ‘equipment in your hand’ training. These new discussions meant that instead of supporting the full programme of study through a new CBT method, we were now targeting only a module of the programme, leaving the remaining modules of the same programme to be delivered under the traditional didactic method. The agency’s own research had pointed to the traditional didactic method as not being able to meet the challenges of the world of work. Yet the decision was rationalised within the agency and then presented to the recipient government, who despite numerous efforts and expressions of dissatisfaction, could not assuage the agency’s decision. The situation highlighted for me the question of who had control in the donor-recipient relationship. The power mostly lies with the donor.

The discussions raised several other issues for me as an education practitioner. The recommendation to reduce the scope of the project challenged my professional, moral and critical consciousness, as in my judgment we were not aiming to do the best we could under the circumstances (Kemmis and Smith, 2008: 5), but moving the goalposts. From my perspective, alternative proposals such as increasing the human resources needed to complete the remaining activities, or an extension of the project period, could have sufficed to meet the perceived challenge but these were not regarded as viable options by the agency as these options would have possibly involved the commitment of additional resources. Instead, the focus was on completing the project on time and within cost. How were we, then, supporting the students to realise their full potential with such a recommendation? Our ethical purpose of practice thus came into question; in whose interest were we working, the agency’s or the students’? Could the project be deemed successful under a narrowed scope, not meeting recipients’ need, and what indicators would be used to measure success? Would the issue be

that the agency delivered its assistance within a timeframe, or that students learned a new skill using a mixed approach? How could the agency conclude it had successfully delivered the project when more than half of the programme would have been abandoned? What impact will we have made?

From my standpoint, the agency needed to ‘stand outside [its] practice and see what [it did] in a wider perspective’ (Brookfield, 1995: 16). This incident, one amongst many, showed to me that the aims of aid in supporting educational development needed to be re-evaluated.

Interventions needed to be properly justified and not only be donor-driven and results oriented, but aim at real impact that could change the lives of individuals for the best, as education development assistance supposedly aims to do. Education interventions often cannot respond to projects seeking time bound results; rather they are best understood as behaviour change approaches that take time and considerable effort to achieve. The danger here is that ‘donors put their own aims ahead of the needs of beneficiary countries to make progress towards time-bound targets’ (UNESCO, 2015: 274). Tensions around professional and organizational values and purpose of practice surfaced for me. From another angle, I also asked how our recipients were going to experience the aid. It was then that I came to the realisation that a better understanding of how our aid is experienced by recipients needed to be gained, to improve future decision-making.

Subsequent investigations led me to survey Ghana and its aid receipt. I found that for over three decades Ghana had received increasing levels of educational aid, as will be shown in Chapter 3. The donors declared purpose for giving aid is to support the country’s educational development. Although donors’ own literature claims that the aid is promoting education development (DFID, 2012; USAID/Ghana, 2012), there has been little research exploring actual outcomes and the impact of aid as experienced in country by recipients. This is in the context of existing literature showing mixed assessments of outcomes and impact of educational aid on recipient countries’ education sectors. Whilst some studies conclude that educational aid does have positive influence on education outcomes (Samoff, 2003: 52; Diawara, 2009: 42), others argue that educational aid, especially financial contributions, does not necessarily equate to improvements in education quality (Riddell, 2007b: 11). Further,

there are studies indicating that educational aid comes with its own challenges (Samoff, 2003: 52). The challenges appear to stem largely from how aid is delivered, as will be shown in Chapter 2. The ‘quality of implementation of aid projects and programmes on the ground is a cause for serious concern’ (Hurst, 1981:120), yet there are indications the challenges are surmountable (Hurst, 1981; Wenar, 2011). In the TVET situation described above, if the initial discussions had been with the recipient government, with consideration for the interest of students, it is possible that the way forward might have been different. A decision that considered the needs of the students would have been the right one to take per our mandate, considering the proclamations that we as development partners are here to help the poor. Yet, in the TVET situation, the decision by the agency, out of its own interest in completing the project on time and within budget, meant that the aid provided did not reach its full potential by not accomplishing what it had been initially proposed for. The aid could have fully trained the students towards the new CBT method, instead of the partial training it opted for. The aid could have been made more relevant and useful by meeting the recipients’ need, yet it achieved less than its full potential due to the donor’s decisions. The argument that aid be more effective will be further developed in Chapter 2.

1.5 Dissertation aim

Although I am an insider, since I work in a development organisation, I am also an outsider because I am not an aid recipient (my positioning is explored further in Chapter 4). I find there is a need for an external evaluation of aid to the education sector that is conducted outside of the official aid agency discourse, since there could be differences between what donors think they have implemented and what recipients’ experiences are. My aim in this dissertation is to investigate the outcomes of aid to Ghana’s education sector, by exploring the experiences of Ghanaian aid recipients. The research question to be addressed is: how do Ghanaian aid recipients (teachers, Head Teachers, district and national education managers) experience educational aid, focusing on whether and how the educational aid has contributed to or hindered educational development? This question guided the literature review, a process which also led to several sub questions emerging around the themes of why there is the need for educational aid, the best models for delivering educational aid, the actual outcomes and

impact of educational aid on host countries' education sectors, the sustainability of educational aid, and recipients' overall assessment of aid (further details of the research questions are shown in section 4.5). This is with the intention of helping to improve a sector I love working in, by identifying where challenges lie and seeking redress, and not to tear the aid industry down through criticism for criticism's sake. It is necessary to make this statement because no space is allowed in the sector for internal criticism, especially as those that criticise are cast as being against aid. For manageability, the study focuses on two agencies, DFID and JICA; representing one of the largest and the smallest aid agencies respectively, that provide aid to Ghana's basic education level. The years of focus are between 2007 and 2012.

1.6 Outline of subsequent chapters

Chapter 2 presents an exploration of critical perspectives on aid, and educational aid. I first focus on the history of aid before exploring critical debates on making aid effective, and widespread scepticism towards some donor practices. Attention is given to exploring theories on aid and international development including modernisation, dependency, post colonialism and Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs). This is followed by a review of instruments used to deliver aid. Next, the mixed outcomes and impact of aid on the education sectors of recipient countries, including the identified gap in aid literature from the recipients' side, are examined. Furthermore, the argument that aid is achieving less than its full potential due to some donor practices is further developed.

Chapter 3 focuses on Ghana, specifically its educational development, as background to contextualise the study. The educational needs of the country including improving access to education, and education management issues of decentralisation and teacher management are presented. Further, the quality of education characterised by low student learning outcomes, even though there are trained teachers are also probed, including efforts being made to address these needs. Next, discussions on evaluations in development are presented, followed by the aid received from the two donors of focus, a total of £161 million from DFID and JICA

between 2007 and 2012. Finally, the donors' evaluation of how their aid contributed to the Ghanaian education system is discussed.

The approach to the study, the insider outsider researcher positioning issue, and discussions on ethical considerations are presented in Chapter 4. As this dissertation aims to explore what each participant Ghanaian educational aid recipient's personal interpretation of their aid experience is, the justification for the location of the study in the interpretive paradigm is presented. Further, reasons for the use of the interview method to collect data are also presented. This is followed by discussions of the selection criteria used to arrive at the 13 participants from the MoE, GES, two primary schools and the District Education Office (DEO). A summary of the research questions, born out of recurring themes from the initial literature review, are also presented. This is followed by discussions on the use of King's (2007) template analysis strategy to analyse the data, considerations of debates about meeting judgements of research quality, and researcher positioning and ethics. I point to the awareness developed during my work history in aid organisations which provided me with a view of the research context and on-going aid debates. I also indicate that my positioning makes me both an insider and an outsider; an insider because of my professional practice, and an outsider because I am not an aid recipient. Each positioning, however, could come with its own implications. I argue that I place myself as a facilitator with the requisite background knowledge of the proposed research context, as the knowledge to be gained requires interaction between participants and the researcher.

Chapter 5 presents the thematic results of analysing data from the recipients' interviews. Five major themes were identified, three of which reflected themes from the literature reviewed. The themes are the *need* for aid; the *process* used to deliver aid; the *outcomes and impact* of aid; whether aid is *sustainable*; and *recommendations* for improvements to future aid. The detailed findings under each theme with illustrative quotes are presented, as well as the context of the selected district and schools. What is evident in the participants' responses is the complexity of the issue at hand, especially around attribution and measuring aid results.

The last chapter, 6, then moves on from analysing what the data says to interpreting what the data means, its implications for professional practice, as well as presenting the conclusions of the study and reflections on possible ways forward for donor and recipient aid relationship. First, discussions centre on what the findings may mean and what may be accounting for them, in the light of literature and theories discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. Next, the reasons why the findings are important are enumerated, followed by possible implications of the findings for professional practice. Further, reflections on the impact of the study on the researcher are also presented. Furthermore, conclusions of the study and reflections on possible ways forward for donor and recipient aid relationship are presented. Inevitably this study will have limitations, these are presented in addition to suggestions of possible future research areas. The chapter then ends with some final reflections.

Chapter 2. Aid and educational aid

Presented in this chapter is an exploration of critical perspectives on aid in general and educational aid. Attention is first given to the history of aid, before examining critical debates on the effectiveness of aid, and widespread scepticism expressed in debates around aid, including an examination of the role of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) operated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. The focus then shifts to the fundamental question of whether there is still a need for aid. Attention is given to the diverse theoretical perspectives on the role that aid plays in international development, including modernisation, dependency and post-colonialism. Next, the instruments and mechanisms used to deliver aid are discussed, and the mixed outcomes and impact of aid on the education sectors of recipient countries are highlighted. Throughout the chapter the central argument that aid is achieving less than its full potential is further developed, using illustrative project situations.

2.1 Antecedents of aid and aid policies

Globally the genesis of aid, at least a coherent and consistent attempt to provide it, can be traced to the United States' (US) European Recovery Program (ERP) of 1947, commonly referred to as the Marshall Plan (Tarp, 2006; Moyo, 2009). The Marshall Plan was proclaimed as an initiative to support the rebuilding of war-devastated Europe. Yet the 'motives behind the US aid were multifaceted, ranging from the selfish to the generous' (Tarp, 2006:20). As, Moyo (2009:12-14) notes, although the official aim was to rebuild Europe, the US also sought to contain Soviet communism, and at the same time boost trade for itself. Under the plan most goods and services provided were to be purchased from the US. Some have attributed aid practices to the legacy of the Marshall Plan (United Nations, 2006: 63). In 1948, partly in recognition of the importance of economic cooperation and free trade for the reconstruction of Europe and partly to oversee the allocation of Marshall Plan funds, Western European states established the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), which with the inclusion of the United States and Canada, developed into the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in 1960, to promote economic development through

free trade. The OECD's initial focus on developing countries was concerned with measuring what they defined in 1969 as Official Development Assistance (ODA) which excluded military aid. ODA is defined by the OECD as aid:

i. *provided by official agencies*, including state and local governments, or by their executive agencies; and ii. each transaction of which is: a) administered with the promotion of the *economic development and welfare of developing countries* as its main objective; and b) is *concessional in character* and conveys a grant element of at least 25 per cent (calculated at a rate of discount of 10 per cent) (OECD, 2016b).

However, for much of Africa, Ghana included, international development has to be situated within the colonial legacy, as part of the British Empire. As a former colony of Britain, development policies during the colonial era are of relevance, since the policies would have had influence, in theory, in Ghana. Generally, pre-independence Britain as the mother country initially left development to its colonies where colonies were required to use their own resources to develop, but later the thinking changed. Imperial Britain started to see development of the colonies as a joint responsibility between the colony and the mother country. To this end Britain started to structure the development process where each request for assistance was considered on merit and passed through the British parliament (Wicker, 1958; Abbott, 1971).

Interestingly though this new thinking of joint responsibility for development also had the underlying assumption that development efforts should benefit the British industry by providing 'substantial orders for British goods and materials' (Wicker, 1958: 174). The enactment of the Colonial Development Act 1929, it is suggested, marked the emergence of a systematic approach to colonial development that also served the interest of the home country. Wicker (1958: 174) wrote that:

[t]he urgency of the unemployment problem at home rather than colonial economic development was the predominant reason advanced by the Labour government for introducing the Colonial Development Bill in 1929.

In concert, the aim of the Act was stated as ‘aiding and developing agriculture and industry in the colony or territory, *and thereby promoting commerce with or industry in the United Kingdom* [emphasis added]’ (Colonial Development Act, 1929: 1). As part of the objective of serving the interest of the donor country, the Act went on to specify a multitude of means that aid, through the purchase of machinery from the UK, could be given. To illustrate, portions of the Act stated that aid would be provided by ‘[a]ny other means which appear calculated to achieve the purpose aforesaid’ (Colonial Development Act, 1929: 2), the aforesaid purpose here being the benefit of the UK economy. Abbott (1971: 73) indicates that the interim report of the Colonial Development Advisory Committee, the body in charge of appraising request for assistance, deemed it desirable that development assistance mainly took the form of buying equipment from British industry.

Conceptually, therefore, the 1929 Colonial Development Act was regarded as a sort of multiplier with both forward and backward linkage effects, a twin concept which is now quite familiar to development economists (Abbott, 1971: 73).

Successive Colonial Development and Welfare Acts of 1940, 1945, 1948 and 1955 progressively continued to make provisions from British funds for colonial development, but also continued to tie the territories’ development to benefits that would accrue to the mother country. This continued linkage to the mother country went on to the extent that delays in implementing development plans in the colonies were partly due to the inability of the Crown Agents to fulfil orders for steel and other materials needed in the territories for development (Wicker, 1958). That the successive Colonial Development and Welfare Acts continued to promote the dual objectives of development assistance is of interest, especially as the Act was in force when in 1948, the OEEC, now transformed into the OECD, was formed to promote economic development. The OECD’s aims may have changed, but practice in the field may not have followed. The existence of modalities such as technical assistance that ties aid to donor products and services (explored in later sections) points to the lingering influence of the Acts. A plausible conclusion is that such objectives of international development assistance continue to drive the purpose and allocation of aid.

Post-independence, the move from colonial empires to international development saw Britain creating the ‘Department of Technical Cooperation in 1961 to pull together expertise on colonial development spread across diverse departments’ (Fitzsimons, Rogger and Stoye,

2012: 147). Then in 1964 the Ministry of Overseas Development was created to support the newly independent territories (UK Government, 1997: 8). A major shift in thinking happened again in 1997 when the DFID ‘was inaugurated as a separate entity from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, where some of its new responsibilities had been housed’ (Fitzsimons, Rogger and Stoye, 2012: 147). According to the UK Government White paper (1997:8), the DFID was to ‘refocus [the UK’s] international development efforts on the elimination of poverty and encouragement of economic growth which benefits the poor’. Emphasis was now being placed on the need to untie aid from the UK’s economic interest and as such the stated foci of these policies mostly centred on poverty reduction by targeting people and countries most in need of assistance. Yet since the 2010s, gradually it appears that current practices are now shifting back to providing aid that serves the UK’s interest (Gilligan 2012, Telegraph Reporter 2015) (explored further in later sections).

The DFID’s focus on poverty reduction emerged amidst contradictions about development partners’ global focus and targeting of aid. For example, a UN statement indicating that ‘[o]fficial development assistance hit a record high of \$134.8 billion in 2013’, but ‘[a]id shifted away from the poorest countries where attainment of... MDGs often lags the most’ (UN, 2015) is of concern. This is because there appears to be a contradiction in what aid’s proclaimed aim is, as compared to the history of aid being given to gain mutual benefit. Further, literature reviewed from Alesina and Dollar (2000), Riddell (2007a), Takyi-Amoako (2010) and Moyo (2009) in the following paragraphs also seem to suggest so. Before examining the reasons behind this shift in the focus and scope in the distribution of aid it is worth briefly examining the evolution of ODA under the auspices of the OECD.

The Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the OECD is the leading coordinating body of international development assistance, including for education. The DAC/OECD, being the voluntary club of donors, predominantly rich countries, has over the years defined what aid is. As noted above aid is considered as ODA when it is provided by official agencies, has economic development and welfare of developing countries as its main objective, and is concessional in character (OECD, 2016b). The list of what cannot be counted as ODA includes spending on the military, and on some but not all aspects of peacekeeping and antiterrorism. The definition of what counts as economic development and welfare on the other hand is mentioned as being a matter of intention in the final analysis by the giver (OECD,

2008b: 2). The concessional aspect of the ODA also refers to the need for aid to ‘represent an effort in favour of developing countries’ (OECD, 2008b: 2). In this way, market rate loans cannot be counted as aid. All these different aspects combine to form the definition of aid and point to its intended altruistic nature. Educational aid, as defined in the introductory chapter, is a sub-category of the bigger aid discourse.

2.2 Criticisms of aid

The altruistic intent of aid however has come in for critical commentary. Riddell (2007a: 3), in his research on making aid effective, argues that most ODA giving ‘continues to be influenced by the commercial, strategic and short-term political interests of donors’. He makes this claim since he finds that instead of rich countries giving aid to poor countries to relieve their burdens, rather the poorest countries, 63 of them, received less than half of total aid given. This is compared to some three countries (amongst them Israel), who are not exactly poor, accounting for a quarter of aid given in 2005 (Riddell, 2007a: 4). However, if one considers that giving aid is voluntary, this finding may not be surprising, since who donors give aid to or how much they give is entirely up to them. Nevertheless, this finding may feed into the argument by some critics that rich countries are using aid to further their own geo-political interests, a notion explored further below. Furthermore, the nonexistence of an oversight body to ensure that ODA meets the declared definition may also allow for such practices. The peer review mechanism of the OECD (2016c) may prove to be a good first step for donors to undergo constructive criticism from their peer donors to improve aid for the better, as it provides some level of peer accountability for donor actions or inactions. For example, Japan was peer reviewed by Australia and France in 2014, after which the main finding was that ‘Japan’s aid [is] guided by clear vision and priorities but should focus on countries and people most in need’ (OECD, 2016d). Based on this finding several recommendations for improvement were made. As of 2017, 31% of the recommendations had been implemented, 32% were partially implemented, but, 37% were not implemented. Arguably Japan still had time up to the next review year of 2019 to implement the recommendations. However, what would happen should Japan fail to implement some of the recommendations is not clear.

Additionally, in the days of economic difficulties at home for developed nations and their public's increasing questioning stance on the need for overseas spending, many a donor has made subtle shifts in ODA priorities toward programs that directly benefit commercial, strategic and short-term interest, rather than ones that promote recipient economic development and welfare per se. This may mean that a surprising amount of ODA assistance is being given to countries that are anything but poor, which could in turn possibly limit the results of aid. In their study on who gives aid to whom and why, Alesina and Dollar (2000: 33) conclude that 'colonial past and political alliances' are among the major determinants of the giving of aid. This is because in their study it appears that aid is being used by some donors as a means of exercising patronage and political influence over developing countries. Specifically, Alesina and Dollar's (2000: 33) research found that voting for some donor countries, especially Japan, during high stakes meetings for instance at the United Nations, may incur favour for developing nations to receive more aid. In yet another instance, because of the USA's interest in the Middle East, a good portion of its aid is given to countries in the region, including one third to Israel and Egypt (Alesina and Dollar, 2000: 38). Of course, one could argue that these countries may not be the poorest by most standards. One could also argue that such mixed objectives of development assistance driving the direction of aid may lead to a limiting of the expected results, as motives for giving may not be about economic development or welfare, but about promoting interests. I agree with Greenhill and Watt (2005: 4) that:

[a]t present, far too much aid is driven by geopolitical and commercial objectives rather than by efforts to protect the rights of poor people. If aid currently has a mixed record in terms of its impact on poverty reduction, that is because it is often not what it is designed to do.

Others such as Takyi-Amoako (2010) in her study of aid effectiveness in Ghana, a recipient country, also find that many 'remain suspicious of aid, perceive it as a hindrance to the progress of aid recipients and even see it as imperialistic' (Takyi-Amoako, 2010: 5). Such critics point to aid giving being a hindrance to the self-help efforts of developing countries because in its current setup with globalisation undertones (Takyi-Amoako, 2010: 5) aid relieves the recipient country of its obligation to its citizens, and rather makes the recipient dependent on the donor for support. So instead of helping, aid rather contributes to a dependency relationship between donor and recipient, as will be shown in discussions on

dependency and modernisation in the following pages. For this reason, critics call for the cessation of aid or a reduction, as in their estimation aid does not contribute to the recipient country's economic development, and at best has minimal developmental impact (Takyi-Amoako, 2010: 5).

Similar comments about aid creating dependency are professed by Dambisa Moyo in her book *Dead aid*. Moyo (2009) argues from a neoliberal perspective that there are fundamental structural errors in the aid giving system, and so the idea that aid can promote development is false, since nowhere in the world has aid exclusively taken people out of poverty. Rather, she argues that aid is allowing African governments to underperform by abdicating their duty of providing public goods (education, health, and infrastructure) to development agencies. To Moyo (2009), recipient governments court development agencies for funds instead of being accountable to citizens. Moyo (2009) also argues that because aid funds pool at central government level, it rather lends itself to corruption as it is easy to siphon. This assertion she backs with year on year corruption indices published by Transparency International, with large numbers of African countries leading the most corrupt chart (Moyo, 2009). Of course, Moyo's argument appears to paint the picture that corruption is only on the recipient side, when there could be corruption also facilitated by Western governments and corporations. Nevertheless, Moyo calls for the cessation of aid, and the use of trade, foreign direct investments, taxes and microfinance, amongst a host of other prescriptions, to promote development, however unlikely these may be considering the trade agreements African countries are subject to.

2.2.1 Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs)

Foreign aid inflows in the form of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), spearheaded by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), have also come in for criticism (Fatton, 1992; Thomson, 2010; WHO, 2015). The SAPs may have come in as a purported panacea for developing nations in the 1970s and 1980s, but 'in reality it was merely a reincarnation of the aid model' (Moyo, 2009: 19). According to the IMF (1999), the SAPs were introduced to the developing world because several countries, mostly African, from a position of being rising nations after independence from colonial rule, were affected by adverse factors including famine, drought and civil war that brought about prolonged economic decline. In the throes of

the crisis there was compression of educational expenditure and systems. Ghana faced such challenges (World Bank, 2004: 7). The SAPs were mostly conditional loans (Easterly, 2003; Oberdabernig, 2009; World Health Organisation (WHO), 2015), requiring the recipient country to undertake economic reform by adopting prescribed policies. In Ghana, Casely-Hayford, Palmer, Ayamdoo and Thompson (2007: 18) report that:

[f]rom the 1980s, the flow of donor funds to education was dependent on Ghana fulfilling certain conditions set by the World Bank and IMF, sometimes for themselves but mostly on behalf of donors.

The recommended reforms often included fiscal austerity, privatization of industry and services including health, social and welfare services, and financial and market liberalization of a country's economy (Hahnel, 1999; WHO, 2015).

Despite the SAPs intended aims, their reported effects are mixed. On the one hand is the view held by sponsoring institutions that SAPs made countries that pursued the reforms a model for others to emulate. Ghana and Tanzania are touted as examples where SAPs were successfully implemented (Husain and Faruquee, 1994: 4 - 6). In the view of some authors (Boafo-Arthur, 1999; Louis, 2005) perhaps Ghana did experience some gains from the implementation of SAPs, although these are put in context of other negative effects cited in the following paragraphs. A proclaimed positive outcome is that the country's economic decline did stop, with a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth of 4 to 6 percent, from a previous average of 1.5 percent in 1970 to 1983 (Louis, 2005). It is further claimed that improvements occurred in infrastructure development (Louis, 2005); however, as noted at the beginning of this chapter Ghana still suffers from a lack of even the most basic infrastructure in terms of utility provision. Whether these improvements translated into better living conditions for the populace therefore is contested.

On the other hand, there is a vast literature castigating the reported positive effects of SAPs (Thomson, 2010; Fatton, 1992; WHO, 2015). Critics argue that after decades of implementation, SAPs have had minimal developmental impact and have been unsuccessful (United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS), 2001; Andrews, 2010). Through the prescribed reforms developing countries' economies constricted further, with the effect on the social sector being more pronounced (Husain and Faruquee, 1994; UNCHS, 2001; Louis,

2005; Andrews, 2010). Fiscal austerity measures aimed at reducing government spending and increasing tax collection to increase the resource base (Hahnel, 1999: 52, Husain and Faruquee, 1994:5) ended up either producing new or reinforcing existing inequalities. The social sectors, especially health and education, suffered with reduced budget allocations.

Further, privatisation of public enterprises (electricity and water) for better management (Hahnel, 1999; Husain and Faruquee, 1994) stipulated by SAPs, resulted in increases in cost of services. The poor were further marginalised. Financial and market liberalization directives also instigated the removal of restrictions on the flow, either way, of international capital, exports and imports. Foreign businesses and banks could have access to national markets (Hahnel, 1999; Husain and Faruquee, 1994), resulting in the opening of local markets to the influx of subsidised goods from the West competing with local goods that were not subsidised. Local industries could not cope. In Ghana for instance the poultry industry could not compete with the influx of subsidized poultry from the developed world (Hardus, 2010; Sumberg, Awo, Fiankor, Kwadzo and Thompson, 2013).

In exchange for these reforms, the IMF then restructured the country's debt and loans money so that countries could continue servicing their debts to the international community (Hahnel, 1999). Countries in effect cede ownership of their development agendas to the supranational organisation and external debtors, but this does not help.

External debt increased considerably after the implementation [of]... SAP... For instance, in 1982 Ghana's debt amounted to US\$577 million... and at the end of 2000 its external debt in net present value terms had reached US\$3.9 billion (Kim, 2013: 4-5).

Andrews (2010: 99) also writes that:

after two decades of SAPs and even about four decades of other forms of aid, Ghana is still developing.... In fact, from the unstable nature of progress, we can rather safely conclude... aid has not been very significant in reducing poverty in Ghana.

The debate about SAP's impact may be raging on partly because study after study has not found the supposed positive effects, and the institution concerned is reported to have shown an

acceptance of the problems associated with SAPs, especially their effects on the social sectors (International Monetary Fund, 1999; World Health Organisation, 2015). This is despite the agency continuing to prescribe what they call an enhanced version of the SAPs. Then there is the wider debate on the effectiveness of international aid and its capacity to achieve developmental objectives which also remains contested. For the purposes of analysing the responses of aid recipients, it will be interesting to know if some of the reported benefits and negative features of SAPs will be alluded to by the participants, especially as there are long standing years of relationship between Ghana and the IMF.

2.3 Improving aid effectiveness

Globally, the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (OECD, 2005) has sought to improve the quality and impact of aid on development by setting out five principles for donors and recipients to work together and hold each other accountable to the development process. These principles are first promoting recipient country ownership through donors allowing developing countries to set their own development strategies. Second, donors aligning support to the nationally owned strategies. Third, donors themselves harmonize their efforts for simplification and to avoid duplication. Fourth, donors and recipients shifted their focus to development outcomes, and fifth, donors and recipients holding each other mutually accountable for development results (Cedergren, 2007: 26). These were needed because prior to the Paris Declaration, decades of development practice had seen donors imposing development strategies on recipient countries, where nationally owned strategies existed donors not supporting these strategies, donors working in the same country duplicating each other, and development efforts not being directed to achieving clear or measurable results (Browne, 2007: 7; Cedergren, 2007: 26).

Conversely though, as pointed out by Addae-Boahene (2007: 11-12):

for some of the issues included in the Paris process, such as technical assistance and predictability, the targets do not go far enough, and many other key issues such as conditionality are omitted altogether.

Yet most of the criticisms of aid are centred on technical assistance and conditionality. The omission of these critical issues could be read as an oversight on the part of donors, but it may also be read as an unwillingness to make changes to reduce aid conditionality. Wood, Kabell, Sagasti and Muwanga (2008: 29) in evaluating progress on the Paris initiative reports that it is 'far from being seen as a panacea for... main development concerns' by many. This is because the policy itself does not address the areas of most concern for recipients, and for the other areas it covers, years after the policy enactment, implementation has been slow.

UNESCO (2011a: 111) for instance, amongst its many foci, leads the aid effectiveness section with: 'right direction, wrong speed', pointing to the slow progress being made. The reasons for such slow implementation is not clear, but suffice to say such extensive implementation delays may affect the quality and impact of aid on development, including on education development. Three years after Paris, the Accra Agenda for Action (AAA) (OECD, 2008), and then in 2011 the Busan Partnership for Effective Development Co-operation (OECD, 2017) were also enacted as follow-ups to the Paris declaration, with further areas for improvement around promoting inclusive partnerships where partners including donors, recipients and civil society participate fully in the development processes. Aid was also to be focused on delivering results. To date although the Paris, the AAA and the Busan action plans had aimed to set the pace for improving aid to make it more effective in achieving its intended outcomes and impact, implementation progress remains low and appears not to be prioritised.

2.4 The argument

My own critical stance is that whilst I perceive that both sides of the aid debate make important statements, aid is achieving less than its full potential due to some donor practices. On the one hand, I agree with Tilak (1988: 328): 'aid [maybe] was never intended to make a direct major contribution to growth in developing countries', especially as aid is only a small percentage of some recipient country resources. Rather, aid may have been conceived as a stimulant for growth, with its effectiveness being dependant on other recipient country factors such as availability of skills and capacity (Tilak, 1988: 328). I also agree with Moyo (2009) that something is not working, however I disagree with Moyo on the grounds that the problems are not all the doing of aid. Corruption may happen with or without aid. Lack of

strong African leaders to spearhead Africa's agenda for development may not be all the doing of aid. I believe Moyo would concede that not all of Africa's problems are driven by aid.

My argument that aid is achieving less than its full potential includes the criticisms of aid noted above. Specifically, these criticisms include the processes used to deliver aid. I have seen school children have access to textbooks on a one to one basis because of aid, where hitherto there were three to four children sharing one book. I have seen aid build classrooms where hitherto children went to school under trees. However, in the case of the school construction project, because of conditions attached to the grant that insisted on the donor country's engineers as supervising consultants, about 30% of the grant never left the donor country. It was used to pay the donor country supervisors, yet counted towards the overall grant given to the country. This meant that the unit cost of each classroom was very high, and tends to support the view that: '[d]onors often favour their own commercial interests to the detriment of developing countries' own plans' (Ingram and Sánchez, 2013: 33).

The recipient country had equally good supervising engineers including the internationally recognised Crown Agents but this was not an option for the donor. That 30% payment could have been used to build more classrooms, meaning the total grant could have achieved more. Aid that uses technical assistance especially has come in for heavy criticism, as will be shown later, since a good portion of the aid ends up in the donor country to pay for consultants, machinery and training courses. 'Education aid does not always reach recipient countries' (UNESCO, 2015: 273). According to Greenhill and Watt (2005: 4) 'more than 60% of aid flows are 'phantom'; that is, they do not represent a real resource transfer to the recipient. For the worst performing G7 donors, the figure is as high as 89%'. Such spending that goes to firms in the home country may mean that aid is not actually available to the developing country to fight its needs, let alone contribute to results.

Secondly, the apparent dual motives of donors in giving aid that benefits the home country itself takes away from the altruistic intent of aid giving that is supposed to be in the favour of the recipient country. By focusing on benefits that primarily accrue to the home country as described above, the expected impact of the aid may not be realised in the recipient country. A 'key danger is that donors put their own aims ahead of the needs of beneficiary countries' (UNESCO, 2015: 274). Interventions need to aim at real impact that could change the lives of

individuals and their communities for the better. There is a need for decisions or actions taken to be in the sole interest of the recipient, under any given circumstance, to abide by the altruistic intent of aid. The pre-occupation with aid delivery models that favour the donor (Orivel and Sargent, 1988: 469) limits aid's impact.

Another worrying feature of aid giving is the power dynamics associated with it. The TVET situation presented in the introductory chapter presents the context within which this point is being made. Key decisions to be made, such as the total amount to be given, the method to deliver the aid, and duration of the aid are all the prerogative of the donor. Are donors saying they know best what is good for the recipient country? Although some consultations are made with the recipient country, these consultations could be deemed as tokenistic engagement gestures. The parameters mentioned remain the prerogative of the donor. So, because aid is not reflecting the needs of the recipient country as understood by citizens of that country, it is unlikely to achieve fully what it could do. This stance is not about whether aid works or not, but about how far the aid given could reach if it were given in the sole interests of the recipient. Aid as it is structured now hinders achievement of results. It could also be argued that this in turn influences the population of the donor countries in a negative way as they also perceive that aid is not achieving its intended aims. There are indeed various challenges with aid giving, however, these challenges are surmountable. If there were to be a streamlined approach to aid delivery that does not concentrate on what the donor could also benefit from the process, aid could achieve more positive results. Aid may not fix all development problems, but it can be improved to perform better.

2.5 Why the need for educational aid?

Considering the challenges plaguing the aid system, the question of why there is a need for educational aid in the first place becomes relevant. The response to this question is multifaceted. First there is the argument of insufficiency or lack of resources in developing countries to promote education development. 'Donors' implicit assumption is that Africa is stuck in a poverty trap and that massive aid is necessary to escape from the trap' (Birdsall, 2007: 8); while Tilak (1998: 329) suggests '[a]lmost all educational systems in less developed

countries suffer from scarcity of resources – financial as well as physical.’ For these reasons, the inflow of aid should support the development of recipient country education system.

Another argument, related to the preceding one, is the moral obligation to give aid. At the 1990 Jomtien World Conference (WC) on Education For All (EFA), much as the developed nations saw the need for every child, irrespective of their geographic location, to have access to education, they also recognised that some developing countries would not have the needed resources to meet the goals being set (WCEFA Inter-Agency Commission, 1990). For this reason, the developed world recognised the need to help. Thus, the need to give aid is considered a social responsibility where the haves help the have-nots, probably as a human right. Whether there is such a responsibility to help, though, is contested. Arthur (1984) argues that the affluent has the right not to give to the not so well off, and that much as it is nice to help, it should not be deemed as an obligation. Thus, it is argued, the choice to help should be left to the well off. However, in the case of colonial dependencies, explored later, there may be a moral obligation. Healy (2013) on the other hand encapsulates the idea of there being such a responsibility when she writes that ‘it was believed that clean water, sufficient food and seeing your children grow into adulthood should not be the preserve of the prosperous north’ (Healy, 2013). Instead there is the need to have the willingness to understand and respect the concerns, attitudes, and ways of life of other countries by ‘securing "basic needs for all"' (Healy, 2013), regardless of the other people’s geographic location.

[T]he failure of people in... rich nations to make any significant sacrifices in order to assist people who are dying from poverty - related causes is ethically indefensible. It is not simply the absence of charity, let alone of moral saintliness: It is wrong, and one cannot claim to be a morally decent person unless one is doing far more than the typical comfortably-off person does (Singer, 2002:1).

For these reasons, and for those who argue as Singer does, the prosperous global north takes on the moral obligation of helping the not-so-fortunate in the global south. The Jomtien Declaration seems to be born out of these assumptions, as the pledge was made at Dakar ‘that no country should be thwarted in achieving the EFA goals due to lack of resources’ (UNESCO, 2015: 279). It could be argued however, that an attitude like this may have contributed to the objectification of people in developing countries, as objects of pity who need to be ‘helped’ by those from wealthier countries, which may not be the case in some instances. Further, such

attitudes may also have helped create aid tourism and aid gap years, commercialising aid giving along the way.

2.5.1 Theories of development

In exploring the widely-held assumption that there is a need for educational aid, an examination of development theories, of modernisation theory, of dependency theory, and of post colonialism becomes pertinent. The theories provide insights into underlying structural and contextual factors influencing the aid environment. Modernisation theory is credited to have originated from social scientists including Rostow and Parsons in the 1940s. Although there are variations, the main proposition centres on how, and what is needed for, underdeveloped states to transition to become modern states, taking on the characteristics of the Western world. Modernisation theorists argue that third world countries, as developing countries were called then, are less developed than their counterparts in the first world, because of being at different stages of development based on cultural, economic, and political values and systems (Przeworski and Limongi, 1997). Using the process of evolution as a suggestion, Rostow (1960) points to a five-stage process that underdeveloped countries need to go through to become developed.

1. Primitive society:... characterized by subsistence farming and barter trade. 2. Preparation for take-off:...stage ... specialization, production of surplus goods and trade. Transport infrastructure is developed to support trade... encourages savings and investment. 3. Take-off ... stage industrialization increases and the economy switches from agriculture to manufacturing. 4. Drive to maturity: ...stage the economy diversifies into new areas and there is less reliance on imports. 5. Period of mass consumption:... the economy gears on mass production and service sector becomes increasingly dominating (Matunhu, 2011: 66).

The assumption is that each underdeveloped country needs to go through these stages to be modernised. Certain preconditions, though, were needed for the third world to develop from its basic state. Specifically, foreign aid in the form of capital, technology and a modernised nation's knowhow needed to be brought to bear on the underdeveloped nation to modernise (Rostow, 1960). Hence aid tied to the donor country, ensuring that ideas from the donor country were essential aspects of the change, was provided to facilitate the modernisation process.

In Ghana aid to education became prominent in the mid-1980 when the global focus on education gained momentum and the Government took measures to re-position education. An education system which mimicked the system and curriculum of the global North appeared a good tool for deepening the modernisation mentality and its adoption. The process saw the introduction of the Education Reform of 1987, an intervention which benefitted largely from a World Bank (WB) support for the provision of facilities and teaching and learning materials with the view of improving education quality. Prior to this the UK and USA had introduced funding support towards improving primary education. The period also saw the development of a more systematic arrangement towards attracting funding from external sources to education implementation. The emergence of education aid in Ghana fits very much into the intent espoused in the modernisation theory, where a transition is expected to take place from an underdeveloped state to the adoption of systems, practices and standards of a donor, leading to an eventual maturation of the country's education system to a developed state. Rostow's (1960) five stages indicated how this stage of development was to be attained. Hoogvelt (1978: 60-61) referred to this as 'westernisation of developing countries' or achieving 'convergence' in the terms of Kerr (1962). The development of the educational aid architecture in Ghana, therefore, was built to bring to reality principles inherent in the modernisation theory.

Critics argue that the modernisation approach to development presumes the global North has all the answers to how to develop, at the same time as making aid inherently oppressive or arrogantly overbearing toward its recipients (Matunhu, 2011). Others assert that modernisation theory assumes all countries will and should follow the same path of development, which is not necessarily the case (Przeworski and Limongi, 1997) especially as there is evidence to the contrary. Further concern argues that modernisation overlooks the specific historical context of countries, their culture and any possible external constraints or inter-dependency relationship between countries (Matunhu, 2011). The theory however, finds a place in this discussion because as Hoogvelt (1978: 60-61) notes, a monumental theoretical error has been perpetrated by modernisation policy-makers, Western governments, the UN and WB, that the re-organisation of existing social and cultural as well as political patterns by underdeveloped countries to conform to Western systems will facilitate the transition to the desired state of development. Apart from being ethnocentric, it may not.

Another development theory, which criticises the theory of modernisation and its basis on the global capitalist economic system, by shedding light on the philosophy of aid is dependency theory. The theory emerged in the late 1950s, rejecting the view there is underdevelopment in developing countries because of internal factors. Instead the theory points to underdevelopment as being a result of industrialised countries enriching themselves at the expense of peripheral economies in a world system (Hite and Roberts, 2007; Frank, 2007; Ferraro, 2008). Founding authors of the theory such as Prebisch, Andre Gunder Frank and Wallerstein, although varying in their propositions, generally argue the development of industrialised countries has been at the expense of developing countries. They stress that the underdevelopment of the South is because of the North's exploitation through colonisation, dominance of international trading system, aid, and not because of the traditional state's inability to develop due to internal factors. Dependency theorists argue that the global economy and its structures and inter-linkages cannot be ignored. Since in comparison with the first world, the third world is placed at the periphery of the global economy, servicing the needs of the first world placed at the centre. The development of industrialised countries then has been based on the extraction, from the third world, of low priced raw materials and cheap labour for production and multinational companies in the industrialised countries. Yet the trade, including prices, is controlled from the centre by the developed world for its benefit, whilst the developing world remains at the periphery as a source of raw inputs. To the dependency theorist, the unequal exchange between the two is a problem. This contrasts with the almost cooperative relationship described by modernisation theorist of the first world helping the third world with aid, technology and knowhow for it to develop. Dependency theorists accept that some development in the third world may take place but this would be the 'development of underdevelopment' (Hite and Roberts, 2007: 9 - 10; Frank, 2007: 78; Ferraro, 2008: 58 - 64). And even in the periphery states, the global structure of centre and periphery may be replicated with big cities exploiting rural areas for their benefit. For the above reasons, dependency theorists argue that the unequal interactions create a dependency relationship between the two sides. This means development and underdevelopment are two sides of the same coin in a world system (Namkoong, 1999: 126). For instance, the giving of tied aid that requires spending in the donor country is directly linked with the underdevelopment of developing countries. For this reason, the continued giving of aid, they maintain, is to preserve

economic and political interests, and ultimately the dependency relationship (Tilak, 1988; Takyi-Amoako, 2010).

Another theory of importance, also critically focused on maintaining of unequal relationships between the North and South, is postcolonialism. Postcolonial discourse is credited to have originated from the works of theorists such as Edward Said, Homi Bhabha, Frantz Fanon and Aime Cesaire. Present across their work are arguments about ways of representation and modes of perception stemming from the effects of colonization, which is the extension of power from one nation to the other, on the colonized nations' people, the nation itself and distorted understandings of world views. Different theorists have been known to use either 'post-colonialism' or 'postcolonialism' to give different meaning. For instance, using the prefix 'post' could be marking a period 'after independence', 'after the end of empire', whereas the term 'postcolonialism' may refer to features of a culture or nation from the time of the occupation to the present day (Childs and Williams, 1997: 1). The danger of either term is that the prefix 'post' could be read to imply a clean break between the colonial period and a new era that followed political decolonization. Yet postcolonial theory is very much about how colonial relationships have persisted, albeit in new forms, after independence. 'Direct colonial rule may have disappeared; but colonialism, in its many disguises as cultural, economic, political and knowledgebase oppression, lives on' (Fanon, 2008: xix). At the minimum, colonialism, which follows the 'post' in 'postcolonialism', appears to have several features which often occur in its portrayals: *domination*, *cultural imposition*, and *exploitation*. Colonialism 'involved an extraordinary range of different forms and practices carried out with respect to radically different cultures, over many centuries,' (Young, 2001: 17), with instances including coloniser settlements in African countries.

The formerly colonized countries officially achieved political freedom at the time of independence, yet postcolonialist argue that the cultural imposition and domination that had taken place since the 16th century when colonisers were active did not end when countries gained independence. The colonised's culture would have been adulterated over the many number of years before the end of colonisation. The often-quoted citation of Douglas (1975): '[c]olonization of the mind is the price we pay for thought' sets the scene for an era where the colonized may see themselves as being inferior to the colonizer (Fanon, 2008: x). This may be

because colonization's greatest harmful psychological impact is the taking control and possession of the colonized mind (Fanon, 2008). According to Dascal (2009), Douglas's (1975) statement 'colonization of the mind' touches on the interference of an outside source, the 'colonizer', in the psychological scope of a person or groups of persons, the 'colonized'; the interference touches vital features of the person's mind view, manner of being, consequently leading to long-lasting effects which are not easily detachable. So, as well as the colonial master imposing his political and economic structures, the coloniser also transfers intangible ways and means of being through social systems to the colonised. These could be done through interferences in everyday social practices, faith, knowledge, language and education.

Postcolonialism taken from this angle then aims to liberate people existing under continuing colonial domination, albeit under a different guise; to provide them with voice, and to contest dialogues and constructions that attempt to maintain its control (Larsen, 2000) long after the end of colonialism. Such discourse does not propose a clean cessation from an imposing history, but instead 'names and examines the issues that emerge from the exploitative relations of colonialist practices and colonial relations' (Tesoriero and Ife, 2006). Anti-colonial and critical, postcolonialism contests divisions of *them* and *us*, *there* and *here*, and *now* and *then*. For these reasons, colonization's impact cannot be simply deemed as existing in the past. If anything, the impact is ongoing in different forms, one of them being international development.

In the field of international development, several models on how to overcome developmental challenges confronting the developing world are suggested. One of such propositions, according to Bellù (2011: 36-37), is the often-touted Washington Consensus-based development model which says:

Development is only possible if countries are able to benefit from the 'globalised' environment... liberalise foreign trade... refrain from market interventions, liberalise exchange and interest rates, [and] allow free FDI [Foreign Direct Investment].

Ostensibly such a model for development will bring into the developing country, from Western countries, modern technologies and bring the developing country into mainstream development, of the West. Another hyped development model, linked to the preceding, is the foreign aid-based development model where it is believed ‘countries may... kick-start their development process using grants, either channelled to the country through the funding of specific development projects or through the public budget support’ (Bellù, 2011: 38). There are other models that do not rely on foreign interventions, however, it is noteworthy that underlying both development models presented here, which are the most subscribed to by the international development agencies and supranational organisations including IMF and WB, is the principal aim of promoting development that provides for **‘opening [local] markets further to international trade and foreign investment’** (emphasis added) (Bellù, 2011: 6). That is, development models that allow the West to continue to be involved in the national affairs of the developing world.

These ideas of development and international relations, seen through a postcolonial lens, suggest that the global North is maintaining an ongoing association with the global South that has for many years previously been guided by imposing unequal and controlling relations. In this kind of development context, various interpretations could be drawn (Sanjay, 2011). This is especially so as the idea of promoting development to others is a distinct creation of the global North in bygone days, unstated but tacitly believed to be a relationship mostly among two ends: Western civilisations and economies on one end, and non-Western colleagues on the other end (Schmelzer, 2013). Following these models of development, supranational organisations such as planning ministries in the global North, and concerned international development groups and NGOs, to a large extent, influence the overall settings within which developing nations act. For instance, the WB has been criticised for its audacity to write education policies for sub-Saharan African countries (Brock-Utne, 2002). There may be gradual influences emanating from emerging power blocs such as Brazil, India and China, but whether the Western economic links with developing countries will be affected by these emerging states’ presence in the developing world, though, remains to be seen.

Further, consider the social issues of outsiders challenging local language and faith, imposing and destroying culture (Fanon, 2008), nations losing identity, and the abuse of human rights. To illustrate, Kim (2013: 6) writes that ‘British rule (1896-57) in Ghana left behind a largely fragmented society, a distorted economic system, and a limited level of modernization of society’. These negative legacies raise the question of whether there is a moral obligation on the part of former colonial powers to provide aid to their former colonies, since the colonial past may have brought about present-day inequalities. In a paper titled *who bears the responsibility for post-colonial poverty*, McKeown draws on insights from Pogge (2005:3) and argues that colonising states have reparative responsibilities to the former colonies for historic wrongs that continue to have negative repercussions today. Others (Woodward, 2009; OECD, 2015) however say that most foreign aid is based on humanitarianism and their perception of the world as an interdependent community.

Additionally, it appears aid giving is also part of a self-promotion of interest towards former colonies. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the first black president of Ghana, the first West African nation to gain independence from British rule, is reported to have said:

the West turned to neo-colonialist tactics immediately after the revolt against colonialism so they could keep their strangling grip over the resources of their former colonies that are now primary developing nations. Foreign aid is but one of the guises of neo-colonialist interventions to strangle Africa (Zeine, 2012).

Dr. Nkrumah, having led the independence fight, frequently spoke about colonialism and its continuing form in postcolonial Africa. Foreign aid seen through Nkrumah’s quote could be perceived as a postcolonial construct to keep dependant relationships between the West and developing countries, after the end of formal occupation, ongoing.

The historic relationship between Ghana and Britain dates to an era in which Britain was the colonial master of the then Gold Coast, now Ghana. Through historical events and choices, not always of its own making, Ghana’s political and economic past and future is bound up with

Britain, as shown at the beginning of this chapter. The British Empire would have shaped the then Gold Coast, and continues to influence the current national identity of Ghana through international relations and aid. The ongoing postcolonial relationship between the two countries becomes evident in the long history of aid giving from Britain to Ghana since independence. '[T]he UK is Ghana's biggest bilateral aid donor' (Ryan, 2006).

However, in the case of Ghana and Japan, although the countries have no colonial ties, there has been a long term bilateral relationship dating back to 1927 when a now famous Japanese scientist, Hideyo Noguchi, first arrived in the country to research yellow fever (JICA, 2015). Since the start of ODA in 1970s through JICA, continuous assistance has been given to Ghana to promote development efforts. In this relationship, an ODA implementation framework is being followed, like that of the former colonial power. The DAC/OECD is constituted primarily of rich countries such as Japan, UK, and the USA. Although the DAC has recently opened for emerging economies such as China and Brazil to participate in some of their meetings, only donor countries are counted as members (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, Unknown). The genesis of the now OECD, first established as OEEC, was described in the early sections of this chapter. The OECD's proclaimed aim is to help others develop. Despite its stated aim, Schmelzer (2013:3) in a historical analysis of the body writes 'the OECD's... (DAC) was founded to strengthen and institutionalize the hegemony of capitalist donor countries vis-à-vis the global South'. This was done through the sharing of colonial experiences and continued discourse on how the developed countries may operate in the new postcolonial spheres of the global South (Schmelzer, 2013). Most DAC members were colonial masters, the UK and Japan included. A subcommittee was even formed within the OEEC called the Overseas Territories Committee (OTC) with the aim of coordinating economic interventions in the member countries' colonies (Schmelzer, 2013). One of the presidents of the OEEC, Kristensen, is reported to have said in a 1962 speech that:

[a] lot of information and experience was, of course, gathered in the colonial period by the big colonial Powers. This is now available to other countries through these consultations [in the DAC] (Schmelzer, 2013:14).

In understanding the origins of the DAC/OECD, one can start to perceive the drivers behind how the organization operates as members share a set of beliefs on aid to the developing world, which will have emerged from a network of colonisers in a context of decolonisation. It is almost as if once the colonisation period came to an end, ‘the enterprise of the West transforming the Rest got a new name: foreign aid’ (Easterly, 2006a: 24). The DAC/OECD has over the years determined **what** and **how** aid should be given. Most members also mainly support the Washington Consensus-based and Foreign aid-based development models (Schmelzer, 2013:15). This organised foreign aid giving could be inherently political and a new way of keeping colonial ties, because most of the donors do get engaged in how their resources should be organized, distributed and used in recipient countries. This also ties in with concerns about the increased privatisation of aid, explored later. Nevertheless, through the organised process of providing aid for development in developing countries, there is almost always consensus amongst DAC/OECD members about how aid resources are to be used. Kim (2013: 11) drawing on (Leftwich, 2000) writes that:

[f]oreign aid should... be understood as a political process because aid packages, especially structural adjustment loans often inevitably involve profound changes in the use, production, and distribution of resources or, in other words, the politics of recipient countries.

Japan is not Ghana’s colonial master, but by being a member of the DAC/OECD since 1961, following the preceding arguments, and by giving aid along the DAC/OECD’s guidelines, it could be argued that Japan’s aid giving relationship with Ghana is one of neocolonialism. The question then is will, and if it does how, the relationship between Ghana and the two donor countries manifest in the responses of the aid recipients? For the purposes of this dissertation, understanding how coloniser-colonised relationships and continuities may shape the present context of aid recipients in their experiences of receiving aid from the UK (DFID) and Japan (JICA) will be valuable. For this reason, it will be useful in considering how the above discussions frame recipients’ responses to the research questions. For instance, what perceptions of the world, the country, and the self do recipients challenge or reinforce in their responses? Do they point to structural power dynamics of aid giving beyond their control? Do

recipients mention or even hint at the influence of colonial relations on current aid practices? These questions may be relevant in discussing the findings in Chapters 5 and 6.

2.6 The stated purpose of educational aid

Whichever theory one assigns as reasons for the provision of educational aid, what is widely agreed on by the international community is its stated purpose: advancing education development (Buchert, 1995). This includes getting more children into schools and enabling more adults to read and write, regardless of the often-complicated plethora of the intentions of aid: human resources development, global poverty reduction, and development of economic welfare (Buchert, 1995). The DFID for instance, as stated earlier, claims its purpose in giving £8.5 billion of educational aid is to provide quality basic education for all (DFID, 2010a). Yet these professed aims of educational aid are also open to critical scrutiny by observers. An example is a report indicating that DFID, an agency that headlines reducing poverty for the most vulnerable as its main aim, spent a large portion of its funding, almost £500 million in 2011 (Gilligan, 2012), paying mainly UK consulting firms, not exactly the poor, for expert services. The allegation is that whilst DFID funds these consultancy firms, the firms in turn allocate to their executives' big salaries in the region of six and seven figure sums (Gilligan, 2012). Such donor spending that directly goes to firms in the home country may mean a significant proportion of allocated aid does not leave the donor country at all, let alone make an impact in a recipient country, to whom the aid was allocated. This trend is likely to increase with recent moves to change rules that would allow aid to be invested in or loaned to private companies (Hodal, 2016).

Besides controversy about aid's declared purposes, the varied aid delivery models have also come under scrutiny. These delivery models range from outright transfers into developing country treasuries such as General Budget Support (GBS) and Sector Budget Support (SBS), to Technical Cooperation (TC) and Technical Assistance (TA). Concerns about aid delivery models may be because the aid architecture, or, the rules and policies governing how aid is given (World Bank Group, 2008), is complex. Whilst a set of principles governing aid giving exists, the World Bank Group (2008: 1) indicates that '[m]ost of today's aid principles and

institutions are the result of over half a century of debate and joint decision-making', with no single blueprint. The complexity is further worsened because generally, '[a]id is provided by individual donors on an entirely voluntary basis' (Riddell, 2007b: 3). The result is that which donor gives what aid to whom and using which delivery model is at the discretion of the donor and their interpretation. For instance, what Japan might term as TC, involving the dispatch of Japanese experts, provision of equipment, budget for local expenses and capacity building as its overarching aim, may be different from what Britain might term as TC, which may involve just the provision of equipment or a single expert dispatch. This means measuring results with such differing intentions becomes difficult, as will be shown in Chapter 5. Despite these complexities, several understandings exist to guide aid delivery, as follows.

GBS, loosely defined, comprises outright transfers of money into a developing country's treasury, to be used by the recipient country in accordance with its own policy and treasury rules (OECD, 2006; Handley, 2009; Capacity Development for Development Effectiveness (CDDE), 2009). GBS is intended to support a developing country's own national development plan and to increase ownership of development. The declared intention is that by making discretionary funds available to recipient countries, they can in turn improve their planning and budgeting capacity. GBS's envisaged benefit for recipients includes being inherently aligned to the country's priorities and plans because spending is done by and per recipient needs. However, there is mutual benefit to the donor too when they deploy GBS. We can assume that, on the donor side, although they ostensibly give up control of their funds, they in turn use the funding leverage to gain a seat at the table of the recipient's highest policy decision levels (CDDE, 2009). So that as a benefit to donors, there is more access to the recipient nations' policy dialogue. Where the funds are given as concessionary loans, donors also gain in interest payments.

The GBS by its design has limitations. For the recipient and to some extent donors, there are intensive policy discussions associated with GBS that, at times, defeat the initial intended purpose of the tool to recipients, which is donors supposedly giving up control of how their money is spent. GBS normally are accompanied by the need to complete an annual Performance Assessment Framework (PAF). The PAF becomes the guiding document donors

and recipients alike agree to use to set targets on the results the recipient country will use the GBS funds to achieve. Some of these targets carry penalties if they are not met (CDDE, 2009), such as the non-release of the remaining allocated resources from donors. Of course, not all GBS are performance based, which means in some cases, even if agreed results are not met, the remaining funds will be released. On the donor side, limitations of the GBS include difficulties in accounting for the use of disbursed funds or determining what the funds could achieve in the recipient country. This is mainly because donor funds are not easily traceable once co-mingled with national funds.

Another aid delivery model, the SBS, although sharing most tenets of the GBS because it also involves outright transfers to a recipient country's treasury, differs because it is earmarked to a specific sub-sector such as education or health. Apart from that, SBS also shares the GBS's assumptions, and is managed by the recipient's budgetary procedures alongside policy dialogue (Handley, 2009). The SBS's envisaged benefits, like GBS, include contributing to comprehensive sector planning processes, aligning donor funds to recipient country priorities, and reducing aid's administrative burden on recipient countries. Cited limitations of SBS are like the limitations of the GBS above including intensive policy discussions and target setting on the recipient side, as extensive meetings to discuss the SBS increases the administrative burden of receiving the aid. On the donor side, cited limitations are in terms of difficulties in accounting for the use of funds or determining what the funds have been able to achieve in the recipient country because of co-mingling with national funds. In addition, the centralisation of funds under the SBS and GBS are incongruent with on-going decentralisation efforts (Handley, 2009: 15, 22).

TC, as another aid delivery model on the other hand, is an all-embracing term, at times used to mean Project Assistance (PA) or TA. In comparison to SBS, TC is generally defined as 'actions aimed at strengthening individual and organisational capacity by providing expertise ... training and related learning opportunities and equipment' (European Commission, 2008: 7). Any one of these components, such as a single expert dispatch, or an instance of the provision of equipment, or a training session, could be termed TA. Perceived benefits of both TC and TA include capacity substitution and gap-filling where basic functional services are

unavailable or inadequate (European Commission, 2008). On the other hand, TC is one of the most criticised aid delivery instruments. TC's limitations have been cited as not being aligned with country needs, costly, and recipients not having management control over TC projects (Greenhill *et al*, 2006; OECD/DAC and Learning Network on Capacity Development, 2011), since most TC 'remains heavily donor-driven, tied to donor country firms and dependent on expensive 'expert' knowledge from rich countries' (Greenhill *et al*, 2006:24). Neither does TC build the capacity it is billed as being able to do. In addition, the presence of donor experts at times undermines country nationals' confidence in performing their roles (Greenhill *et al*, 2006).

The fact that project aid continues to be given in significant amounts is striking. In 2010 nearly half of the total aid to education committed to developing countries was in projectized form.... This is in spite of repeated critiques and the cumulative experience of the advantages of the new aid modalities (Riddell and Ninõ-Zarazúa, 2016: 29).

On the question of which aid model is best for delivering educational aid however, the literature is not clear. What is clear is that most aid delivery models may have advantages, but they can also be problematic in several ways depending on the context of application, as was found in Okugawa's (2010) study on aid absorption in Ghana.

2.7 Educational aid's outcomes and impact

Another area of aid, apart from its delivery models, that has come in for critical scrutiny is its outcomes and impact. Educational aid's reported outcomes and impact on recipient countries' education sectors is mixed. On the one hand, some contributions to the debate indicate that educational aid does have some positive influence on education outcomes (Samoff, 2003; Diawara, 2009; Asiedu and Nandwa, 2007), because without educational aid, in some contexts, some children will not be in school, nor will textbooks be available for children to learn (Samoff, 2003; Riddell, 2007b). According to UNESCO (2010) and World Vision (2006) for instance, more children than before are going to school especially in sub-Saharan Africa, girls

are getting more chances to access education and more teachers are being trained, supposedly at least in part because of aid. The DFID (2010a) states that from 2007 to 2008, its educational aid supported governments to pay for approximately five million children to attend school, to train teachers, and to build and refurbish classrooms to make a difference to children's learning. However, such quantification has been locally criticised because some aid agencies take the entire aid budget and by some arithmetic, assign to themselves a share of the outcomes, disregarding other outside factors and assuming causality when that may not be the case. Nevertheless, the argument is made by donors that they are making a difference, although the degree of difference is debated.

On the other hand, other critics argue that educational aid, especially financial contributions, does not necessarily equate with education quality improvements or guarantee success in education (Riddell, 2007b; UNESCO, 2011a). Quality challenges persist after the aid support (Riddell, 2007b). UNESCO (2011b) in its 2011 Global Monitoring Report (GMR) notes that although overall aid levels to sub-Saharan Africa have increased, levels of learning achievement are desperately low in many countries, and the number of out-of-school children in Nigeria increased between 2004 and 2009. Further, '[i]f this more recent trend continued, out-of-school numbers would increase to 12.2 million by 2015' (UNESCO, 2011a: 3). Crocker (2008: 1) further states that despite the global communities' unprecedented efforts and spending, 'poverty, degrading inequality ... continue to afflict the world. ... in many places more rather than less pronounced than they were a decade ago'. Cedergren (2007: 26) adds: '[m]any developing countries have more than 40 donors to more than 600 active projects, and may still not be on track to achieve the Millennium Development Goals'.

Further critical contributions indicate that educational aid presents additional challenges (Samoff, 2003), including increased workload and high transaction costs for recipient ministries (Bhatta, 2011; Steer and Wathne, 2010). Closely related to the preceding and my own stance is the argument that aid is achieving less than its full potential due to donor practices (World Vision, 2006; Riddell, 2007a; Riddell 2009). These donor practices include the use of consultants that take some of the allocated aid back to the home country, training programs in donor countries that cost much more than if they were organised in the recipient

country, and a large proportion of the aid never leaving the donor country (UNESCO, 2012). Yet these funds are usually counted as part of aid given. Added to these practices are also the heavy administrative, hierarchical and bureaucratic dimensions that aid delivery suffers. ‘ODA suffers considerably from the heavy hand of bureaucracy, making it unresponsive to democratic pressures and leading to a ‘donor-driven’ set of priorities and predilections’ (Sumner and Tribe, 2011: 790).

Considering this widespread scepticism about aid, the sustainability of aid also comes into question. To start with, it appears the international community has not concerned itself much with planning for a future without aid. That is aside of the SDGs having ‘sustainable’ as part of their name. Apart from the name, how sustainability is going to be attained is not that clear so far. As King (2009: 175, 180) states: ‘there has been much less attention to the sustainability of these externally assisted achievements’ of reaching universal access to education. Rather, it appears that current aid props up the recipient country to depend on the donor nation for support (Takyi-Amoako, 2010: 5), as was seen in the dependency discussion above. Aid, it appears, can serve as a ‘hindrance to the progress of aid recipients’ (Takyi-Amoako, 2010: 5) by blocking the self-help efforts of developing countries. Yet aid giving in its current form cannot be sustained (King, 2009), considering the sheer volume of assistance needed against the ongoing financial crisis in donor countries.

In summary, in this chapter critical perspectives on aid and educational aid have been explored, focusing on the history of aid, critical debates on making aid effective, and scepticism about aid giving including critiques of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP). On the reasons for aid giving and international development, development theories including modernisation, dependency and post colonialism were explored. This was followed by discussions on both the various aid delivery methods, and the mixed outcomes and impact of aid on education sectors. The argument that aid is achieving less than its full potential due to some donor practices was also proffered. The next chapter focuses on the national context of Ghana, centring on the country’s aid history, its educational development and needs including decentralisation challenges and the efforts being made to tackle the challenges. Attention is also given to how evaluations are undertaken, the aid received from the two donors of focus, the respective

agencies' reporting on what they deem as outcomes of the aid, and my perception of the absence of the recipients' voices in the donor evaluations.

Chapter 3. Educational aid in Ghana

In this chapter the national educational context, the backdrop against which DFID and JICA provide educational aid to Ghana, is presented as background to contextualise the study. The educational needs of the country including improving access to education, issues around education management, decentralisation and teacher management are all probed. This is presented alongside delving into challenges of teachers' low time on task, the quality of education characterised by low student learning outcomes even though the percentage of trained teachers is high, and the low availability of teaching and learning materials. Accounts of efforts being made to address these needs are also considered. The aid received from the two donors of focus, a total of £161 million from DFID and JICA between 2007 and 2012, is presented, together with discussions on evaluations in international development. Finally, the respective agencies' reporting on what they declare as outcomes of the aid provided, and my perception of the absence of the recipients' voices in the donor evaluations are presented.

3.1 Educational development

In terms of educational development, Ghana has made progress judging by sub-Saharan African standards, although not by global standards. A large proportion of children are going to school, with estimated primary Gross and Net Enrolment Rates (GER/NER) in the academic year 2012/2013 reaching 105% and 84.1% respectively. This is in comparison to a sub-Saharan Africa primary NER of 77% and a global NER of 91% in 2010 (UNESCO, 2012). The country has also recorded a near gender parity rate of 0.99 (Ministry of Education, 2010). The 84.1% NER means that over 15% of school age children are out of school. Targeting these out of school children continues to be a challenge, as some communities have legitimate concerns about school conditions including 25% of primary school structures needing major repairs, and only 52% of primary schools having toilet facilities (Ministry of Education 2010a; Ministry of Education 2010b). The Ministry of Education (MoE) also reports there are 0.7 seating and writing places per child for primary education, meaning there is less than 1 seat per child. Nationally although the Pupil Teacher Ratio (PTR) is 31 to 1, in the Bawku district

of the Upper East region the PTR is 56 to 1. These school conditions may not appeal to the out of school children, yet these children need to be brought into the schooling system if Ghana is to meet the MDG of universal (100%) primary enrolment. Interestingly despite these challenges, as of September 2015 Ghana had met the universal primary enrolment goal (United Nations Development Programme, 2016). How it did it, though, is not clear.

The improvements in access have been attributed to, although not verified, the abolition of fees for basic education. The country's constitution stipulates the government should progressively provide access to Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE). For this reason, basic education is fee-free, meaning free tuition and three government distributed core textbooks (mathematics, English and science) for each child. In addition, for selected deprived areas there is one free hot meal a day, uniforms and exercise books. The aim of these initiatives is to improve school enrolments by removing the financial barrier poor parents may face in sending their children to school. The fee-free basic education is funded through a scheme called the Capitation Grant: for every child enrolled the school receives GH¢ 4.50 (approximately £0.80 as at February 2016 exchange rate) a year.

Despite the increasing levels of enrolment, the quality of education, represented by student learning, is low. Successive National Education Assessments (NEA) show only 16.4% of Primary 3 (P3) students being able to read or write proficiently after three years of primary schooling in 2005, and only 28% in 2013 (Ministry of Education, 2011a:47). It appears the situation is similar in other African countries. In 'Mali, over 80% of students in grade 2 could not read a single word in four national languages' (UNESCO, 2012: 130). Nevertheless, Ghana's student learning outcomes do not look good, when the government spends over 20% of its national resources on education (The World Bank Group, 2016c), discussed in later sections.

In the Ghanaian context access to textbooks is also used as an indicator of education quality. Under MoE policy students in basic schools should have access on an individual basis to three government-designated core textbooks, as already mentioned. Yet textbook availability in

classrooms does not reflect the policy, with each pupil having less than two textbooks (Ministry of Education, 2010a: 56). There are also limited Teaching Learning Materials (TLMs) in classrooms. Neither are there many modern facilities such as libraries, computer laboratories or science resource centres to facilitate teaching and learning.

With education finance, as mentioned earlier, the Government of Ghana (GoG) spends over 20% of its national resources on education, the largest allocation as compared to health (11%) and food and agriculture (2.5%), and higher than the average for Sub Saharan African countries. Even with Ghana's high levels of spending, it needs to be mentioned that most of the allocated 20% plus funds, 77.9% (Ministry of Education, 2015: 52), is allocated to salaries (personnel emoluments), with not much left for servicing the sector including for procuring textbooks and TLMs. For this reason, the MoE is continuously seeking avenues to make savings and reduce inefficiencies. In 2013 the government stopped paying allowances to teacher trainees, a practice it had been undertaking on and off since the 1960s. There is also a suggestion to cut study leave with pay to teachers. Also in 2013, donor funds increased by 240% from GH¢ 127 million (approx. £ 25,400,000) to GH¢ 433million (approx. £86,600,000) (Ministry of Education, 2013: 92). However, with GoG total expenditure on education being GH¢ 6 billion, the percentage of donor funding, although large, comes in at a low 7%, as a percentage of total expenditure. This could be read as indicating that the GoG, in the education sector at least, bears most of the cost of funding, and as such could be deemed as not being aid dependent, compared to other African countries such as Gambia and Zambia that have over 35% of their education funds being provided by donors (UNESCO, 2006: 95). Nonetheless, when one considers that much of government funds is spent on salaries, with restricted amounts left for recurrent expenditure, donor funds, although small, are important in keeping the sector functioning.

Education management also presents challenges in Ghana. The field of international development has expounded various policies for nation states on the question of how to manage education. The prime thinking is decentralisation; 'giv[ing] local government a clear mandate, ...functions, and considerable discretion over the use of ...funds and implementation, to obtain alignment with local preferences' (Ferrazzi, 2006: 4). Decentralisation, over recent

decades, has become an integral part of education sector management, as a policy tool to theoretically promote the efficient, effective and accountable delivery of education services to suit local needs. Nation states within the sub-Saharan Africa region especially have borne the brunt of this thinking, as they predominantly remain recipient countries for international development efforts. Yet:

[p]revious experiences with decentrali[s]ation... cannot be deemed conclusive. While a whole string of nations (Uganda, ... India ... Honduras...) register encouraging results, in other countries (Ghana, ..., Bangladesh, ... Colombia...) they appear to be less satisfactory (Rossi, 1999: 14-15).

The emergence of decentralisation policy appears to be fuelled by the convergence of many factors, including democratisation, collapse of the western 'Keynesian consensus' (McGinn and Welsh, 1999: 27), and search for resources, alongside new public management paradigms and globalisation. One reason for decentralisation's emergence is 'the result of the process of political democratization' (McGinn and Welsh, 1999: 9). Since the push for political democratisation continues, proponents argue 'people want to be consulted and involved in decision-making that concerns them directly' (McGinn and Welsh, 1999: 9) in all spheres of public service delivery, including education. To this end the populace expects to be consulted on issues affecting their wards including improving performance. This is at the same time as the populace expects to be part of school governance structures, for instance through School Management Committees (SMCs). Decentralisation by itself though 'is not intrinsically democratizing: it has to be made so' (Giddens, 1998: 78), especially where the tendency is to 'add layers of local bureaucratic power to those that already exist at the political centre' (Giddens, 1998: 78), without ceding power to the local level.

Another reason attributed to the rise of decentralisation is the

political-economic debates of the 1970s and 1980s [which] resulted in the disintegration of the western 'Keynesian consensus' that had favoured strong, centrali[s]ed governments... The outcome was a reformulation and reduction of the role of central government (McGinn and Welsh, 1999: 27).

The new thinking favoured roles for the private sector, local groups and supranational organisations instead of big government.

On the one hand, supranational organisations such as the... WB and ...IMF, with their extended influence on national policies have reduced national sovereignty. On the other hand, a shift towards market-based decision-making [is supposed to] ... strengthen... local groups (McGinn and Welsh, 1999: 27).

This new de-centralised management and globalisation combined have this ‘push...down [effect that] creates new demands’ (Giddens, 1998: 31) at the local level. In the same globalised context, a ‘*new relation between government and management*’ (Peters, 2002: 68) also emerges, termed New Public Management (NPM), promoted by neoliberal inclined global organisations. The NPM approach advocates for ‘a shift from *policy* and *administration* to *management*’ (Peters, 2002: 68), and includes ‘various forms of decentrali[s]ing management within public services (e.g., the creation of autonomous agencies and devolution of budgets and financial control)’ (Larbi, 1999).

Despite the preceding trends, in the African context and for ‘several developing countries, the prime motor of decentralisation may have been the search for new resources’ (McGinn and Welsh, 1999: 9), since through conditionality of aid resources that would not be available otherwise were mobilised by nations through organisations such as the WB and IMF. The condition of the aid is the need for the recipient country to undertake decentralisation reforms.

African education decentrali[s]ation occurs in the context of severe deficiencies in educational access (and quality) but growing financial resources for basic education, strong country commitments to use additional resources towards that end, and rigorous monitoring by donor countries (in the context of the Millenium Development Goals and the Education for All initiatives) (Gershberg and Winkler, 2003:1).

In Ghana’s case, the origins of reform efforts to decentralize can be traced back to some 29 years ago. The decentralisation program

began in 1988 with an objective to promote effective and accountable local government... Consequently, The DAs [District Assemblies] [were] ... given 86 functions that empower them to provide de-concentrated and devolved local public services (Ayee, 2008).

Both the 1988 Local Government Act and the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) law 207 (Cofie-Agama, 2003: 4) tasked districts to be responsible for basic school infrastructure. In addition, the GES Act 506 (1995: 6) stipulated the creation of District Education Oversight Committees (DEOC) to oversee infrastructure, teachers and pupils. The DEOC was in turn to appoint district GES staff for service delivery to communities. The Education Act 778 (2008: 14) further declares DAs should establish District Education Directorates, with responsibility for staff and service delivery, and gives control of budgetary allocations for education to the DA.

It is worth noting that the quest to decentralise took off in the same period as a strong IMF and WB supported Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) was being sought. The country's efforts were eventually 'rewarded with new loans by the IMF' (Crawford, 1996). The coincidence of these developments cannot be ignored. International 'agencies ... oblige (by politics of aid) the countries who seek their help to undertake reforms as they dictate. The Bank supports decentrali[s]ation through loans for structural adjustment' (Sharma, 2004: 11). Thus, aside from the many reasons quoted for the emergence of decentralisation, I agree with Sharma (2004: 11) that:

it won't be too wide off the mark to state... international agencies like IMF and WB, who are investing enthusiastically in spreading "understanding" through dissemination of academic literature supporting their philosophy are in fact themselves one of the crucial forces working behind the trend.

Perhaps decentralisation reform being donor driven is the reason why successive efforts to decentralise have not succeeded. Instead, decentralisation efforts have rather been rewarded with a slow pace of implementation.

On what decentralisation is meant to achieve the UNDP (2004: 3) notes that decentralising 'can accelerate and deepen improvements in access to basic services by the poor'. In Ghana, almost all education stakeholders agree with this touted benefit. Yet local communities do not instinctively know what the efficient and effective choices for education delivery are. Furthermore, critics of decentralisation point to the fact that improved, efficient and effective

education service delivery does not happen just because education management is decentralised.

[E]xperience has ... proven... local governments are often incapable of coping... When a shift of competencies in favor of decentrali[s]ed structures occurred but was not simultaneously accompanied by the strengthening of needed local, institutional capacities, no improvement in efficiency and fairness in the area of services could be achieved (Rossi, 1999: 21).

Yet within this limitation, driving forces for decentralisation, especially its promulgation by supranational agencies as indicated continues to prevail.

Another sticking point in implementing the decentralization reform is the protection of roles and interests by major stakeholders likely to be impacted by the policy: the MoE, Local Government, Finance, and the GES. Since these ‘practitioners do not confront policy texts as naïve readers, they come with ... values and purposes of their own, they have vested interest in the meaning of policy’ (Bowe, Ball and Gold, 1992: 22). Within these institutions, there are distrustful noises interfering with the policy signal.

The stark reality today is that the system [decentralisation] in some areas is treated with so much disdain and concepts such as the unit committees intended to provide a forum for grass-root participation in the governance process continue to suffer as a result of apathy (Ghanaian Daily Graphic, 2010).

Yet these same stakeholders are the enactors of the decentralization law. Could their reluctance to implement the law be a sign of its external promulgation? Either way it appears that the protection of roles and interest by major stakeholders, coupled with the national government’s political intentions to decentralise as externally driven, is the crux of the cause of the slow pace of decentralisation implementation in Ghana.

As for the intended effects of decentralisation, the 1988 Local Government Act, the White Paper on Education Reforms 2003 and Education Act 2008 give an indication of what a decentralised education system would look like. The DA in a decentralized framework will have empowered functions to provide local public services including education. The DA will become the education service provider as opposed to the DEO. The management of teachers and pupils will also be the responsibility of the DA and not the DEO. The appointment of district GES staff for service delivery will also be the mandate of the DA.

The Education Act 2008 goes further to declare that the DA establishes a District Education Directorate (DED) within its structures, instead of the currently existing standalone DEO at the local level. This means the DEO is to be subsumed as a department within the DA, losing its independence within the local administrative framework. This newly restructured DA will then have the responsibility for local education staff provision and service delivery, and most importantly control of budgetary allocations. The assembly will be expected to lay more emphasis on education delivery, efficiency, and monitoring and evaluation. Capacity building for the GES regions and districts however is to be coordinated and implemented by GES headquarters and Planning, Budgeting, Monitoring and Evaluation (PBME) division of the MoE.

At present however, the MoE and GES hold the responsibility for the tasks newly assigned to the DA. So in effect to cede these responsibilities to the DA is to take authority away from the GES's mandate for existence, and in the case of the DEO, to physically cease existing as it does now. Further, the Education Act 2008 mandates the law setting up the GES in 1995 to be amended within one year of the 2008 law coming into effect, but this has not happened. This may be because repealing the GES Act needs to be undertaken by the same institutions that stand to lose their mandate. It stands to reason why there is protection of central roles and the slow pace of the implementation process. It is almost as if decentralization is not progressing because of dependency issues between the centre and the local (periphery). That the centre is holding on appears obvious, and by so doing is making the local to depend on it.

So instead of decentralising, emphasis has been placed by MoE/GES on education service delivery and monitoring. Capacity building activities for the GES regional and district offices have been implemented by GES headquarters on educational management and decentralisation. However, there remains a need to work on staff attitudes and work practices. Funding flows and resource allocation processes remain centralised, meaning power remains at the headquarters. Salaries of education staff including those at regional, district and school levels are paid by the central Ministry of Finance (MoF), directly to each member of staff, based on information provided by GES. For regional and district level offices, their funds for operational management are released from the MoF. At the school level, a capitation grant for operational management is released to the DEOs by the MoF, before they in turn transfer the funds to schools. All other expenditures including investments are centralised. Because of these factors, decentralisation continues to be a challenge yet to be successfully tackled by the Ghanaian government. There seems to be no clear political or administrative will to decentralise, let alone an indication of when the education service will be fully devolved.

Another management challenge facing the sector is teacher management. Over the years the percentage of trained teachers has been uneven, from an estimated high of 73.9% in the 2003/04 academic year, to a low of 69.4% in 2012/13 (Ministry of Education, 2013: 47), followed by an improvement to 70% in 2013/14 (Ministry of Education, 2014: ix). This is against the backdrop of increasing student participation in education. The more challenging issue is the distribution of trained teachers, which is unequal. Most teachers prefer to work in better-endowed urban centres and avoid being deployed to schools in remote impoverished areas. Trained teacher retention is particularly low in areas with infrastructure deficiencies as well as socio-cultural and geographic hurdles. Linked to the preceding problems is teacher absenteeism. Contact hours lost through teacher absenteeism in public basic schools was 20% in 1993 (Ministry of Education, 2010: 57). In this study 14% of teachers and 16% of Head Teachers were absent. In 2003 another study found nearly 13% of teachers had been absent in the past month compared to just over 4% in 1988 (Ministry of Education, 2010: 57). In 2008, a further study found teacher absenteeism per term on average was about 37% (Ministry of Education, 2010: 57). With such high levels of teacher absenteeism, time on task has been estimated to be as low as 39% of available class time (Ministry of Education, 2010: 57).

There have been attempts to combat teacher management challenges through the provision of incentives, with a proposed 20% allowance to qualified teachers who accept postings to remote areas, but this policy is yet to be implemented. It is not clear if this is due to resource constraints or lack of interest in the idea, which had been initially suggested by Development Partners (DPs). Other measures implemented to reduce system-wide absenteeism include the School Report Cards (SRC) that gather data on teacher attendance, and district scholarship schemes for the enrolment of local people in Colleges of Education. The assumption behind the scholarship scheme is that locals are more likely to return to their areas to take up posts in teaching. Head Teacher training is also carried out periodically, mostly with DP support, on school management. Despite these countermeasures it remains to be seen in the medium to long term how effective these measures will be. With these numerous challenges in the education sector, donors, who normally come with funding, technical expertise, or experience are seen as partners (and alternative sources) that could provide solutions to these problems. Over the years, donors have also suggested interventions to these problems. It is perhaps not surprising that the country is in receipt of educational aid, presumably to solve its myriad challenges.

3.2 Educational aid

Ghana had been in receipt of general aid since the mid-1960s (Quartey, 2005), but received its major educational aid from the WB in support of the 1987 education reforms (World Bank, 2004). The need for the educational aid had arisen because '[f]rom a position of having been one of the best in Africa, Ghana's education system was by the early eighties in the throes of a crisis' (World Bank, 2004: 7). Military coups (Little, 2010), combined with '[p]rolonged economic decline... had led to a compression of educational expenditure' (World Bank, 2004: 7). The percentage of gross domestic product allocated to the education sector dropped from 6.4 percent in 1976 to 1.7 percent in 1985 (UNESCO – IBE, 2006). School infrastructures were dilapidated, teachers were not paid on time resulting in their leaving the sector en masse (UNESCO – IBE, 2006), and the pre-tertiary schooling duration was a staggering 17 years.

In response, the government initiated an education reform programme aimed at changing the pre-tertiary schooling system. The duration of pre-tertiary schooling was reduced from 17 to 12 years through introducing the Junior and Senior High School system. The Ordinary and Advanced level certificates were replaced with the Basic Education and Secondary School Certificate Examinations, and cost recovery at the secondary and tertiary levels was increased (World Bank, 2004: 8). The WB's support to the reforms through several projects amounted to \$232 million (Armstrong, 1996), helping to provide needed money for infrastructure including schools and teachers' accommodation. The WB's support however was cited for having stringent conditionality (Casely-Hayford *et al*, 2007), since government had to spend a pre-determined percentage of its overall budget on education as one of the conditions for aid (World Bank, 2004), regardless of any pressing issues domestically. Interestingly, these education reforms were occurring at the same time as Ghana started implementing SAPs. Ghana began a SAP in 1983 as was shown in Chapter 2, to arrest imminent economic collapse (Konadu-Agyemang, 2000). Yet the ability of the government to spend on the social sectors at that time was heavily compromised by the strictures of the SAPs.

Once the WB started educational aid provision, many aid agencies including USAID, DFID and JICA joined. Educational aid gradually became an integral part of the non-governmental provision of support to the education sector for over three decades. In 2003 aid agencies provided GHC 17.7 million to Ghana's education budget, in 2008 the figure went up to GHC66.5 million (Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, 2008: 114). Yet still, between 2011 and 2012, donor funds increased by 240% from GH¢ 127 million to GH¢ 433 million (Ministry of Education, 2013: 92). With the increasing number of donors contributing to the sector, the MoE coordinates DP activities through joint sector working groups such as the MoE and Education DPs monthly meetings. DPs active in the sector are DFID, USAID, WB, the United Nations Children's fund (UNICEF), the World Food Programme (WFP), UNESCO, JICA and the French Embassy. For manageability, DFID and JICA's aid to the basic education level are the focus of this study as stated in Chapter 1.

3.3 Aid received from DFID and JICA

3.3.1 DFID

The DFID gave approximately £105 million to the education sector between 2006 and 2013, £100 million through Sector Budget Support (SBS) and the remaining £5 million as Technical Assistance (TA) (DFID Ghana, 2013). This is in addition to the \$60 million General Budget Support (GBS) given in the period of 2012-2015, some of which would have been spent on education. According to DFID Ghana, their aim for giving the education-specific aid was to support five components of Ghana's Education Strategic Plan (ESP) alongside other DPs (DFID Ghana, 2013). The areas supported can be seen in the table below.

Indicative activities supported through MoE budget
1. Increasing enrolment: new school and additional classroom construction; furniture and equipment; EMIS data collection; incentives for out-of-school children; school mapping and location planning; potable water supply and sanitation in schools; school meals and food rations.
2. Improving quality of teaching and learning: contracts and emoluments of two key advisers (Curriculum/Assessment, Quality Assurance); provide textbooks and readers; improve pre-service and in-service teacher training; improve supervision and inspection; and train head-teachers in professional leadership.
3. Improving management of schools and district education offices: supplementation of capitation grants; head-teacher and School Management Committee (SMC) training in School Performance Improvement Planning (SPIP); training at district level in use of Information Communication Technology (ICTs), and in operations planning, financial management, procurement and accounting.
4. Improving human resource and financial management in MoE headquarters: contracts and emoluments of three key advisers (Technical,

Financial Systems, and Internal Audit); capacity-building in MoE/GES; teaching service management, including study leave and trainee teacher stipend systems reform; public financial management and payroll reform.

(DFID Ghana, 2013: 2).

Furthermore, the DFID's reason for giving the aid through SBS was that it was the 'most effective way to support Ghana to achieve the MDGs... to avoid parallel structures and provide regular financing for ESP activities through government systems and budgets' (DFID Ghana, 2013: 30). There are also suggestions that increasing donor coordination around the ESP gives a high funding leverage to the agency to argue for reforms on financial management it considers suitable (DFID Ghana, 2013: 3).

The SBS component of the aid was disbursed through annual tranches of £10 million in the first three years, and then subsequent yearly transfers of £15 million after both governments agreed to front-load the resources. The TA component, on the other hand, was used to support a range of activities aimed at improving the MoE and GES's capacity to implement the ESP. Some of these declared capacity development activities included the allocation of Overseas Development Institute (ODI) fellowships, a scheme advertised as a postgraduate recruitment programme (Overseas Development Institute, 2014), to strategic sections of the Ghanaian education authorities such as the PBME unit of the MoE, the Financial Controller (FC)'s office at the GES and recently the Girls Education Unit. A legitimate question will be how could these masters' students be considered as having the necessary expertise to build the capacity of national institutions such as the MoE or GES? Similar observations were made by a CSO observer to Greenhill *et al* (2006:41) in Tanzania that:

[v]ery junior members of staff, even interns, are sent to advise ministers. Young people come and are supposed to both learn and provide technical assistance, but it's not possible to provide both.

Other TA supported activities included the provision of grants to third party organisations to undertake service delivery such as Complementary Basic Education (CBE). The CBE is an accelerated functional literacy programme aimed at enabling out-of-school and disadvantaged children to learn how to read, write and become numerate in a short period (nine months at most), to integrate them into primary classes to continue their education. At least local NGOs were the primary contractors implementing the CBE.

3.3.2 JICA

JICA on the other hand has given an estimated US\$ 91 million (approx. £56 million) of educational aid to Ghana through the scheme of technical cooperation between 2007 and 2013. JICA claims its assistance focuses on developing the self-effort and self-reliance of its counterparts, working together with them for capacity development. In the basic education sector, Japan's assistance is focused on improving access to sound learning environments, quality of education and school management, in deprived areas. Support is provided for the construction of school infrastructure, in-service training for teachers, and capacity development necessary for decentralised education management. Between 2005 and 2012 JICA's projects supporting education were as follows. There have been three phases of the In-Service Training (INSET) project. The ones that fall within the scope of this study are the second and third phases.

The second INSET project, titled Project To Support The Operationalisation Of The In-Service Training Policy (JICA, 2011), ran from 2005 to 2008. The project purpose was operationalizing a structured and replicable INSET model of science and mathematics for primary school teachers. The assumption was that once the INSET management structures were in place, the ultimate goal of improving the capacity of primary school teachers for teaching delivery in mathematics and science through continuous INSET could be achieved. The project piloted in 10 of the then 138 districts at an estimated cost of JPY 405 million (approx. US\$ 45 million) (JICA, 2011: 1). JICA's inputs included Japanese experts,

equipment for mathematics, science and general use, Ghanaian counterpart training in Japan, and local expenses.

Following on was the third INSET project, titled Project For Strengthening The Capacity of INSET Management, which ran from June 2009 to March 2013. The project purpose was establishing and reinforcing a nationwide management system for a structured and quality INSET of mathematics and science. The assumption was that once the management structures of INSET were in place, ultimately the teaching abilities of public primary school teachers in mathematics and science could be improved through School and Cluster Based In-service (SBI/CBI) training. The support targeted the Teacher Education Division (TED) of the GES, to reinforce the nationwide management system for INSET developed in the second phase. JICA's inputs were like the second INSET project, Japanese experts and equipment, and Ghanaian counterpart training in Japan and local expenses. The differences between the third and second projects are that the third was implemented in all 170 districts at the time, at an estimated cost of JPY 368 million (approx. US\$ 40 million) (JICA, 2013). The Ghanaian government also shared costs with the Japanese government in the third project by paying for most of the INSET trainings in-country.

JICA also undertook a school construction project from March 2010 to June 2014. The aim for the construction was to improve access to basic education in deprived areas. The construction utilised a grant of 605 million Japanese Yen, (approx. US\$6million) to provide classrooms for primary and junior high schools, teachers' accommodation, toilet facilities and educational furniture in 33 schools spread nationwide. The construction was in line with Japan's Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD) IV initiative to build 1,000 classrooms in African countries. Next, a Japanese Advisor for Decentralised Education Management (DEM) was posted to the Basic Education Division (BED) of GES from October 2010 to September 2013. The posting, with the support of the MoE and GES, was expected to strengthen the capacity of GES on decentralised education management at the national, regional and district levels, at an estimated cost of less than US\$1million.

3.4 Aid and evaluations of impact

Most aid given to the education sector is subject to evaluation by the donor to assess impact. Evaluation in general is a systematic examination of how efficient and effective the implementation of a project is. Evaluation also looks at the impact, whether intended or not, of project activities on the target group. During most evaluations, data is collected, analysed and interpreted to determine the level of achievement of project objectives and overall impact. Despite the foregoing, evaluation practices differ from one field to another around its operationalisation (Cracknel, 2000; ACFOA, 2002). In project management, Crawford (2004) defines evaluation as the assessment of the realisation of plans, whereas in international development the OECD (2011a) defines evaluation as a ‘systematic assessment of objectives of an ongoing or completed project or programme’. The OECD sets criterion to guide evaluations. These criteria are relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, impact and sustainability. Relevance refers to the applicability of the project to the recipient and donor countries’ development policies, whereas effectiveness is the ability of the project to achieve its intended objectives. Efficiency on the other hand is the ability of the project to use least cost to achieve intended results, and impact refers to any changes, be it negative or otherwise, produced by the intervention, be it intended or unintended. Then sustainability is the ability of the project interventions to be continued by the recipient once the project ends (OECD, 2016a). Most development agencies employ aspects of these criteria in developing their own evaluation framework.

The conceptual framework of evaluations involves establishing linkages between or among variables under investigation. A framework may identify principal variables of interest and attempt to establish interrelationships among the variables (Smits and Champagne, 2008). The conceptual framework of evaluations can be traced back to the work of Greene (1988), who indicated that an evaluation process is an interactive ongoing dialogue, involving substantive stakeholders in decision making. An evaluation can be at individual, group or organizational level. Smits and Champagne (2008) developed a practical participatory framework for evaluations that emanates from a combination of the conceptual frameworks developed by Cousins (2004) and Greene (1988). The concept is grounded on the relationships between

activities and consequences, and identifies dynamic and temporal evolution of some variables during the process of evaluation.

Further, the theoretical underpinning of evaluation is based on change theories called 'incrementalist planning theory' (Lindblom, 1959), which is concerned with simultaneous selection of goals and policies, and evaluating their impact on society. With incrementalism, planning should provide room for amendments during project implementation, allowing for adjustments to decision making after evaluations (Akanbang, 2012). Also, the theory of evaluation is rooted in advocacy planning. Davidoff (1965) notes it is important to include advocate planners in project planning to create opportunity to defend social interest, and for evaluation effect to include social interest.

Another theory under which evaluation emerges is new performance management, as an integral objective of accountability. Accountability guides management in decision making (Day and Klein, 1987), in that for management to be answerable, there is need to use the tool of evaluation to enhance performance. Managerial accountability is rooted in evaluation of implementation of projects. Next, theory of change is another concept that gave birth to evaluation, in that the degree of implementation of project objectives to its logical conclusion could be explained by programme theory assessment (Rossi, Lipsey and Freeman, 2004; Connell, Kubisch, Schorr and Weiss, 1995). It is argued that an implementation of action one results in the partial or whole achievement of result two, which in turn leads to a change in the impact felt by the target person. Ultimately learning is paramount in evaluation since it is assumed that evaluations are undertaken to learn and gain knowledge for corrective purposes (Van der Knaap, 2004).

The concept of independent evaluations

Picciotto (2013) has lamented that the independency of evaluations is downplayed in the literature, notwithstanding its relevance. Evaluation independence is an ethical standard that

evaluators are pegged at to comply with having unbiased analysis and credible accountability (Picciotto, 2013). Yet in practice some evaluations may fall short of achieving independence. In some cases, evaluations conducted may be influenced by funders (Samoff, 2003). To hold management accountable, the independency of evaluation is vital. Mayne (2008) explains that independent evaluations protect the integrity of management processes and enhance the credibility of implemented activities. Evaluation results may be compromised and biased if management has direct involvement in the process of evaluation, as management could entice evaluators to concentrate on irrelevant or marginal portions of implemented activities. However, when evaluations are conducted independent of management, possible extreme effects of conflict of interest could be minimized. Ideally, evaluators should not be part of the management or implementers of the target project.

Yet that evaluators are external consultants cannot guarantee the independency of evaluation, especially when the consultants are engaged by project managers. Rather, it is professionalism including objectivity of evaluators that matters. Also, independent evaluation is not synonymous to isolation. Management need not be isolated from evaluations before one can come out with unbiased results. Management could be part of the evaluating team. However, it is advisable for management not to lead the evaluation team. Independent evaluators who are professionals could withstand influence of management. Of course, there is also self-evaluation, which is done by implementers of projects. The best practice is to have a combination of independent evaluation and self-evaluation. For better evaluations, the results of the two must be closely related (Picciotto, 2013).

Evaluation of international development in Ghana

Ghana as a developing country witnesses the use of evaluation as a tool for checking results of implemented projects. Donors conduct evaluations regularly in Ghana. Yet, with a few exceptions, studies into evaluation procedures used in Ghana are scanty. Reviews and exploratory studies on the other hand are staples in Ghana. For instance, Casely-Hayford *et al's* (2007) historic overview of donor involvement in Ghana's education sector provides some

insights into the multitude of support the country receives, stating; an ‘estimated 20 multilateral and bilateral donors have been involved in Ghana’s education sector since the reforms’. Involvement here ranges from ‘direct allocation of resources to the provision of technical services in the form of policy interventions and the supply of consultancy services, and... direct budgetary support’ (Casely-Hayford *et al*, 2007: 7). Addae-Boahene (2007) also offers an exploration of the implications of the Paris declaration on Ghana’s education sector, and finds that recipients including civil society interpret the Paris agenda to mean increased ownership locally through the sector’s Education Strategic Plan (ESP) II 2010 – 2020. Further, Okugawa’s (2010: iii) study in Ghana explores ‘the process of absorbing foreign funds in the education sector’ including the ways in which aid delivery processes are perceived by local educational actors, concluding that most aid instruments have their advantages, and are also problematic in several ways depending on the context of application. Unlike the developed world, recognised project evaluation practitioners and experts, with a few exceptions, are uncommon in Ghana. Locally, limited funding is often diverted away from research into development projects, and or most higher education institutions have not incorporated evaluation as a course in their curriculum. From the international community side however, evaluation studies abound. Gakusi and Sindzingre (2007) indicate that the bad economic performance of African countries has necessitated the use of evaluations. These evaluations are used to measure the outcome and impact of projects for policy makers and donor partners, to improve upon future project implementations. The WB, United Nations, local and international NGOs as well as CSOs have used monitoring and evaluation as a tool to assess projects and programmes in Africa and other developing countries over the years.

During evaluations, it is good practice to establish how relevant stakeholders are involved. Stakeholders include providers of funds, project or programme implementers, CSOs and beneficiaries. It is important to note that Akanbang (2012) categorises stakeholders’ involvement into: timing of involvement, selection of members of stakeholders, and role and competences of the evaluator group. In many instances, project evaluations in Ghana do not include beneficiaries at the planning stages of the evaluation. Even if they are included, their inclusion may not occur at the onset of the evaluation planning. The terms of reference for evaluation are usually designed by the funding agency. Akanbang (2012) notes that the inclusion of stakeholders at the crucial stage of evaluation planning could ensure evaluators

identify themselves as being integral in project evaluation. This could motivate them to do due diligence for better evaluation results. It may also improve the quality of recommendations for amendment of project activities.

In 2009, the Japanese government for instance evaluated its entire assistance programme to Ghana, which resulted in the prescribing of a consistent framework for Japan's aid policy for Ghana and recommendations for future provision of aid. The evaluation covered all grants, loans and technical cooperation projects from 2000 to 2009. The beneficiary country, Ghana, however had no representation in the team of consultants who carried out the evaluation. The justification was that by all the consultant evaluators being external, it was an attempt to maintain the independency of the evaluation from the Japanese and Ghanaian governments, although the external consultants were Japanese. Yet, per the OECD (1991), evaluation findings are relevant to both donors and recipients of projects and hence the views of both parties should be sought during the process. Thus, the principles of impartiality and independence should reflect in evaluations through equal involvement of donors and recipients. The type of evaluation carried out by the Japanese government could be classified as a top down approach since it did not create room for substantive recipient involvement, and this could lead to biases in the evaluation results. On the other hand, effective planning of evaluations, which otherwise may include representatives of the beneficiary country or organization in the evaluation, is key to objective judgment of impact and effects of project intervention. With such a one-sided evaluation team, the recommendations emanating from the evaluation could be argued as not being objective.

In a different scenario showing increased involvement of stakeholders, an impact evaluation of the WB's support to Ghana was carried out under a partnership agreement between Operations Evaluation Department (OED) of the WB and DFID in 2004. This impact evaluation was carried out with substantial involvement of some stakeholders including the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) and the MoE. Staff of GSS and MoE were trained by OED on data analysis (World Bank, 2004). Also, a team of evaluators from the ODI UK and Centre for Democratic Development (CDD), Accra carried out an independent evaluation of the impact of the MDBS in Ghana (ODI and CDD, 2007) from August, 2006 to May, 2007. As noted by ODI and CDD

(2007), many people assisted the evaluation team by compiling and making data available, by giving access to documentation and by offering their opinions and interpretations. This is an evaluation which included many stakeholders albeit on the periphery of the evaluation process.

Over the years, many projects implemented in Ghana have been evaluated, as could be seen by the foregoing examples by external local and or international consultants. Torres and Preskill (2001) note that externally conducted evaluations have become prominent because of advocacy for independency in evaluations. The assumption is made however that the inclusion of internal and external evaluators will require huge sums of money for salaries and training, thereby making many organizations rely mostly on external evaluators. According to Akanbang (2012), about 41% of the evaluations in Northern Ghana have been conducted by joint external and internal evaluators, 44% by external evaluators resident in Ghana, and 11% by external evaluators' resident outside Ghana. Usually, external evaluators have limited time to complete their work in-country. This may impact on the duration of the evaluation thereby reducing its significance with respect to quality work. Yet, participatory approaches to evaluations of aid programmes were introduced in the late 1970s and early 1980s with the intention of reconciling evaluation results from both donor agencies and beneficiaries (Chambers, 1992). Considering the forgoing discussions, how have the two donors of this study's focus evaluated their interventions?

3.4.1 DFID's evaluation of its aid's impact in Ghana

The DFID, having given approximately £105million to the Ghanaian education sector between 2006 and 2013, in 2006 set up the following expected results by 2010 for the £100m SBS to be given, although later the achievement year was revised to 2013.

Expected results by 2013
Primary Gross Enrolment Rate (GER) of 100% (from 90%)
Primary Net Enrolment Rate (NER) of 82% (from 69%)

Primary Completion Rate (PCR) of 87% (from 75.6%)
Gender Parity (GPI 1.00) at Primary and Secondary levels (from 0.95 at Primary and 0.93 at Junior Secondary)
86% of Basic Schools (Primary and Junior Secondary) with toilet facilities for girls (from 48%)
73% of Basic Schools with safe drinking water (from 64%)
88% of Basic School Teachers qualified (from 72.6%)
Pupil to textbook ratio of 1:3 for core texts in English, Maths and Science (from 1:2)

(DFID Ghana, 2013).

Against these expected results DFID reports the following mixed achievements.

Component	Indicator	Target	Actual
1. Increasing enrolment	1. Primary Gross Enrolment Rate in deprived districts	98%	98.8%
	2. Percentage of budget to primary subsector	30.5%	25.9%
2. Improving quality of teaching and learning	1. Number of trained teachers:		
	Primary	62,158	65,889
	Junior High	57,700	60,906
	Textbooks in English, Maths and Science per primary pupil	3	0.5
	Number of classrooms constructed or rehabilitated	None set	6,467
3. Improving management of	Not reported on		

schools and district education offices:			
4. Improving human resource and financial management in MoE headquarters:	1. Divisions and agencies have effective and operational financial plans linked to the Annual Education Sector Operational Plan (AESOP)	Operational Plans linked to the 2013 AESOP	Partially met
	2. MoE/GES produce regular accounts and audit reports	2012 audit reports on time	Met
	3. Published policy matrix ((Performance Assessment Framework (PAF) for Multi Donor Budget Support (MDBS)) with poverty focused policy triggers	PAF poverty focused	Met
	4. Government of Ghana (GoG) provides strong leadership of the sector to ensure effective coordination	No target set for 2013 (2012 target: key sub sector groups operational and FRA recommendations set)	Partially met

(DFID Ghana, 2013: 4, 14, 19).

The preceding table is an account of DFID's perspective of its targets, and outcomes and impact on the Ghanaian education sector. The evaluation would have been commissioned by

DFID to provide evidence of what the agency's support has achieved, to learn lessons, and to influence others including DFID's home constituents' and aid recipients' perceptions alike of the value of the agency's work. According to DFID's own records (DFID Ghana, 2013), the programme was evaluated by a team of two international consultants, one from a British development organisation, the other from a British university. By all accounts the management of DFID Ghana were not part of the review team, which is a good practice since the possibility of bias would thus have been reduced. However, it is noteworthy that the evaluators are from the donor's country. Also, judging by the stakeholders listed as consulted by the evaluation team, from the national to district and school level, it is suggested that a suitable range of stakeholders were involved in the evaluation. These stakeholders included project implementers, CSOs and beneficiaries of the SBS. However, although DFID's evaluation was independently carried out, and most stakeholders were represented, the inclusion was on the periphery of the evaluation process, as they were not involved in the design of the evaluation.

Also, that the evaluators were external consultants cannot guarantee the independency of evaluation, especially when they were engaged by DFID, since to engage the consultants DFID would have developed the terms of reference for engagement, which is likely to detail how the evaluation process is to be carried out, the questions to be asked and where to go for data and discussions. This may mean that the bigger decisions surrounding how the evaluation is conducted, which ultimately may have an impact on the results of the evaluation, may not involve beneficiaries. This suggests, as Burnell (1997: 207) writes, that recipients have been allowed no significant part in the decision-making processes for aid. Yet the recipient nation is the institutional partner to the donor in the field during implementation. In determining the model to use to deliver aid, the DFID decided at the time that the SBS would complement both its existing support via the MDBS and other DPs' activities in the sector and the country. This raises the question: how would the recipient nation have viewed such a rationale for deciding the choice of aid delivery model if they were to be asked? Would they have agreed with such a rationale or would they have given an alternative view to DFID's? Nevertheless, the DFID's evaluation was more representative and inclusive of the recipient than the JICA evaluations, to which I now turn.

3.4.2 JICA's evaluation of its aid's impact in Ghana

JICA's reporting on its projects' outcomes, having given an estimated US\$91million (approx. £56million) of educational aid to Ghana through the scheme of technical cooperation between 2007 and 2013, is sparse. It must be noted that because the Japanese language is used in developing most official documents, availability of evaluation reports is limited. In addition, the organisation tends not to see the need to share information freely. Nevertheless, JICA usually reports through a five-page English summary of completed technical cooperation projects. On the second INSET project (2005 to 2008) JICA reports the following good achievements.

Extract of the summary of the joint terminal evaluation of the project to support the operationalisation of the In-Service Training policy

The INSET implementation structure had been established at both the national and the local levels, and the INSET implementation guidelines, source book (collection of modules) and manuals related to its use had been developed. In addition, capacities of stakeholders were reinforced and school-based INSET (SBI)/cluster-based INSET (CBI) had been implemented. A monitoring and evaluation system was also developed and implemented, resulting in the amendment of related documents. In addition, educational activities were implemented in non-pilot districts with the diffusion of INSET in mind to motivate participation in INSET. Thus, it is judged that the desired outputs had been achieved through the implementation of activities as scheduled.
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(JICA, 2011: 4-5)

On the third INSET project (2008 to 2013) JICA reports the following mixed achievements.

Extract of the summary of the joint terminal evaluation of the project for strengthening the capacity of INSET Management
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Capacity strengthening of the National Inset Unit (NIU) in INSET management is mostly

achieved. Capacity enhancement of Regional Master Trainers (RMT) and District Master Trainers (DMT) in INSET delivery is mostly achieved. Capacity enhancement of District INSET Committees (DIC) in INSET management and of District Teacher Support Teams (DTST) in INSET delivery is achieved. Establishment and enhancement of INSET monitoring and evaluation system is achieved, and strengthening of INSET supporting system is mostly achieved.

(JICA, 2013: x - xii)

The school construction project on the other hand was completed in 2014 and is yet to be evaluated. In the case of the Japanese expert attached to the BED of GES, since his assignment is not deemed a project but an individual assignment, his activities are not evaluated in the traditional sense, per JICA evaluation guidelines. Nevertheless, the expert is expected to complete a final report highlighting what he deems as achievements of his assignment. Thus, as a manager of his own activities, the expert is expected to conduct a self-evaluation, which he did. The following are excerpts of the expert's final report.

Extract of the completion report of the Advisor on decentralised education management - JICA expert		
Expected results	Status	Remarks
Overall objective: the GES has sufficient capacity on decentralised education management.	Met	The capacity has been improved but not yet at the excellent level.
Outcome 1: relevant Planning, Budgeting, Monitoring and Evaluation (PBME) <u>process</u> in GES in place	Met	The process was now more streamlined than before but challenges remain especially at the school level.
Outcome 2: adequate knowledge/skills on PBME demonstrated by GES staff from schools to the headquarters level	Met	The level of knowledge / skills on PBME at Ministry, Divisions, Divisions (MMD) and regional levels have been improved but did not yet reach at the satisfactory level (7% of

		Annual District Education Operational Plans (ADEOP) and 0% of Annual District Performance Reports (ADPR) are above 80% of the total score percentage at the latest reviews). At the school level, there are still huge needs to realise effective school management.
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(Kanazawa, 2013: 21 – 23)

This self-evaluation would have been commissioned by JICA to provide evidence of what the agency's support achieved, to learn lessons, and to influence others including Japanese tax payers and aid recipients alike of the value of JICA's work. As a self-evaluation report, it is likely to be written from the point of view of the expert and the agency he represents, rather than to represent views of the target beneficiaries or recipient government. It is also likely not to be independent, sufficiently critical or objective. For instance, looking at outcome 2 in the table above, the expert reports the status of the target as 'met' but in the remarks section writes:

The level of knowledge / skills on PBME at Ministry, Divisions, Divisions (MMD) and regional levels have been improved but did not yet reach at the satisfactory level (7% of Annual District Education Operational Plans (ADEOP) and 0% of Annual District Performance Reports (ADPR) are above 80% of the total score percentage at the latest reviews). At the school level, there are still huge needs to realise effective school management (Kanazawa, 2013: 21 – 23).

The remark of knowledge levels not reaching a satisfactory level, noticeably jars with the assertion the status of the target has been met, raising the question of how objective the ratings of 'met' are. The ratings could be disputed by the GES or another evaluator.

Self-evaluation in and of itself is not necessarily bad practice. Self-evaluation allows the person concerned, in this case the expert, the opportunity to think through the process of implementation, challenges encountered and lessons needing to be learnt for the future. So, as a first step in an evaluation process, self-evaluation has a role to play. However, as the only source of evaluating an implemented donor project, devoid of recipients' inputs, the self-evaluation report is likely to overstate achievements. Importantly too, aid projects, for sustainability are almost always jointly implemented by the donor and recipient country. So, Ghana, represented by the GES, as the recipient nation of this Japanese aid would have been the joint implementer of the expert's interventions. Yet, from the preceding account of the evaluation report on the DEM, the absence of the recipients' voice in determining how JICA's support impacted on the sector is noticeable.

Why should the results of an agency's intervention be determined by its staff only? Would the recipients' inclusion in the evaluation not have helped present alternative views to that of the expert, and by extension the donor? The importance of such questions is confirmed in literature that points to the tendency of most aid agencies such as the DFID (2011) and JICA (2012) to have their own research institutions provide evidence of what their support is achieving. Best practice is to have a combination of independent evaluation and self-evaluation, and that for better evaluations, the results of the two must be closely related (Picciotto, 2013). Also, evaluation findings are relevant to both donors and recipients of projects, hence the views of both parties should be sought during the evaluation process (OECD, 1991). Thus, the principles of impartiality and independence should reflect in evaluations through equal involvement of donors and recipients. This is especially needed since the inclusion of recipients may reduce any possible overstatements and improve upon the quality of recommendations for amendment of current and future project activities.

Yet, because research in the international development field is mostly undertaken by aid agencies, their staff and related institutes, the research undertaken mainly tends to be dominated by aid agencies and their expert's views, not the recipients or recipient governments (Samoff, 2003). For this reason, aid agencies' research and voices are overrepresented in the international development context (Samoff, 2003). This presents the

situation where aid agencies mostly determine the topics to be researched, the research methods to be used, and the findings to be published. Research and its findings then may not be sufficiently critical, objective, and evidence based as may be expected, or attuned to the views of the recipients of aid. Yet this agency commissioned research frames debates, policy and on-going practice in both donor and recipient countries (Samoff, 2003).

Yet from the perspectives of DFID and JICA, these evaluation reports, being their own literature, indicates what their aid to Ghana's education sector has been able to achieve. Would the Ghanaian aid recipients have experienced the DFID and JICA's educational aid the same way or differently? From the recipients' experience, would they say whether the educational aid has indeed contributed to or hindered educational development? Using interviews, the experiences of 13 participants from the education system strata of the MoE, GES, two primary schools and a District Education Office, who have had experience of receiving aid from both agencies in the said period, were sought in this study. Chapter 5 presents the findings of the interviews.

In summary, in this chapter the national educational context, the backdrop from which DFID and JICA provide educational aid to Ghana, and the country's history of receiving aid has been presented. Discussions centred on the educational needs of the country including improving access to school, issues of education management encompassing decentralisation and teacher management. Furthermore, the aid received from the two donors between 2007 and 2012 is also presented, alongside discussion of debates on evaluations in international development. Finally, the respective agencies' reporting on what they declare as outcomes of their aid and my observation of the absence of the recipients' voices in these evaluations are also presented. The next chapter, 4, details the approach and methods used to undertake the study, including the selection criteria for the 13 participants, considerations for meeting judgements of research quality, and researcher positioning and ethics.

Chapter 4. The research design, methods, researcher positioning and ethical considerations

An empirical approach was used to investigate the Ghanaian aid recipients' experience of educational aid since it appeared appropriate for deriving primary data. In the following sections the research methods used, including justification for the location of the study in the interpretive paradigm and the interviewing method to collect data are all elaborated. This is followed by discussions on the selection criteria for the 13 participants, and the use of King's (2007) template analysis strategy. Considerations taken to meet judgements of research quality are also offered. Finally, issues of researcher positioning and ethical considerations are presented to demonstrate an awareness of the researcher's working history and the view of the research context. The argument is made that I place myself as a facilitator with requisite knowledge of the research context, as the knowledge to be gained requires an interaction between participants and the researcher.

4.1 The paradigm

The paradigm wars may have ended but before then positivism was the dominant paradigm for the natural and social sciences. Positivists hold the basic belief there are universal truths that could be verified through irrefutable proofs (Lincoln and Guba, 2000; Dash, 2005; Kaboub, 2008). Positivists believe knowledge can only be acquired through direct observation and experimentation, based on scientific facts that can be generalized and replicated. Further, with positivists, '[a]n apprehendable reality is assumed to exist, driven by immutable natural laws and mechanisms' (Guba and Lincoln, 1994: 109). Such beliefs led to research methodology that looked to find truth and evidence through observation, experimentation and manipulation. With time critics objected to the positivist stance since in 'adopting the belief that a single universal reality exists for all of us... that... can be discovered via systematically controlled investigation' (Darlaston – Jones, 2007: 20), positivism showed a lack of regard for the subjective states of reality. The impression human beings were passive beings that could be

observed and controlled by their environment came in for criticism because any reality could be viewed from different perspectives by different observers (Dash, 2005; Kaboub, 2008).

Such criticisms over time led to the emergence of the interpretive paradigm, which is primarily about making meaning, the essence of which lies in the human being's active and conscious interpretation of their subjective world (Fuchs, 1992). 'Human behavior, unlike that of physical objects, cannot be understood without reference to the meanings and purposes attached by human actors to their activities' (Guba and Lincoln, 1994: 106). An interpretive enquiry serves well as a means for articulating, appreciating and making visible the voices and concerns of research participants (Weaver and Olson, 2006). The interpretive paradigm also allows for interaction with participants for first-hand experience of a phenomenon. This is necessary to potentially gain access to accounts of experiences. As the study is an attempt to explore what Ghanaian educational aid recipient's experience is of educational aid, what they make of their experience, their personal interpretation of their worlds, the study is located in the interpretive paradigm.

There may not be such a clear dichotomy between positivist and interpretivist as discussed here, since there are deeper philosophical distinctions within and between each paradigm. However, the generalisations are to aid understanding of the dense area of paradigms. Nonetheless, there are critiques of interpretivism too, one of them being findings cannot be generalised to the larger population or subjected to statistical analysis, since the approach encourages small cases study (Hammersley, (n.d.)). Yet, for this study, because of manageability issues, it was necessary to select a small number of participants as discussed in Chapter 4.3 Participant selection below. Another criticism levelled is interpretivisms' inherent subjectivity on realities; findings may be deemed not reliable (Nudzor, 2009).

Even so, the nature of reality this dissertation sought to investigate is not fixed, neither is it easily understood. Instead the study dealt with the reality of experiences relative to and as constructed by each aid recipient, having meaning that can only be established in relation to the person experiencing it. As such, the actuality of each recipient's account, as perceived in

the study is as a result of the recipients' context, having been locally and specifically constructed (Lincoln and Guba, 2000). The study's location within an interpretive approach helped in addressing these needs because interpretivists hold a counter position to positivism that reality is relative and socially constructed by those experiencing it (Darlaston – Jones, 2007). Based on experiences gained through this study, Darlaston – Jones's (2007: 19) assertion that reality is 'shaped by... cultural, historical... and social norms... and... can be different for each of us' is valid to this researcher. The distinct experiences of the recipients however, could be rooted in a common phenomenon shared in by all. For these reasons, one of the basic assumptions guiding the study is reality as we know it is not absolute, rather it can be perceived differently as it is experienced and constructed by each aid recipient. Hence there is a need to understand reality from the viewpoint of each recipient's experience, and to respect their accounts as such.

Moreover, the knowledge the research sought to generate is not one that could be verified through experimentation. Rather, knowledge was expected to be constructed as a result of the interaction between aid recipients and the researcher. Fittingly, knowledge in the interpretivist paradigm is deemed as transactional, that is, knowledge is created from the interaction between the participant and the researcher. So that given a different researcher and the same aid recipients, the experience to be shared could be differently interpreted (Nudzor, 2009). Aptly, Lincoln and Guba (2000: 177) argue 'any agreement regarding what is valid knowledge – arises from the relationship between members of some stakeholder community', and for this study, between participants and the researcher. The knowledge to be gained is expected to be relative to the interaction. Further, the knowledge is expected to be subjective, having been influenced by participants' values and their situational views of educational aid.

Additionally, the interactions between the researcher and participants were used as a means of investigating the recipients' experiences. As indicated by Guba and Lincoln (1994) the interpretive approach uses a process they term dialectical: investigating through discussion, and hermeneutical: a means of interpreting as a means of knowing. For this study the process of getting to know involved interacting with recipients to record their experiences of the donor agencies' educational aid, and making an interpretation of their experiences as shared. The

process involved interpreting the subjective, and sometimes multiple social realities of the aid recipients' experiences through discussions intended to elicit the individual understandings of each participant. Guba and Lincoln (1994:111) capture this process succinctly when they write that '[t]he variable and personal ... nature of social constructions suggest that individual constructions can be elicited and refined only through interaction between and among investigator and respondents'. The interactions should serve to aid in attempting to answer the research question of how Ghanaian aid recipients experience educational aid in their institutions. For these reasons, the interpretive approach met the needs of the study.

4.2 Field work organisation

To undertake the field work, it was important to seek the necessary approvals for entry to the sites of research and from the university as the research was to involve human subjects (details of which are discussed in Chapter 4.8 Researcher positioning and ethical considerations below). With the necessary approvals in hand, the plan was to conduct the fieldwork at three sites; at the national Ministry of Education (MoE) and the headquarters of Ghana Education Service (GES) with selected officials, at the district level with District Education officials, and at the school level with Head Teachers and teachers from two schools (details of the selection process and criteria follows in the next Chapter 4.3). At the national and district levels, those responsible for educational aid receipt were to be invited to take part in the research. At the school level, the idea was to select a Head Teacher and two teaching staff from the same school if possible, so they could talk about the same aid receipt, but as experienced from each participant's perspective. This plan meant nine aid recipients from the institutions above, for manageability, were to be drawn as participants; two from the national level, one at the district level, and three each from two primary schools. Consultations with the MoE and GES national level were planned to help in identifying research sites that met the needs of the study, after which contact was to be made with the sites, and eligible participants invited to partake in the research.

The interview method and audio recording with consent, justification for which is in Chapter 4.4 interviewing method and practicalities, were planned for use to collect data. The plan was to interview each participant once for a duration of one hour. Once the interview took place and data was collected, for manageability, the recorded interviews were to be partly transcribed by me, and partly with the support of a research assistant, who was given detailed instructions including the transcription of all sounds, pauses and hesitations. To maintain participant confidentiality and anonymity during the transcription phase by the research assistant, the audio recording was to be anonymised by editing to remove selected data that could lead to the identification of respondents before being sent to the assistant. A formal agreement with the research assistant was also created to emphasise; the need to maintain confidentiality of the data provided; not to disclose any information about the participants or research; to ensure access to the data is restricted to maintain confidentiality; and not to discuss issues arising from the data with anyone.

Once the research assistant's part of the transcription was completed and returned, the audio recordings of the interviews were listened to against the transcription to check for mistakes, plug any gaps missed, and to get inside the data. All the checked transcripts were then to be returned to the participants to confirm the account of the interview. Should a participant request for parts of the transcript to be changed after reflection or because they want to make a retraction, the change will be allowed. The confirmed transcripts were then to be analysed (details of analysis strategy are in Chapter 4.6), after which the findings from the analysis were to be interpreted and reported.

4.3 Participant selection

Per the field work organisation and planning, participants were selected from the three hierarchical levels of the education system: national, district and school. At the national level, authorities in charge of education, the MoE and the GES were invited to participate in the research. At the district level, for manageability, a District Education Office (DEO) that had experienced receiving educational aid from both DFID and JICA in the five-year period of

2007 to 2012 was targeted. Then at the school level, using the same parameters used to select the district, two primary schools in the same district were identified. From existing national education information, districts that had been in receipt of educational aid from both DFID and JICA could be identified. Because DFID's assistance is delivered through sector budget support, which has a nationwide target by default, all districts became possible candidates. In addition, some of JICA's activities including the third INSET¹ project and the Decentralised Education Management (DEM)² project, described in Chapter 3, also had nationwide coverage so could not be used to narrow down the target districts. Nevertheless, considering JICA's assistance in the second phase of the INSET project was piloted in 10 districts, these districts were used to narrow and target a district. Then, in consultation with the national authorities, out of the 10 pilot districts, a district that had current education managers and teachers that had experienced both DFID and JICA's basic educational aid were considered. Other issues considered included district staff's openness and willingness to articulate their experiences. Also, because of accessibility issues including poor roads and the remoteness of some district offices and primary schools, the ease of access to these institutions was also considered. Once a district was nominated, contact was made with the district director to introduce the research including giving out the Plain Language Statement (PLS); and, with their permission contact was made with the pool of available participants to introduce the research including giving out the PLS and inviting participants to take part.

At the district level, in consultation with district staff, two schools with current teachers that had experienced both DFID and JICA basic educational aid were considered. Also, because of the need for variation, it was decided to target one averagely performing school and the other a good performing school. Other issues considered included the schools' staff's willingness to

¹ JICA supported the Teacher Education Division (TED) of the GES with the third In-Service Training (INSET) project, titled The Project For Strengthening The Capacity Of INSET Management, which run from June 2009 to March 2013. The project purpose was establishing and reinforcing a nationwide management system for a structured and quality INSET of mathematics and science. The project was implemented nationwide in all 170 districts of the country at the time.

² JICA supported the Basic Education Division (BED) of the GES from October 2010 to September 2013 with the posting of a Japanese expert (an Advisor) in the area of DEM. The posting was to strengthen the capacity of GES on decentralised education management at the national, regional and district levels.

articulate their experiences, accessibility issues including poor roads, and the ease of access to primary schools. Once the schools were selected, contact was made with each. At the schools, the research was introduced to the Head teachers including giving out the PLS, and with their permission contact made with the pool of available participants and the PLS given out. This was in order to introduce the research and to invite their participation in the research.

Thirteen participants instead of the originally planned nine from the institutions named above took part in the study. They were made up of two participants from the national level, five coordinators instead of the originally planned one at the district level, and three staff each from the two primary schools. Below are diagrams showing how the different hierarchical levels and participants fit in with national structures.

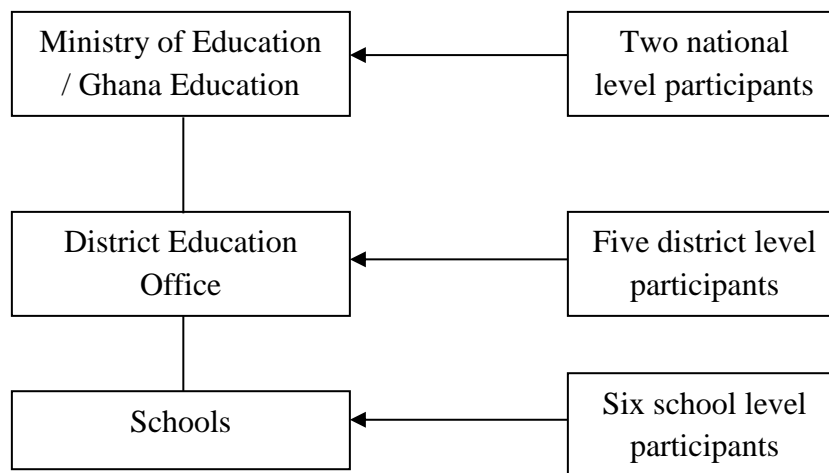


Figure 4.3.1 The education system structure and participants' locations

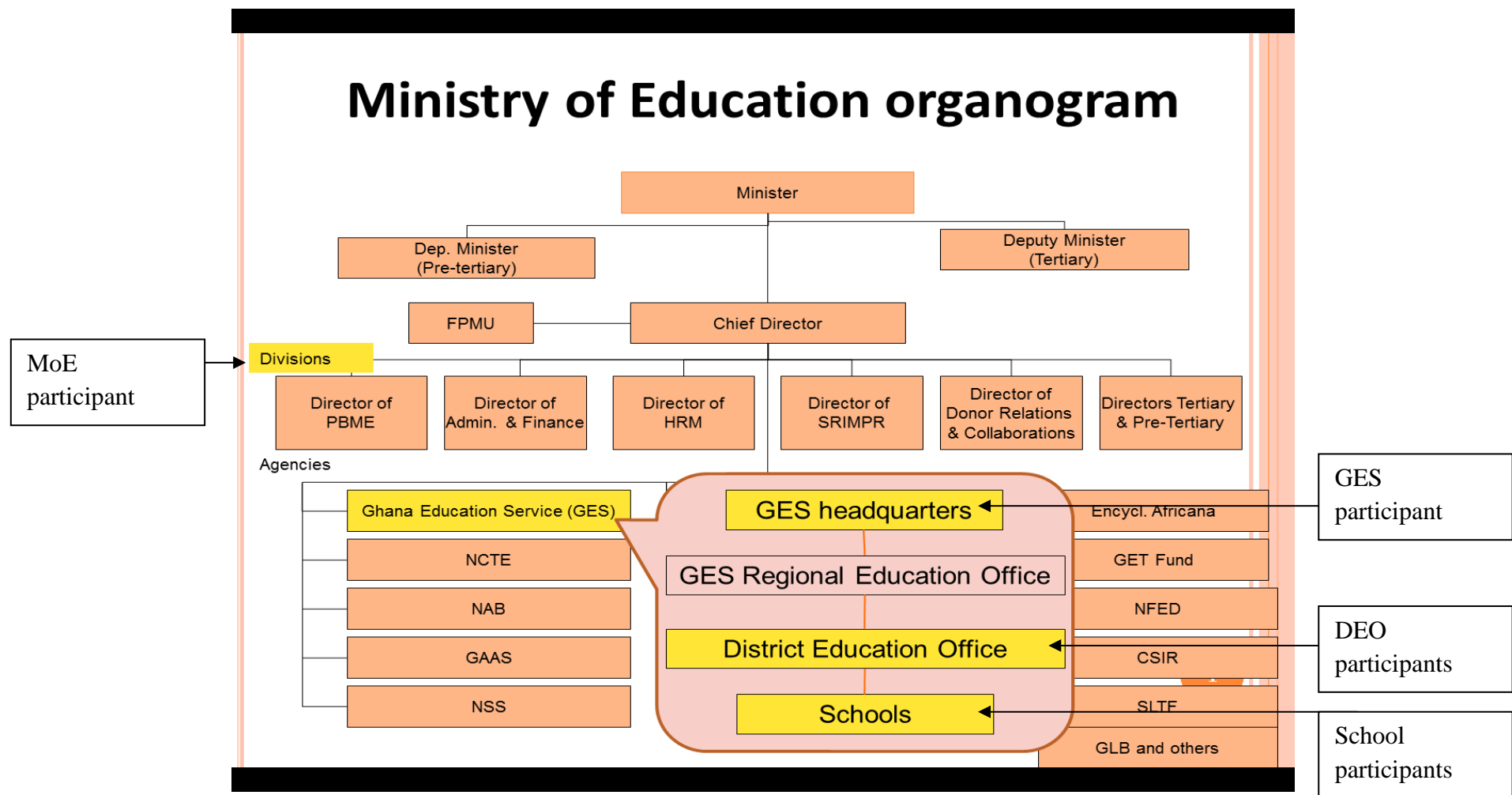


Figure 4.3.2 The Ministry of Education organogram and participants' locations

At the district level, the invitation was made to the DDE as planned including giving out the PLS but the DDE chose instead to nominate his Coordinators (five of them) responsible for the utilisation of the aid received at the district level to participate in the research. The Coordinators in turn were invited separately including giving out the PLS. Once the Coordinators reviewed the PLS they expressed willingness to participate in the research, not because they had been nominated but because they thought the study was interesting. At the school level, the plan of selecting a Head Teacher and two teaching staff from the same school was possible and achieved. The participant selection was not randomised but purposeful, in order that the participants represented a cross section of key stakeholders more likely to experience directly both DFID and JICA's basic educational aid activities. As Hycner (1985: 294) notes it is 'necessary for a ... researcher ... to seek out participants who not only have had the particular experience being investigated but also are able to articulate their experience'. The participants' profiles are detailed in Chapter 5 as part of the context for the findings of the study.

4.4 The interviewing method and practicalities

The individual semi-structured interview was the method applied to collect primary data for the study. Initially focus group discussions had been considered since the aim of the study tilted the research towards data collection methods that foster dialogue. In exploring the usefulness of focus group discussions, the understanding that '[f]ocus groups are a form of group interview that capitalises on communication between research participants in order to generate data' (Kitzinger, 1995) was gained. It was also understood that focus groups can be effective in exploring participants' experiences and perceptions (Wilson 1997: 211), and can provide the opportunity to groups that have experienced the phenomenon under investigation to deliberate their view of their worlds together. However, facilitating effective focus group discussions can be challenging. It can be difficult to ascertain if participants are expressing their own viewpoints in the presence of others and it can take some skill and experience to ensure that powerful personalities do not dominate the discussion, and to ensure that everyone has a chance for their voice to be heard. In addition, in this study, participants were drawn from different hierarchical levels of authority (national, district and school) with implications

for power asymmetries, with the possible result that some participants may be intimidated or uncomfortable speaking in the presence of their superiors. This could be the case in the Ghanaian cultural context where administrative and authoritative hierarchies are strictly observed. A second perceived challenge was practical; it would have been difficult to schedule officials from disparate locations for the group discussion, especially as even at their individual sites of practice it can be difficult to gain access to the officials. Such constraints could not be overcome by careful planning. It is for these reasons focus group discussions were not used.

While losing the potential for group interaction, the individual interview method does provide the opportunity to ask and hear Ghanaian aid recipients' individual experiences. This is as Seidman (2006:10) notes the 'primary way a researcher can investigate ... process is through the experience of the individual people... who ... carry out the process'. Furthermore, the interviewing method allows the opportunity for participants to reflect on their experiences of educational aid, may help them clarify their thinking, and may also influence future decision-making on receiving aid. However, the interview method is not without its own challenges. The researcher needs to be skilled in hearing what is being said and should not impose any preformed ideas from the literature or their own perspective on participant's responses. They should also listen more and talk less, keep participants focused on the interview questions but without leading them, tolerate short periods of silence, and, ask for concrete details of experiences (Dilley, 2004; Seidman, 2006). Moreover, data generated from interviewing is time consuming to analyse, as was encountered during the analysis stage. From the pilot study that was completed as one of the coursework requirements for the degree, the inadequacies of this new researcher were realised, but the pilot study also provided a good foundation in practicing the interview method and the necessary lessons were learnt. For instance, the issue of the competing claims of the literature and some of the recipients' responses, and the need to 'maintain... a delicate balance' (Seidman, 2006: 38) arose during the pilot study. This time around however, the situation was handled deftly by keeping an open mind and letting the responses of the participants come through to see where the data eventually took the research. Despite the challenges highlighted, the interview method did allow the researcher to understand the aid recipients' experiences.

In-depth but semi structured interviews were used to allow for the collection of data (Rao and Perry, 2003). The structured part allowed for the use of key questions to elicit similar data from all participants, whilst the unstructured part allowed for the inclusion of specific questions to specific groups (national, district and school) of participants, adding further probes and prompts where necessary, and following up on pertinent themes arising. The unstructured part further allowed the participants more freedom although the challenge was getting the participants back to the main interview questions. Nevertheless, the preparation of interview guides (different versions for the national, district and school levels) provided guidance on keeping the interviews on track. The interview guides also helped in making the participants aware of the agenda for the interviews.

Each interview took over an hour with the permission of the participant, with the longest individual interview being around one hour and forty-five minutes. The interviews were audio recorded with the permission of the participants. Once the data was collected, as stated above in 4.2 Field work organisation, the recorded interviews were transcribed. Once the transcription was completed, the audio recordings of the interviews were listened to against the transcription to check for mistakes, to plug any gaps missed, and to get inside the data. All the transcripts were then returned to the participants to confirm the account of the interview. All participants confirmed the accuracy of the transcripts.

4.5 Research question

The research question, as earlier stated in section 1.5, focuses on how Ghanaian aid recipients experience educational aid. The literature review process, guided by the research question also generated other sub questions. Based on these questions and the scope of the dissertation study, three different sets of interview guides were prepared to target specific questions to specific groups of participants. The guides are attached in Chapter 7.1 as appendices (interview guides), however, the following gives an overview of the main areas of the questions asked.

General ice breakers

This section aimed to provide an outline of the study to participants, and to gain data on participants' background including age, gender, role, educational qualifications, and employment history. The context of the national, district or school including number of schools, enrolment, needs and aid received were explored.

The need for educational aid

Questions centred on how needs in relation to educational aid are identified, and whether and why the country, district or school required educational aid.

Methods of delivering educational aid

Questions centred on how methods for delivering educational aid are experienced, be it a benefit or limitation, as well as judgements on how efficient (cost effective, value for money, able to function without waste) the different aid delivery methods were. There were also questions on which of the methods of delivery are the best.

Outcomes / impact of educational aid on the education sector

Questions centred on whether there have been any changes brought about in the basic education sector, district or school by the aid, be it a contribution or a hindrance, due to educational aid provision.

The sustainability of educational aid

Questions were asked around the sustainability of aid, including what would happen if aid should cease, and whether the MoE/GES could or should plan to continue supporting the areas the DFID/JICA's aid is supporting.

Overall assessment

Questions were asked around how aid delivery could be improved if participants had the opportunity to make recommendations to both development partners.

4.6 Analysis strategy

The interview transcripts, once confirmed by the participants, were analysed using King's (2007a) template analysis strategy. Template analysis, which is a data driven analysis strategy, is defined by King (2007a) as:

a particular way of thematically analysing qualitative data... involv[ing] the development of a coding "template", which summarises themes identified ... as important in a data set, and organize[s data] ... in a meaningful and useful manner.

According to King (2007a), the first step of the analysis often starts, although not always, with determining previously defined themes termed *a priori* codes. So as is prescribed, *a priori* codes, which were expected to feature in the participants' responses, were defined. The *a priori* codes, shown below, were identified from the research question, literature review and interview questions, and they initially formed the first level of themes, from which successively refined lower level or nested sub-themes were to be added.

Definition of *a priori* themes

Major theme	First level sub-themes and definition	Second level sub-themes	Third level sub-themes
Need for educational aid	Need identification: processes used to identify a need for aid, or when an entity comes to the recognition of needing aid		
	Reason for the need: the explanation or justification for the need for educational aid	Scarcity of resources	
		Underdevelopment and deterioration	
		To maintain economic and political interests	
		Dependency relationship	
Methods (models) of delivering educational aid	Forms of aid: the different forms educational aid can take including financial, in-kind such as books, workshops or technical expertise.		
	Instruments/channels used to deliver educational aid: the methods used to deliver educational aid to the country, district or school level.	General Budget Support: outright transfers of money into the country's treasury (bank account), managed by the recipient's budgetary procedures alongside policy dialogue with the donor.	

		<u>Sector Budget Support (SBS)</u> : external donor financial aid earmarked to a specific sub-sector such as education, sent directly to the recipient country's treasury, and managed by the recipient's budgetary procedures alongside policy dialogue with the donor	
		<u>Technical Cooperation (TC)</u> : activities aimed at strengthening individual and organisational capacity of a recipient country such as providing expertise, training and related learning opportunities and equipment.	Limitations of TC
	Best aid instrument : instances where an aid instrument is commended for being the best for delivering educational aid.		
Outcomes and impact of educational aid on the education sector	Contribution : instances where educational aid has brought resources (either financial or in-kind) or technical expertise to the sector. Or instances where educational aid has played a part in causing a result in the education sector.		

	Hinder: instances where the provision of educational aid has got in the way of, delayed or prevented the development or progress of educational development.		
	Challenges / negative issues: instances where the provision of educational aid has brought with it difficulties / problems (anything that is hard to accomplish, deal with, or understand) for the sector.	Conditionality: instances where the provision of educational aid will be done only if something else is done or happens on the recipient side.	
		Donors imposing development strategies.	
	Outcomes and impact: the result, achievement or effect of educational aid on the country, district or school level education system.	<u>Positive outcomes and impact:</u> instances where the provision of educational aid has produced good results.	Quality improvements in education
		<u>Negative outcomes and impact:</u> instances where the provision of educational aid has produced adverse results.	
		<u>Mixed outcomes and impact:</u> instances where the provision of educational aid has produced inconsistent results or a combination of good, adverse or neutral	

		results.	
	Educational aid purpose: the reason for which educational aid is given.	Advancing education development.	
The sustainability of educational aid	Aid sustainability: instances where activities/events supported by aid may be able to be maintained by the recipient if aid were to cease.		
Overall assessment	Recommendations: instances where suggestion as to what is a good or sensible thing to do are given for educational aid delivery improvements.		

For step two of the analysis strategy, recorded interviews needed to be transcribed and the researcher tasked to read through and thoroughly familiarise herself with the data. Because the transcription had already been completed, I read through the transcripts several times to familiarise myself with the contents as recommended by King (2007a). This process also included playing and replaying the recorded interviews to remind myself of what was said during the interviews and to get inside the data. For step 3, I started the initial coding process by identifying parts of the transcripts directly relevant to the research question. The initial plan was to code the transcripts using Microsoft Word's comment function to highlight and attach labels (codes) to relevant sections or use a pen to highlight and attach codes (themes) to relevant sections of the transcripts. However, several challenges could be foreseen with these proposed approaches. There was going to be a challenge in systematically linking the codes and themes across transcripts especially given the large amount of data that had been generated. The proposed approach also meant that moving from a descriptive to a more analytical approach becomes problematic. In discussion with supervisory staff it became obvious the size of the data necessitated the use of Qualitative Data Analysis (QDA) software to overcome these challenges. For several reasons, including licensing arrangements and availability QSR International's (2017) NVivo 10 Software was selected. With the use of NVivo 10, each transcript could be subjected to systematic analysis and coding with application of the initial template developed from the *a priori* themes outlined above.

So, with the *a priori* themes in mind and loaded into NVivo, I continued step 3 of the data analysis by systematically going through each transcript and applying the themes as I identified parts of the transcripts directly relevant to the themes. When a new theme was identified that was not part of the *a priori* themes, it was defined and added. I then went through all the other transcripts to see if the new theme occurred elsewhere and coded it appropriately. As the coding of the transcripts proceeded, the *a priori* themes were added to, modified and refined; and, in some cases removed altogether based on their relevance to the analysis. The initial outline of themes and sub-themes formed the pattern from which other similar coded themes were added, modified and or removed to 'encompass successively narrower, more specific themes' (King, 2007). NVivo allows the researcher to apply hierarchical structures to themes, including successive narrower sub themes, to develop a more analytical interpretation of the data. NVivo's outline of themes could serve the same purpose

as King's (2004) template. A screenshot of NVivo's hierarchical nature of the themes is shown below.

Nodes				
Name	Sources	References	Created On	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Aid delivery instruments-channels <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Best instrument Cash Cost effectiveness Decided by donor General Budget Support Preference Sector Budget Support (SBS) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Benefits Limitation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attribution Technical Cooperation (TC) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Benefit Experts Goods and Services <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Machinery Quality Limitations Alternatives to aid <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Efficiency savings Parental (financial) contribution Reducing waste Areas aid spent on <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Access Capacity building Gender Management Quality Challenges - negative issues <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Conditionality Control <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Decisions Interest Resources 				
	2	31	8/14/2013 3:47 PM	
	0	0	8/14/2013 3:51 PM	
	1	1	9/5/2013 4:11 PM	
	0	0	8/19/2013 4:05 PM	
	0	0	8/19/2013 4:08 PM	
	2	2	8/14/2013 3:49 PM	
	1	1	8/19/2013 4:22 PM	
	2	9	8/14/2013 3:49 PM	
	1	2	8/28/2013 12:57 PM	
	1	1	8/19/2013 4:00 PM	
	1	3	8/29/2013 12:42 PM	
	2	16	8/14/2013 3:50 PM	
	1	2	8/19/2013 4:03 PM	
	1	2	9/5/2013 4:12 PM	
	1	1	9/5/2013 4:11 PM	
	1	1	9/5/2013 4:14 PM	
	1	1	9/5/2013 4:20 PM	
	2	4	8/14/2013 3:50 PM	
	1	2	9/3/2013 3:36 PM	
	1	1	9/3/2013 3:42 PM	
	1	1	9/3/2013 3:46 PM	
	1	1	9/3/2013 3:41 PM	
	1	1	8/15/2013 3:40 PM	
	2	7	8/15/2013 3:41 PM	
	1	2	9/2/2013 12:41 PM	
	1	3	8/15/2013 3:43 PM	
	2	4	8/15/2013 3:43 PM	
	2	9	8/15/2013 3:41 PM	
	2	26	8/14/2013 3:36 PM	
	1	2	8/14/2013 3:38 PM	
	2	17	8/15/2013 4:17 PM	
	2	16	8/15/2013 4:20 PM	
	1	2	9/4/2013 4:20 PM	
	2	13	8/16/2013 12:47 PM	

Table 4.6.1 Screenshot of selected NVivo outline of themes and subthemes

Producing the outline of themes which would serve as the template took some time, as decisions had to be made on what counted as a high-level theme, a sub theme, or which sub theme to attach to which high level theme, and so on, was not straight forward. Nevertheless, to complete step 4 of the template analysis strategy, the initial template was further developed adding codes from all the transcripts. For step 5, the coding process was repeated many times

to refine and make changes to areas of the data that appeared ill-suited to the initial coding, after which the final template was produced. While table 4.6.2 below shows the top-level themes only, selected screenshots of the major themes and sub themes are used in Chapter 5 to aid the presentation of the findings. All the NVivo themes however are attached as appendixes in Chapter 7.

Nodes

Name	Sources	References	Created On	Created By	Modified On	Modified By
Contextual	0	0	1/8/2014 10:42 AM	MBO	1/10/2014 9:27 AM	MBO
Development agencies	1	1	8/14/2013 3:55 PM	MBO	11/19/2013 10:47 AM	MBO
Level of education system	1	1	8/14/2013 3:46 PM	MBO	11/19/2013 10:47 AM	MBO
Need	0	0	1/8/2014 9:34 AM	MBO	1/8/2014 9:34 AM	MBO
Opinioin	0	0	1/8/2014 9:35 AM	MBO	1/10/2014 10:07 AM	MBO
Outcomes and impact	2	4	8/14/2013 2:40 PM	MBO	1/10/2014 10:25 AM	MBO
Participants	0	0	1/8/2014 11:18 AM	MBO	1/8/2014 11:18 AM	MBO
Process	0	0	1/8/2014 9:34 AM	MBO	1/10/2014 9:15 AM	MBO
Questions-Issues to consider	4	9	8/29/2013 3:47 PM	MBO	11/19/2013 10:47 AM	MBO
Recommendations	7	15	8/14/2013 2:52 PM	MBO	11/21/2013 10:41 AM	MBO
Sustainability	5	25	8/14/2013 2:52 PM	MBO	11/19/2013 10:47 AM	MBO

Table 4.6.2 Screenshot of NVivo top level themes only

The final step of the analysis entailed using the final template to interpret and report the study findings. Interpreting the themes came with its own decisions. First, to produce a rich account of the experience of the participants from their viewpoints, an attempt was made to interpret the findings focusing on how each participant experienced educational aid receipt. In the process of undertaking this task it became clear that most of the high-level themes were common to each transcript, for this reason, focusing on themes in the context of individual accounts would not be helpful, especially considering the large detail this will produce. Instead, an ‘account around the main themes identified, drawing illustrative examples from each transcript’ (King, 2007b) was deemed more appropriate for interpreting and writing up the study findings. In pursuit of this strategy, attention was redirected to the multiple high-level themes. The extensive list of the high-level themes also meant in attempting to interpret the final outline of themes, prioritisation judgements needed to be made based on themes most closely aligned to answering the research question because they provide useful insights for the purposes of analysis. For this reason, themes around why there is the need for educational aid, the best models for delivering educational aid, the actual outcomes and impact of educational

aid on host countries' education sectors, sustainability of educational aid, and recommendations to improve aid were highly prioritised. This is at the same time as prioritising themes that might help in providing contextual background to the analysis. Similarities and differences on themes were also looked for across participants.

Throughout the data interpretation and reporting phases of the data analysis, attention was given to Seidman's (2006: 37) advice 'stress[ing] the importance of paying attention to the words of the participant, [and] using those words to report on the results as much as possible'. The template analysis strategy proved useful in this sense as the outline of themes encompasses a collection of the actual words of the participants. The themes identified and findings of the study are presented in Chapters 5 and 6 respectively.

There were challenges to deploying King's (2007a) template analysis strategy. Quality checks needed to be performed at all stages of the analysis process to ensure participants' responses were fairly presented (King 2007b). These checks could be performed by research team members periodically checking on each researcher's interpretations and decisions taken during the analysis process. However, in this study as the sole researcher, it is difficult to undertake the recommended member checks. This difficulty could lead to a possible criticism that as the sole researcher, my frame of understanding may govern aspects of the interview data coded, which could be seen as a limitation for the study. Nevertheless, some justification and support for method was gained through dialogue with the research supervisory staff where the researcher had to justify choice and use of codes and themes and attempt to move from a descriptive to a more analytical approach. Further, an early draft of the report was given to a selected participant to check to see if interpretations being made reflected the experience shared, after which the feedback was used to refine the interpretations. Proponents of template analysis strategy also contend the use of the template, or in this case the outline, with hierarchical levels of coding gives readers clear indications of justifications for the themes identified by the researcher (King, 2007b; Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006). To this end, the definition and recording of analytical decisions taken during the analysis stage using memos and notes in NVivo, is said to go some way to mitigate against the single analyst challenge. Besides, although the coding and theme development process is time intensive, it is a

satisfying process as the final outline makes a good attempt at capturing the main themes from the interviews. For these reasons, and despite the challenges identified, King's (2007a) template analysis strategy was useful and met the needs of the study.

4.7 Research quality

Debates abound about what should constitute judgements of quality in most naturalistic paradigms (Lincoln, 1995; Lincoln and Guba, 2000). Lincoln (1995: 287) sums up the state of the ongoing debate succinctly when she writes

[i]t is about ... how we can trust... the things we write. It is about creating certainty when life is about ambiguity... [yet we] are not ready either to close down the conversation or to say farewell to criteria quite yet.

In quantitative studies, research rigour and quality is measured by key sets of criteria including 'reliability and validity' (King, 2007b). Interpretations of validity and reliability though can be different depending on the research paradigm within which a study is located. In quantitative studies, positivists hold the basic belief there are universal truths that could be verified through irrefutable proofs (Lincoln and Guba, 2000; Dash, 2005; Kaboub, 2008). Such beliefs have led to research methodology that looks to find truth and a 'single universal reality [that] exists for all of us' (Darlaston – Jones, 2007: 20). With such beliefs, to positivist, 'validity means the accuracy of the findings in relation to "the truth", while reliability is the quality of the research measured by the consistency and replicability of one's findings' (Okugawa, 2010: 94). Validity then in the quantitative study aims at checking the precision within which findings accurately reflect data collected, by relying on 'rigorous adherence to methodological rules and standards' (Angen, 2000: 379), while reliability on the other hand is checked by how replicable a study finding is.

In qualitative studies however, interpretivists hold a counter position to positivism that reality is relative and socially constructed by those experiencing it (Darlaston – Jones, 2007). Based on this position, one of the basic assumptions guiding qualitative studies is that reality is not absolute, rather it can be perceived differently as it is experienced and constructed by each participant. Because of the assumption that multiple realities exist, it may not be possible to show exact precision in arriving at a single reality. Qualitative researchers may rather attempt to show validity and reliability using different criteria and terminology. One of the suggested approaches to demonstrating validity is to attempt to show the truth value in the findings being arrived at, by trying to clearly and accurately show participants' perspectives.

Truth, from an interpretive perspective, is no longer based on a one-to-one correspondence to objective reality. It is acknowledged that what we can know of reality is socially constructed through our intersubjective experiences within the lived world, which results in a form of truth that is negotiated through dialogue (Angen, 2000: 386).

In this study, to check for how 'truthful' the findings were to the experiences explored, the recorded audios of the interviews were repeatedly listened to as a way of revisiting the data to ensure identified themes were true to the participants' accounts of educational aid receipt. In writing the report too extensive verbatim quotes from the participants were used as a way of presenting the participants' experiences to help the reader make decisions about whether the final themes and interpretations are faithful to the participants' accounts.

Next,

[i]n establishing truth value... naturalistic inquirers are most concerned with testing the credibility of their findings and interpretations with the various sources (audiences or groups) from which data were drawn.... often referred to as doing "member checks,"... (Guba 1981: 80).

In this study, through member checks, sometimes also referred to as respondent feedback, all participants were invited to confirm the accuracy of the interview transcripts that were to form the basis for the analysis leading to the research themes and findings. Further, once a draft report was made, it was given to a selected participant to check to see if findings reflected the experience shared or the situation on the ground. The feedback was used to refine the interpretations further. Assuring research data quality then is not about 'which assumptions are "true" but which offer the best fit to the phenomenon under study' (Guba, 1981: 77). Furthermore, efforts were made to ensure the data collected responded to the research question as follows. Considerations were made to select participants that had experienced the phenomenon under study. Interview guides were developed with tailored questions for each group of participants (national, district, school) that sought to elicit relevant data. The researcher is an experienced facilitator with an understanding of the phenomenon under investigation that could keep the participants on course and probe for further elaborations.

In naturalistic enquiries too, the idea of checking for reliability as replicability of a study becomes difficult 'because phenomena are intimately tied to the times and the contexts in which they are found' (Guba, 1981: 80). Instead, a suggested alternative approach termed applicability, which seeks to check how extendable the research findings may be to other groups of people and locations, is employed by detailing thick and rich research context descriptions, to make it easier for a reader to check for similarities or differences to other settings. In this study, the applicability criterion is deployed by providing detailed descriptions of the research context at the national, district and school levels, as well as detailing long verbatim extracts from participants, to help the reader make decisions on whether the study findings resonate in other settings or with other groups. Finally, the report was also checked for 'structural corroboration or coherence; that is, testing every datum and interpretation against all others to be certain that there are no internal conflicts or contradictions' (Guba, 1981: 85). Where differences exist between national and subnational participants because of different perspectives, interpretations are made of why these differences may exist.

4.8 Researcher positioning and ethical considerations

This study involves human subjects, which means approval by the relevant University of Glasgow ethics committee had to be sought before research commencement. The necessary preparatory tasks were undertaken with the support of my supervisors. Once the application was made, ethical approval from the Ethics Committee for Non-Clinical Research Involving Human Subjects of the College of Social Sciences, the University of Glasgow, was granted on 19th November 2012 (copy attached as appendix 7.3). In addition, permission was gained from the Ministry of Education (MoE) and the Ghana Education Service (GES) (copy attached as appendix 7.3), as authorities in charge of the research sites, to conduct the research.

Notwithstanding having the necessary approvals, my positioning in the international education development field comes with professional and ethical implications that need to be reflected on, regarding if and how it may influence or affect the research (Kerstetter 2012: 99). For most interpretive researchers,

[w]hat we choose to say and how we say it does not... come... out of the blue. If it has any integrity it is rooted in our life histories, our values and our deepest beliefs... (Bridges, 2003: 2).

My working history, having functioned as an aid agency and international Non-Governmental Organisation (iNGO) staff for nearly 10 years, has given me a view of the research context and an awareness of ongoing aid debates. I have already indicated my critical stance of aid in Chapter 2 where I argue aid is achieving less than its full potential due to some donor practices including the processes used to deliver aid being fraught with conditionality that makes aid provision costly and leaves a good portion of the aid money with donor country firms. For these reasons, it could be suggested that aid has not moved that far from the 1929 Act cited in Chapter 2. From one perspective, such a stance may affect the kind of values I bring to the study.

Yet from another perspective, a researcher's values and beliefs should form a basic component of beliefs for paradigm proposals (Lincoln and Guba, 2000: 169). This is because 'we cannot separate ourselves from what we know, our subjectivity is an integral part of our understanding of ourselves, of others, and of the world around us' (Angen, 2000: 385). The location of the study in the interpretive paradigm, where the "researcher's" beliefs are not seen as biases to be eliminated but rather as being necessary for making sense of the experiences of other individuals' (Fade, 2004: 648) is consistent with this stance. Such a perspective is 'instrumentally valuable' (Lincoln and Guba, 2000: 172) in facilitating interactions between researcher and participant, in generating the knowledge sought, and in enhancing the researcher's understanding of the phenomenon under study.

As staff of a donor, my position could be seen as an insider and an outsider at the same time. I could be seen as an insider because I am privy to donor practices and work in the education sector. On the other hand, I could be seen by the recipients as an outsider because I am not an aid recipient. Paradoxically the aid recipients may also see me as an insider because of my role in the development sector. Either way, there may be associated a dilemma with my positioning. Outsider researchers have their advantages. They 'are valued for their objectivity' (Kerstetter, 2012: 100). They are not deemed to be part of internal manoeuvrings or politicking that may be taking place in the community of practice. With such perceived objectivity, outsider researchers should be able to stand outside of issues and provide an objective eye and ear to the situation at hand. Yet, my donor position could lead to some participants viewing me as a powerful person, bringing about power asymmetries and distortions, and possibly leading to participants not being comfortable critiquing institutions which I am part (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009: 58). This could be the case especially in the Ghanaian context where criticising one's "donor" is culturally not acceptable or done. Also, there is a risk that I may be so deeply embedded in my professional practice, and my practice a part of my thinking and professional identity that I may not interrogate some taken-for-granted assumptions I subconsciously bring to the research. These assumptions, coupled with the kinds of questions I ask, and how these assumptions influence the interpretation I give to the participants' accounts of their experiences, may have an impact on the findings of the study.

On the other hand, and judging from the pilot study experience, being an insider has its positive features too (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009; Kerstetter, 2012). First, there is the belief that

outsider researchers will never truly understand a culture or situation if they have not experienced it. The Insider Doctrine... contends that insider researchers are uniquely positioned to understand the experiences of groups of which they are members... (Kerstetter, 2012: 100).

My insider positioning means I already have an awareness of the Ghanaian education sector's way of working and dilemmas associated with entering institutions, although I still could be seen as an outsider albeit with some knowledge and experience, which a complete outsider may take longer to gain. My positioning likewise means I have greater access to the participants because of my relatedness to the education sector due to my working experience; such relatedness may help as participants may open up for interviews to share their experience due to them possibly perceiving me as one of them. There could even be trust on the part of recipients that their issues will be fairly represented by a researcher who they identify as one of them because of professional practice in the education system. On the other hand, if the recipients were to see me as an outsider, there may be reticent to talk especially as they may have comments critical of aid that could have consequences for future aid to their institutions. Being aware of such complexities of my positioning means during the process of data collection, careful consideration to the importance of putting recipients at ease and conducting the interviews in a reassuring manner, was a must. Further, protecting the confidentiality and anonymity of the recipients would be another key reassuring measure.

Notwithstanding the preceding, I agree with Dwyer and Buckle (2009: 59) that

the core ingredient is not insider or outsider status but an ability to be open, authentic, honest, deeply interested in the experience of one's research participants, and committed to accurately and adequately representing their experience.

Further, a researcher's positioning may not be that clear cut as being an insider or an outsider but somewhere in-between. Thus, at different times of the research, a researcher may take on different positions. I place myself as a facilitator with knowledge of the research context, especially as the knowledge to be gained requires interaction between participant and researcher. I am aware that although I am the investigator, I am also positioned as the researched; JICA being one of the agencies whose educational aid is under investigation. Nevertheless, the useful ethical lessons learnt from the pilot study were applied. These include the need to carefully and continually reflect on my positioning so it does not affect the research in terms of the assumptions I might be bringing to the study, the questions I ask, and how these assumptions and questions might influence the interpretation I give to the participants' experiences. I understand that critical reflexivity is required on my part to allow participants' articulation of their experiences, in order to avoid imposing my way of understanding on them.

In addition to the insider-outsider considerations, Lincoln (1995: 286 – 287) notes that 'many of the proposed and emerging standards for quality in interpretive social science are also standards for ethics'. This is especially true as both quality and ethics rely on researchers relating to participants and building trust at the same time as maintaining confidentiality in face to face encounters. For these reasons, throughout the research I gave attention to operationalizing stipulations in the University of Glasgow's ethics approval form, especially about gaining informed consent, confidentiality, and keeping participants informed. These considerations I deem as positive ways of being ethical and assuring research quality at the same time. Furthermore, I agree with Lincoln and Guba's (2000) recommendation that there is need to pay attention to voice. Whether it is the voices of the national level participants being over represented, due to higher levels of literacy and familiarity with the context, compared to the district and school level participants, or the researcher's frame of understanding being superimposed on the participants' experiences. These considerations were applied as they also reiterate the need for critical reflexivity.

In summary, in this chapter, detailed discussion on the research design and approach has been presented, including justification for using an empirical approach and the location of the study

in the interpretive paradigm. This was followed by justification for the use of the interview method to collect data as a method that gave the opportunity to investigate individual Ghanaian recipients' experiences. The selection criteria for the 13 participants from the MoE, GES, two primary schools and a District Education Office were also described. This was followed by discussions on the use of King's (2007) template analysis strategy to identify important themes in the recipient's experiences; and, steps to meet judgements of research quality were presented. Finally, researcher positioning and ethical considerations were presented. In the next chapter, 5, the key themes of the interviews with the 13 participants are presented, in an attempt to answer the question of how Ghanaians experience educational aid, in relation to: whether there have been any changes brought about in the basic education sector; and, can it be seen as a positive contribution or a hindrance.

Chapter 5. Presentation of findings

In this chapter the context of the district and schools, together with the major themes identified from the interviews are presented. As reported in Chapter 4.6, the structure of the analysis is guided by the main research questions which attempt to answer the overarching enquiry of how Ghanaians experience educational aid. In what follows, interview transcripts, as the main source of evidence, are used to illustrate specific issues, and to engage with literature.

The account of the findings is structured around the main themes identified across all participants with illustrative quotes presented where appropriate. However, participants are identified by level (national, district or school), since there may be some implicit and to some extent explicit hierarchy in the participants' responses as they are drawn from different power and influence levels. The identification of the participants by level may provide added context to the text. In the presented findings, the national level participants may appear slightly over represented, mainly because having been exposed to different levels of engagement with international and national stakeholders, they come across as articulate and confident, having a lot to say. Yet they may also appear to be taking a neutral stance on controversial issues. This may be compared to participants from the lower levels (district and school) who, despite appearing more relaxed, were often less loquacious but bold to take sides on controversial issues, although at times there was some reticence to go into detail. Nevertheless, accounts from district and school participants are similarly presented to give a close to balanced report.

From the data analysis, five major themes were identified, as presented in Chapter 5.2 below. Each theme however has an extensive list of sub-themes which cannot be fully enumerated due to the need to move from the descriptive to the analytics, and the decision to choose sub-themes most closely aligned to the objective of the study that provide useful insights for the purposes of analysis. Screenshots of the major themes and all their sub-themes in NVivo are attached as appendix 7.2.

5.1 Context

Educational aid received from both agencies totalled £161 million, as detailed in Chapter 3. This is made up of £105 million from DFID and US\$91 million (approx. £56 million) from JICA, given through Sector Budget Support (SBS) and Technical Cooperation (TC) from 2007 to 2012. 13 participants were interviewed, two from the Ministry of Education (MoE) and Ghana Education Service (GES), five from the District Education Office (DEO), and six from two primary schools, reflecting a selection from the national, district, and school levels. The selection criteria are outlined in Chapter 4.3. Names of the participants have been anonymised per the legend below. “Int” is the abbreviated name for the interviewer.

Participant	Level	Position	Label
1	National	Director	ND1
2	National	Director	ND2
3	District	Coordinator 1	DC1
4	District	Coordinator 2	DC2
5	District	Coordinator 3	DC3
6	District	Coordinator 4	DC4
7	District	Coordinator 5	DC5
8	School A	Head Teacher	SAHT1
9	School A	Assistant Head Teacher / Teacher	SAT2
10	School A	Teacher	SAT3
11	School B	Head Teacher	SBHT1

12	School B	Assistant Head Teacher / Teacher	SBT2
13	School B	Teacher	SBT3

Table 5.1 Anonymised labels for participants

At the national level both participants, who are high ranking officials, hold postgraduate qualifications and are Directors in rank. One is responsible for donors and aid coordination, whilst the other is responsible for pre-tertiary (Kindergarten, Primary and Secondary) education. Both participants had held their positions for more than five years.

District

The selected district is one of 216 in the country, one of the 21 districts in the Eastern Region, which in turn is one of the ten regions in Ghana. The region also borders the Greater Accra region, where Ghana's capital city, Accra, is located. With a population of 2.1 million, the Eastern region is the sixth largest region, and the third most populous region too. Within the selected district, the predominant occupation of inhabitants is subsistence farming. The district is connected to the national grid for electricity although pipe-borne water is limited, resulting in a reliance on boreholes or hand dug wells. Educationally, the DEO, with an average of 60 staff, is responsible for the implementation of policies enacted by the MoE, and is the closest administrative unit to the school and community. Functions of the DEO include planning, budgeting, monitoring and evaluation of education service. The DEO has oversight responsibility for education services provided in the district alongside special education for disabled students. The district hosts one of the few basic schools for the blind in the country and a College of Education for teacher training. As of the 2012 / 2013 academic year, the district had 311 public schools, of which a good proportion, 71% had toilets and 57% drinking water, although 19% of classrooms needed major repairs (Ministry of Education, 2013b: 263). Some data on the selected district compared to the national level are presented in Table 5.2 below (Ministry of Education, 2013b: 104, 264).

	Selected district	National
Primary net enrolment rate	83.5%	84.1%
Gender Parity Index (GPI)	0.95	0.99
Percentage of trained teachers	90%	69%
Pupil Teacher Ratio (PTR)	19%	33%
Core textbooks (Mathematics per pupil)	0.3	0.4

Table 5.2 Selected statistics at the district and national level

The district's primary schools NER is lower than the national average as can be seen in Table 5.2. The GPI of the district is also lower than the national index, but in relation to the percentage of trained teachers, the selected district fares better than the national standing. However, the district fared worse on its PTR, being low compared to the national average (Ministry of Education, 2013b: 103, 263). The district rather fared better on the availability of Mathematics core textbooks per pupil, with three pupils having to share one textbook, as compared to the national ratio of four pupils to one core mathematics textbook. Finally, in terms of educational performance, most candidates presented for the 2012 Basic Education Certificate Examinations (BECE) fared averagely, taken to mean a 50% pass rate. The participants however claim there has been a steady two percent growth in pass rates every year.

The five district level participants are Coordinators for planning and statistics, training, public relations, school health education, and science, technology, mathematics and innovation. They all had a minimum of a Bachelor's degree, with two holding Master's degrees. They had worked in the district ranging from three to six years, in addition to having previously worked in other districts for around five years. Over the five-year period in question, the district had received GHC 769,225 (approx. £138,599, at a May 2016 exchange rate of 5.55) from the national level under the DFID SBS scheme. From JICA, the district had also received INSET,

overseas training in Japan and Japanese volunteers, but they could not quantify in monetary terms the total value of the aid received.

At the school level two schools took part in the study, anonymised as School “A” and “B”.

School A

School A is a public primary school and a Presbyterian Church of Ghana Education Unit school. This means in addition to the GES, the Church’s School Management Unit has oversight of the school, and the school is part of a group of schools run by the church. The school is situated in a small town in the selected district. The occupation of inhabitants of the town is subsistence farming, and trading in items ranging from farm produce to small portions of inexpensive items such as salt and sugar. School A admits pupils from predominantly poor backgrounds, where annual levies are paid by parents in lieu of fees to complement the Church’s maintenance of the school infrastructure and the government’s payment of teachers’ salaries. The levy of GHC12.50 (approximately £6.37 at the time of interview in 2012) is to help pay for the provision of electricity, computers, and security. Pupils commute, some walk from distant communities, between 8 to 9 kilometres one way each day to school, which should not be the case, especially as the GES anecdotally is reported to have recommended that pupils should not have to travel for more than 3kms to attend school. Most pupils do not continue to the junior high school level due to poor backgrounds, but the parents that can, usually take their wards to what the participants refer to as Continuing schools. The school has six classrooms, with class sizes ranging from 16 (class 4) to 42 (class 1). The school also has a computer laboratory, a canteen and toilets (separate for boys and girls), but there is no staff room. The school is not a beneficiary of the government sponsored School Feeding Programme. Why this is the case was not that evident, although it can be noted that the original criterion used by the government to select schools for the School Feeding Programme was the availability of a kitchen at a school. School A does not have a kitchen. Could the aid not have been better used to provide a kitchen for the school to enable it benefit from the feeding program? The answer would depend on several factors. One, the priority the school itself attaches to receiving the feeding program. Two, how the needs of recipients are determined before aid is provided by a donor. Chapter 5.2.1 provides more details on how

recipient needs are arrived at, whilst the following sections specify the aid received from both donors by School A.

Most of School A's teachers are posted by GES, but the Church also provides teachers when the need arises. General education services of teaching and learning, counselling and extra-curricular activities are provided by the school. The basic curriculum as stipulated by the state focuses on core areas of language and literacy, mathematics, physical education, environmental studies, and creative activities. According to the schools' participants the school has challenges with parent / teacher relationships, with most parents not attending meetings due to apathy to education. Low enrolment and the lack of Teaching and Learning Materials (TLMs) also impact on teaching and learning, resulting in a low to middling academic performance. Participants SAHT1, SAT2 and SAT3 are from this school. Participant SAHT1 is the Head Teacher, whilst Participant SAT2 is the Assistant Head Teacher and the Class Six Teacher. Participant SAT3 is a Class Five Teacher, a Curriculum Leader (CL) and holds the position of the Sports Secretary. The participants had all worked in the school for periods ranging from four to 10 years. Two of the teachers had a Bachelor's Degree whilst one had a diploma. Over the five-year period, INSET workshops, overseas training in Japan, a volunteer and a computer lab had been received from JICA. From DFID on the other hand the school had received desks for all the upper classes (4, 5 and 6). The participants, though, could not quantify in monetary terms the total value of aid received from both agencies.

School B

School B is a public basic education complex comprising a Kindergarten, a Primary and a Junior High School (JHS) on the same compound. The school is situated in one of the principal and big towns of the selected district. Inhabitants of the town are a mix of white collar job workers, subsistence farmers and traders. Several government institutions, for instance for pensions, research and a teaching hospital, are sited in the town. The town is also a market centre where smaller towns come to trade. School B admits pupils who are predominantly wards of the government institutions' workers, and may be deemed to cater for

pupils from mainly well-to-do backgrounds. In terms of funding, according to the schools' participants, varying voluntary contributions are made by parents to complement government's payment of teachers' salaries, which are deemed small by the teachers and sections of the public. The school's infrastructure however was initially provided by an individual couple as a philanthropic venture. Most parents drop off their children to school in private vehicles. The school is one of the best in the district, based on performance in the district spelling quiz contests, and the Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE); the school has been ranked first consecutively for several years. The school offers additional tuition to candidates of the BECE in the evenings. Parents objected to the school leadership's plans to apply for the government-funded school feeding programme for reasons not immediately clear. It is worth noting School B does not have a kitchen either, although they planned to build one if the plan to apply had been accepted by parents. There is decent infrastructure, with large classrooms, school canteen, computer laboratory, assembly hall, six-seater toilet facilities for pupils, staff room, and library. Yet the school has high class sizes of up to 54 pupils.

School B's teachers are posted by GES, and general education services, as described under School A, are provided. The school's main challenge is overcrowding of pupils, with a continual push by prospective parents to gain admission for their wards due to their continued BECE successes. Somehow the school could maintain its good performance despite the large class sizes. Participants SBHT1, SBT2 and SBT3 are from school B. Participant SBHT1 is the Head Teacher, having worked in the school for over nine years. He holds a Bachelor's Degree. Participant SBT2 on the other hand, is the Assistant Head Teacher for the JHS; he is also a classroom teacher of science, Information Communication Technology (ICT) and pre-technical skills for forms one to three (classes at the JHS are referred to as forms, to differentiate it from the primary section). He has been in the school for nine years. Participant SBT3 is also a classroom teacher for mathematics, ICT and Science for the JHS forms two to three. He also teaches Science in the JHS form one and has been working in the school for four years. With the two teachers, one holds a Bachelor's Degree whilst the other holds a Diploma. Over the five-year period in question, the school had received INSET workshops from JICA. They had not received any direct support from DFID, although the Head Teacher (HT) indicated that he knew DFID funds supported INSET activities in the district, which they

had benefited from. The participants again could not quantify in monetary terms the total value of aid received from both agencies.

5.2 Major themes identified

From the thematic analysis of the participants' responses, five major themes (see Figure 5.1) were developed. The themes are:

1. The 'Need' for aid;
2. The 'Process' used to deliver aid;
3. The 'Outcomes and impact' of aid;
4. Aid 'Sustainability', whether aid is;
5. 'Recommendations' for the improvement in future aid delivery.

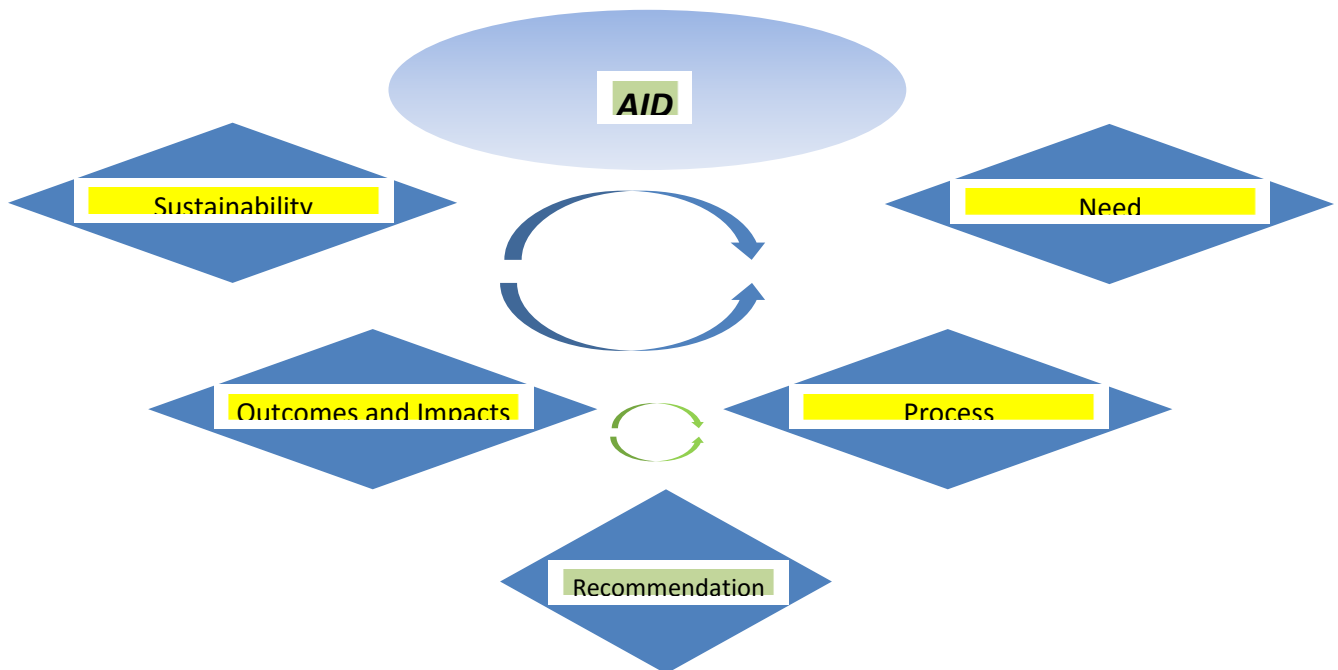


Figure 5.1 Top level themes relating to aid receipt

The figure above seeks to depict that some interrelation exists between the main themes identified and the recommendations that flow both in and out of the cycle. For instance, starting from the ‘Need’ theme – how the need for aid is identified may influence the process to be used to deliver the aid, in this case the ‘Process’ theme. Similarly, the ‘Outcomes and impact’ of aid may determine if aid is ‘Sustainable’ and ultimately the ‘Recommendations’ to be made for improvement. The ‘Outcomes and impact’ theme also feeds into the ‘Need’ theme by hopefully reducing the need for aid, and ultimately enhancing sustainability, in that if aid projects become sustainable then there no longer may be the ‘Need’ for aid. These five themes correlate with the five sub questions and schema presented in Chapter 4.5 and 4.6 as follows.

The ‘Need’ theme encapsulates how the need for educational aid is identified and the underlying reasons for this need for aid, whilst the ‘Process’ theme embodies the various means and methods used in delivering educational aid, why and how they are deployed. The ‘Outcomes and impact’ theme encapsulates any changes aid delivery may have brought to the education sector, be it positive or negative, whilst the ‘Sustainability’ theme covers how sustainable educational aid provision in general is; and, at the project level whether aid has lasting effects. The ‘Recommendations’ theme finally encapsulates the assessment of educational aid provision and any areas needing improvement. In the following sections detailed findings are presented under each major theme. Emphasis is placed on detailing the ‘Need’ theme as it provides the basis for understanding the other four major themes. However, the ‘Outcomes and impact’ section is the largest section, having emphasis placed on it since it is at the core of the research question asking for the outcomes and impact of educational aid on Ghana’s education sector.

5.2.1 Theme 1: Need

In relation to ‘Need’ there were several key areas identified to aid in attempting to answer the research questions posed. The first area is concerned with identification of ‘need’. *How are needs in relation to educational aid identified and what processes are used to identify where*

educational aid is required. The second area is concerned with the reasons for the ‘need’.
What and why does the country, district or school require the educational aid?

For the first area, an analysis of the transcripts identified three ways a need for aid could be recognised; by the donor, as a joint effort between the two parties, or, by the recipients. Where it is by a donor, national and school level participants state the donor approaches the prospective recipient to indicate their interest in giving them aid.

[I]n fact the decision... to allocate resources is often taken by... the donors and again that is very much influenced by their own domestic policies... (ND1).

...as for the JICA they bring circulars... We don’t apply for... But the JICA err this thing they invite us... (SAT2).

Cynically some participants suggest donors may be offering aid to improve their image of doing good. Nevertheless, they argue that although they know they have the right to refuse or accept such advances, they often do not refuse since they have challenges developing their country.

On the other hand, national and school level participants note the process can also be fluid when both donor and prospective recipient come together to jointly identify the need for aid. Since it is not too clear who makes the first move, it is rather categorised as collaboration between the two parties. A national participant notes:

it becomes very difficult to know where it begins... to know where the initiative is coming from but on paper most cases the initiative come from... the beneficiary; that is the country... (ND2).

From this perspective, it may appear that there is some element of understanding between donors and prospective recipients pointing to the initial aid identification as being initiated by

recipients, when it may not be the case. Nevertheless, the suggestion is that at times there is a meeting of needs between both sides, since the donor may have an interest in a nation for a predetermined stance such as foreign policy, and offer the aid. On the recipient side, too, because they accept there are hurdles to tackle in developing their country, they may be predisposed to accept the offer.

In the third instance, officials proactively approach the aid agency or their representatives to request assistance, according to national level participants. To them, this happens when the recipient country uses its existing friendly relations with developed countries to ask for assistance. This is as ND2 says ‘... sometimes too the [recipient] country can also go around and then be searching for support’. Similar findings were made by Okugawa (2010, 208 - 209) in her study in Ghana of educational aid when participants recalled that of the two donors of focus, one had hired consultants to design the project it wanted to undertake and brought it to the GES, as compared to the second situation where the GES itself decided what it wanted to do and sought assistance from the donor. Interestingly, district level participants did not have much to say on this issue, in contrast to the national and school level, since they indicated the aid identification process predominantly takes place at the national level. This could perhaps be perceived in the dominance of the national level participants in the forgoing discussion.

The second area, of ‘*what and why are the reasons the country, district or school require the educational aid*’, under the ‘Need’ theme, elicited varied responses. In the definition of *a priori* themes under the reasons for aid, I had expected responses of scarcity of resources; under-development; to maintain political interest; and the dependent relationship. Some of these reasons did come up, as will be presented later; however, the participants also suggested the need for choices and development to reduce the *need* for aid. Regarding the need for choice, national and school level participants suggest the government needs to make hard economic and political choices, to move the country forward developmentally. Amid scarce resources, there is a need to prioritise activities, rationalise the sharing of the national income, manage the available resources properly and, in the process, make possible savings. This, they believe, could cut down waste and the scarce resources could be enough for the country to reduce the *need* for aid.

... the point is that if you have enough you don't need to worry yourself about going for aid because you have every right to decide that you are not going for aid... (ND2).

To illustrate how waste in the education system could be reduced, national level participants mention the sending of full complement of teachers to schools with small class sizes due to low enrolment, resulting in teacher surpluses in these schools. They instead call for multi-grade teaching for such schools to reduce the teacher wage bill but they also concede such choices could cost the government politically. Yet, it is this kind of hard political choice that national and school level participants believe needs to be made to reduce the *need* for aid. This is at the same time as some of the participants say the government has resources to use to support education as will be shown later under the 'Sustainability' theme, indicating the country could do without the supposed need for aid. Considering that aid is less than 10% of the GoG education budget (Ministry of Education, 2015: 52) makes this account somewhat realistic. Then again considering Ghana's middling position in educational and income league tables, the removal of aid may require cuts in other services, which may be difficult for the GoG to implement. On the other hand, the issue may be the political will to reduce spending and possible waste in spending.

Nevertheless, in addition to the need for choices, participants also mention the need for development in the country because of evolving needs. A national level participant says:

... right now ... if you look at the learning indicator that is we using the national educational assessment ... for the past five years when it was introduced, we've not been able to even achieve 50 percent ... competency level of our children. ... proficiency is low, ... mathematics for instance is just around 20.4 for the primary six and the English language or the literacy ... this time round is about 36.4 which is still below the expectation or the average proficiency level that we expect. ... you will realize also that the country is lacking in many other things like roads, health and other things... (ND2).

Based on the country's developmental stage participants suggest there are developmental needs for teachers, TLMs and finance. For instance, on the issue of teachers, participants believe there is a need to increase the percentage of trained teachers in the education service. They also believe the deployment of teachers, especially trained teachers, to rural areas remains a developmental challenge. To them this has become compounded as trained teachers prefer to work in better-resourced urban centres and avoid being deployed to schools in remote, impoverished rural areas. Furthermore, high levels of teacher absenteeism (detailed in Chapter 3), has an impact on contact hours and teacher time on task, all of which militate against the quality of teaching. Additionally, the unavailability of TLMs such as poster books and visual aids in classrooms to aid learning was stated by participants at all levels of the education system. To these participants, although the government has the responsibility of providing individual students with three designated core textbooks (English, Mathematics, and Science) this is often not done:

...well in the first place we should get ...do I say funds and items from our employers to use to teach. We need teaching learning materials, we just can't talk and talk and talk, but the things are not coming ... (SAHT1).

On the issue of the developmental need for financing education, participants indicate that funding is either not enough, not released on time, or not released altogether.

...please all these things boils down to the fact that the funds flow from the central government is not enough,... Meanwhile we have all these areas that are very important we need to attend to... (DC3).

Is not coming forth (laughs), ... even fuel for vehicles to go for monitoring... no money... (DC4).

At the national level participants attribute the lack of funding to several reasons, paramount amongst them being not having the actual sum of money needed to develop the sector. At the district and school levels, however, participants seem to express cynicism about the purported

lack of money at the national level. School level participants point out ex-gratia, substantial one-off payments made to parliamentarians at the end of their four-year tenure, had just been made to over 200 parliamentarians (GhanaWeb, 2013), which is in contradiction to the proclaimed ‘no money’ mantra.

... they are always crying that there is no money... that slogan in Ghana... no money. ... The government said there is no money but they have managed to pay ex-gratia awards... (SAHT1).

These suggested developmental needs also partly answer the second area under ‘Need’ which seeks *why there is a need for aid*. The other reasons suggested by participants are scarcity of resources, underdevelopment and deterioration, educational development purpose, mismanagement, maintaining relationships (be it colonial, economic or political) and altruistic motives.

On scarcity of resources, national, district and school level participants say it appears there is not enough money to cover all needs of the sector hence the reason for aid. The national participants especially believe the burden of funding education is too much for the government alone to undertake, but those at the school level say the state should pay for public schools. This is quite interesting considering the same national and school level participants believe the government should make hard political choices to reduce the need for aid, at the same time as saying no country has all the resources it needs. Nevertheless, per the national participants that proffer the scarcity of resources point, they argue that the government’s budget is in perpetual deficit and overstretched due to salaries of staff accounting for much of education funding, crowding out recurrent expenditure such as TLMs.

Another reason for the need for aid is underdevelopment and deterioration. District and school participants believe the sector is not developed to the level it ought to be as the preceding section on the need for development sought to depict. They cite the lack of funds to deliver the requisite capacity building activities for teachers and managers alike to enable them to deliver

teaching and learning effectively. They also mention the low quality of education represented by low learning achievements at the basic level and low enrolment in selected areas as accounting for the deteriorating nature of education in recent times.

Education has been deteriorating. Degenerate and deteriorate... (DC3).

... illiteracy level is so high in Ghana... (SBHT1).

Other reasons behind the need for aid, per district and school participants, are the scale of educational development required and mismanagement. Perhaps like the reasons for the scarcity of educational resources, they believe funding needed to achieve the purposes of education is so large that without donor assistance, the country would not cope. Yet, one of the national participants admits that if the available scarce resource were to be better managed, then aid may not be needed after all. It is worth noting Ghana is known for its natural resources, traditionally gold, and more recently oil. 'Ghana's oil revenues are expected to exceed USD 1 billion every year from 2012' (Heikki and Oteng-Adjei, 2012: 129). This is before one counts the gold revenues, in addition to other revenue sources including taxation, industry and cocoa. 'In comparison, **total** (emphasised) international development assistance to the country in 2010 was USD 1.7 billion' (Heikki and Oteng-Adjei, 2012: 129), of which less than 10% went to the education sector. Yet Ghana, like many other African countries, has suffered the following fate.

[M]ineral wealth has not contributed as much as it should... to the development of the African continent... in many cases Africans have stood by as foreign firms extracted their resources, paying taxes and royalties to national governments that either have not had the capacity or have lacked the governance mechanisms to ensure their use for broad-based growth... (JICA Research Institute, 2013: 119).

This coupled with suggestions of mismanagement and external capital flight points to a country haemorrhaging resources. The plausible argument being made here is that if the

limited national resources were better managed, it may reduce the need for external aid. To illustrate, there have been concerns about payment of salaries to non-existent teachers (commonly referred to as ghost teachers) and for study leave to teachers who do not return to the service. It is argued that the reprioritisation and redirection of these payments to other sections of the sector including for providing TLMs could reduce or fill the less than 10% resource gap of educational resources supported by aid.

Yet another reason for the need for aid, put forward by national level participants, is external policy influence. That is the role global systems and external policies such as the Education For All (EFA) and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (discussed in Chapter 2) play in promoting aid. For instance, the United Nations (UN) entreating the developed world to contribute 0.7 percent of their Gross National Product (GNP) to aid since 1970 continues to influence why aid is given. The UK government, under the leadership of David Cameron, made the pledge to meet the 0.7 target for aid giving (Anderson, 2015), and has since passed a bill in support of the pledge, despite austerity measures and some local opposition of the move, resulting in questions around how effective aid is in the first place. This is in addition to meeting the target for the first time in 2014. Traditionally, Sweden, Luxembourg, Denmark, Netherlands and Norway have consistently met and or exceeded the target.

In terms of aid being given to further the economic interest of donors however, a national participant notes:

... on paper is just that the donor is providing some funds to support you, but I think in future there is going to be what the two expect will be on paper to know that yes Ghana we are providing this for you so you in return will also give us this or that. I think that is where every donor aims at because you even realize that these days most of the projects that are coming ... they come with their technical assistance, which is more of providing job for their own people there. ...but what am not very happy with is that they are not very clear (emphasized)... (ND2).

The economic crises and austerity measures ongoing in developed countries especially seems to be influencing some donors who now increasingly seek to use aid to open markets in developing countries for their home countries' business interests.

When it comes to donors giving aid to maintain colonial interest, national level participants note:

... you see DFID is... very special... because they decided because they were our colonial masters so they have decided long time ago that they are going to support Ghana... (ND2).

... for Britain, it sought to put its money into its former colonies and so provided that resource against the context of ...that situation. So you have the Marshall plan becoming a basis for taking action and you had the colonial relationship also influencing that and adding more reason why it [aid] should be done... (ND1).

The influence of colonial relations on current aid practices is discussed in Chapters 2 and 6. Interestingly, only one participant at the national level mentions possible altruistic, humane and selfless reasons for giving aid. This is interesting because in its current form, aid, as defined in Chapter 2, should aim to promote economic development and welfare (OECD, 2008b: 1) of the recipient country. Aid should be inherently altruistic. Literature as shown in Chapter 2 abounds with declarations proclaiming aid as a humanitarian obligation for the haves to help the have-nots, for the betterment of the poor, and to make the world a better place for all. Yet if in interviewing 13 participants, only one would mention the altruistic, humane and selfless reason for giving aid, then aid giving may be being experienced differently from its publicly stated aim, which is itself perhaps of interest.

Despite the forgoing reasons for aid, school and district participants also suggest the need for the national government to reduce its reliance on external aid and to take on its mandated responsibility of managing the country's affairs.

You know it's about time ... certain responsibilities, supposed to be taken over by taken care of by our own selves... (SAT3).

... you see Ghana education belongs to Ghanaian government ... it should be the responsibility of the government... it will not be out of place if somebody comes in to assist... But if everything is shifted to or the bulk chunk of the amount coming to the district and the region should be shifted to DFID... It's like somebody shirking his own responsibilities... (DC3).

... if the government is not able to help the schools as it **should** (emphasis added)... then the aids [/aid/] will maybe help a little so that it [teaching and learning] will continue... (SAHT1).

To these participants the task of developing the country belongs to the Ghanaian government. If any gaps exist after exhausting these options, then there is reason to seek aid.

5.2.2 Theme 2: Process

For the purposes of this study, 'Process' has been defined as a series of actions taken to deliver aid to recipients; and several key areas were identified to aid in attempting to answer the research questions. The first area is concerned with *how models for delivering educational aid are experienced by the participants, how they are identified and applied?* The second area focuses on *how efficient (cost effective and offering value for money, able to function without waste) the models for delivering aid are, which is the best and cost effective, and could there be alternatives?*

On the question of *how models for delivering educational aid are experienced by the participants*, a good cross section of participants believe the process is controversial and could be better done. However, a small number of other participants believe the process reflects a level of mutual understanding between donors and recipients, although they indicated the process comes with a level of uncertainty. Another group of participants also assessed the aid

delivery instruments on aspects such as: cost effectiveness, preferred and best instruments. These participants, however, agreed that the choice of instrument to use to deliver aid is normally the prerogative of the donor.

First, how controversial is the process to deliver aid? National and district participants say that because little of the aid reaches the intended recipients, that there are too many bureaucratic processes to access the aid, and in some instances conditionality requires aid to be spent on the donor country's products, it is controversial. This is as Casely-Hayford *et al*'s (2007: 19) research in Ghana showed that 'conditionalities attached to donor support to education in the 1980s undermined [its] effectiveness'. These participants also point to other controversies surrounding aid giving and receiving such as expensive experts from the donor country that end up taking a substantial portion of the allocated funds back to the donor country. Further, there are issues of not having control on the amounts to be received, and project purchases restricted to products from the donor country.

You know because again if I am not holding the cash, then I don't have control over the expenditure... You know if it is technical assistance... is skewed more to where the funds are coming from... I mean you know if you get Japanese money you must buy Toyota. If you get American money you must buy Ford, okay. So if you get British money you must buy Range Rover, Land Rover, those things, I mean we have ... gotten used to that. ... (ND1).

... they are giving you the aid then they will bring their own people to come and do the work take the money away again. So what benefit do we get? ... (SBT3).

These points link into the increasing use of consultancies in aid operations discussed briefly in Chapter 2. A Telegraph Reporter (2015) notes:

British taxpayers have spent £1.4 billion on foreign aid contractors in the last four years with the cost of external consultants now consuming over 10 per cent of the aid budget.

Such donor country spending may mean a significant proportion of allocated aid may not leave the donor country at all, let alone make an impact in the recipient country, to which the aid money would have been allocated. Whilst lamenting these issues, interestingly, these participants seem to indicate they endure these controversial processes and practices because they believe they brought it upon themselves, in that if they had not gone and asked for the assistance in the first place, they would not have had to face these challenges; and, as such they have no option but to endure the consequences that the aid comes with. It is almost as if there is an acceptance of the controversies associated with receiving the aid as depicted by the participants. In comparison to the other levels, it appears the Head Teachers and teachers are not conversant with the many processes used to deliver aid to them. They therefore, do not know or cannot see anything untoward and so, do not see anything controversial about the process. Whether this is a case of genuine lack of knowledge although they are relatively educated people, or misinformation about how aid is delivered, or reticence to express an opinion is not that clear. Even with such a caveat, they go on to say that they do not trust their leaders to manage the aid any better if the money were to be given to their superiors.

SBT2: I am comfortable with the workshops because they bring a lot of resource persons there and so it is better that way than with a giving the money to the schools.

Int: Why?

SBT2: Hmm mismanagement may come in when the monies... are at this level...

Int: ... who is to say that mismanagement is also not occurring at the [development] agency level?

SBT2: Yes so we don't see it that much let me say as teachers we will not see that much and because we are comfortable when we don't know much and then we go there and then we learn. It's better than maybe they bring the money to the school... probability that some monies will be pocketed somewhere is going to be high.

Similarly, Okuguwa (2010:191) in her review of educational aid in Ghana found that because of a lack of transparency on how resources flow from the national level via the DEO to the

school level, leading actors were suspicious of each other. In contrast, however, other participants, from the national and district level, say the aid giving process is a partnership and there is mutual understanding of how the process works, in that at any given time, one partner or the other is in control.

...there has been more like a cordial understanding ... by which these resources are provided. ... to emphasize... they are allocated within a certain context and within a certain policy framework both from their home country and in relation to development plans that we have here... (ND1).

you have an input in it, yes. They ask you first what do you want to do? ... These are the benchmarks you need to automatically let on. Apart from that what do you also need to do so we cohort other activities into the benchmarks. Then money is given to the (inaudible) or whatever representative. You present your reports and your receipts for having undertaking that particular programme. So it is like central government, DFID, district and region collaborating... (DC3).

These participants believe the process is a form of partnership albeit one that may sometimes be seen as unequal, as existing frameworks and policies, such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), Education For all (EFA)s, other donor aid policies and even the recipient country's development plan/strategy provide a context which to some extent, guides and dictates the processes to be used in delivering aid. For this reason, there is not much room for negotiating changes to the processes currently applied but rather, again to some extent to be seen as the accepted or normal way of doing things. For these participants, the aid being provided is on a win-win basis for both donor and recipient. Nevertheless, these participants agree the current process sometimes creates a level of uncertainty on their part as they do not have a clear understanding of what the donor wants in return for the aid. The school level participants appeared not aware of or conversant with the funding models or any issues with it, and did not have much to say on the issue. This may be because aid discussions and negotiations between the development agencies and the country tend to be mainly held at the national level, although one would expect these participants to be aware to some extent.

On the question of *how the models for delivering educational aid are identified and applied* however, participants were of the view that the choice of an instrument to deploy to deliver aid rests almost solely with donors, they were not privy to the calculations that went into the selection and deployment of the models and as such could not comment much.

... the decision to do either sector budget or project budget support also very much lies with the kind of country you are dealing with and it is very much a policy issue with respect to the specific country that you are dealing with... (ND1).

On the issue of *how efficient (cost effective, offering value for money, able to function without waste) the models for delivering aid are*, there was general agreement among the participants, that it was difficult to make a judgment on which aid instrument is cost effective, as they were not privy to the calculations or assumptions donors use in deciding which aid instruments to use. One participant suggested if they knew the actual cost of the workshops organized for them, whether the refreshment cost, for instance, is higher than the main activity of delivering the workshop, then they could make a judgment on the issue. These participants also note the donors in question are different with differing cultural systems such that what one may consider to be cost effective may not be the case for another donor. What the frugal minded Japanese aid worker might deem cost effective, may be at most times different from the large scale minded UK aid worker willing to experiment. That being the case, comparing them would be comparing two different incomparable approaches.

On the issue of *which aid instrument participants preferred or thought was the best*, participants from the national, district and school levels, had mixed reactions. For some district participants, all instruments had their merits and demerits. However, because the choice of an instrument to deploy rests almost solely with donors, they believe there is no point in identifying what their preference is. It would be an exercise in futility. Some school level participants were reluctant to criticize or decide which aid instrument was the best. They just could not or would not take a stance. Again, whether this was due to reticence or fear was not clear. However, other school level participants decided that once a donor was willing to give aid, it would be improper on their part to criticize the processes used. What is deemed

improper here appears to stem from politeness or deference and existing cultural biases. To these participants, to criticise is to bite the hand that feeds you. Could there be a post-colonial angle here, in which colonial power relationships persist, with some participants being resigned to their state of dependency? Further discussions on possible influence of colonial relations on aid practices can be found in Chapter 6. Nevertheless, the national level participants took a more critical stance when one of them said:

... we will prefer more freedom to manage and not be stacked to a project... that new paper [aid policy] suggests that we prefer in the event that anybody wants to give us aid to... use a sector budget approach... What that means is that, money will be earmarked for education... (ND1).

This stance reflects Casely-Hayford *et al*'s (2007: 35) reporting that the 'preference of the GoG [Government of Ghana] is increasingly for direct budgetary support as the GoG sees this aid modality as being able to' support good sector management. This is as compared to Technical Assistance (TA) which does not cede control of aid to the recipient nation. That budget support uses the recipient country's financial and treasury system as detailed in Chapter 2, means recipients have control on how the funds are used to meet their needs. National and district level participants lauded the level of ownership the budget support instrument gives them in planning activities to meet their local needs, compared to the project approach that inflexibly decides for them what to use the technical assistance for.

In a way with the DFID... everything comes from the coordinator... You plan everything so you know what is on the ground. So you are relaxed and you know what will go into it... with the technical support ... that one too they plan something for you... Something is being planned for you... so whether you like it or not it has been planned... so you take it... (DC4).

Criticism of TA by these participants reflects the criticism of TC discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, of TC not being aligned with user needs, being donor-driven and recipients not having management control (Greenhill *et al* 2006:24, OECD/DAC and Learning Network on Capacity Development 2011:4). Despite these criticisms, there was admission on the part of

the district level participants that at times, acquiring certain, specific expertise can be difficult. They used the example of how in one TA project Japanese teachers used locally available materials to teach practical science lessons, which can be useful for the Ghanaian context. In this and in other selected cases TA aid might be the best aid instrument to apply.

Some projects, of course, can serve important purposes, especially in piloting new approaches. However, their success can never make more than a partial and limited contribution to sustainable educational progress, given the complexity of reforming education systems... (Riddell and Nin˜o-Zarazu´a, 2016: 29).

Having said that, these participants then went on to say both instruments: budget support and TA, complement each other in the sense that the limitations of one are the advantages of the other. For instance, where there is a technical expert as part of TC, the funds of SBS can be used to expand the reach of the experts' work to areas he or she would not have been able to reach by themselves. This finding is similar to one of Okugawa's (2010: 225) findings in reviewing aid in Ghana that 'the two different approaches to aid delivery may complement each other in different phases of a development intervention', for example using TA for short term capacity gap filling whiles using budget support to problem solve on a long-term basis. At the school level, HTs were asked about the models of the aid delivery but not the teachers, as it was assumed the classroom teachers would not have been part of such aid negotiations. Despite this distinction, both HTs and classroom teachers did not appear to have knowledge of or be aware of the aid instruments donors use to deliver aid to them. As such, they did not take an active stance on the issues discussed in this section.

When it came to the question of *whether there could be alternatives to the current models for delivering aid*, participants suggest there could be better ways to approach the issue of "process". Participants said there is need to empower the education managers at grassroots level, who are more likely to have an intimate knowledge of pressing issues, to design programs that better target local needs. Instead of using what they deem as controversial processes of tying aid to donor country experts. Empowerment in this instance may mean

trying out the approach of giving money and freedom of choice directly to local education managers to decide what and how the funds should be used to meet needs.

... when... some of us were working with DANIDA ... apart from the fact that sometimes they give us specific areas to work, they also ask us to open accounts where they will put in money for us and then we will draw our own programs that we feel are important... so what happens is... you... carry different activities... and when you finish ... So the more you are able to work faster the more you are given monies to work... since you are on the ground you know the areas that you feel are of problematic. So you draw action plan to meet such needs you see. So... if we have our own way I think it will help... (DC2).

Obviously, this suggestion is in contrast with sentiments of mistrust expressed by teachers about their managers. Yet other school participants from both the poorer School A and the well to do School B also suggest similar ways they deem could be a better process to receive aid.

SAT3: Because you have brought in money. Initially when you ask about the aid you realise that it was a little bit ... sceptical about the ... aid, but when you talk about in terms of money we have not received anything physical ... cash... I think it would have been used in another way because if you talk about ... the computer lab itself, we are now borrowing a classroom which have been converted to a computer laboratory. I believe if we should deal with our own laboratory.

Int: So you would have preferred the monies used to buy the computers to build the laboratory and then?

SAT3: We build the laboratory...

Int: So instead of using the money to organise the workshops for you to go, if they gave you the money would you use differently?

SBHT1: ... yes we will look at our priorities.

Int: ... what are your priorities?

SBHT1: As I sit here now if JICA should give us plenty money?

Int: (Laughs).

SBHT1: It will go into a building... second stream, yes.

Int: So the workshops are not your priority?

SBHT1: No... No, because the large class size I see it as a big problem in the school. ... handling the kids will be better than large class, size 54, 53. So the second block still... is my headache.

Yet another school participant says schools have groups such as a School Management Committee (SMC) and a Parent Teacher Association (PTA), who when involved could work together to process and use the aid money properly as an alternative to the current process. For the better endowed school B, this suggestion could work as the parents are already contributing significantly to the school's development. But for the poorer school A, it is difficult to see how this suggestion could work considering the low parental engagement noted earlier.

5.2.3 Theme 3: Outcomes and impact

For this study, 'Outcomes and impact' is defined as any result, achievement or effect of educational aid on the country, district or school level's educational development. As noted earlier in section 4.5, in relation to 'Outcomes and Impact' there were several key areas identified in attempting to answer the research questions posed in this study. The first area is concerned with change. *Whether there have been any changes brought about in the basic education sector, district or school by the aid, be it a contribution or a hindrance? For example, changes in reaching the millennium development goals or other development targets.* The second area is concerned with negative effects. *Whether there have been any negative effects associated with receiving the aid and the reasons why?*

Before answering the question of *whether there have been any changes brought about in the basic education sector due to the aid receipt*, some participants gave two caveats, namely attribution and measuring results. In the first place, ascribing development results to aid, amid multiple interventions by donors and the government itself, is a huge issue. To start with, participants say there are no clear-cut answers to the question of the outcomes and impact of

specific aid in the education sector, and this is problematic. Since they could not attribute the improvements in the education system's development solely to aid received. Donors do each have their own systems of evaluation, as is detailed in Chapter 3, and mostly measure effectiveness to mean the ability of a project to achieve its intended objectives. However,

[a]lthough evaluation has taken place for a long time in foreign aid, it is often self-evaluation, using reports from the same people who implemented the project. My students at NYU would not study very hard if I gave them the right to assign themselves their own grades... (Easterly, 2006a)

In addition, and still on the donor side of evaluations, because of difficulties in measuring aid outcomes,

most aid agencies take the 'easy' route in providing an account to the public at home of the results of their interventions in the education field—by focussing mostly on reporting on the 'numbers assisted' rather than educating the public, on whose votes they rely, and deepening public awareness of the complicated nature of development effectiveness... (Riddell and Ninõ-Zarazú, 2016: 24).

Further, it is difficult establishing a causal relationship between educational aid inputs, such as financial resources and workshops, to outcomes.

[D]rawing a direct causal connection between the foreign aid provided and learning achievements involves far more than merely counting the number of pupils enrolled in primary school and assessing progress towards universal enrolment... (Riddell and Ninõ-Zarazú, 2016: 23).

A multiple number of inputs may have contributed to the achievement of a single outcome as Riddell and Ninõ-Zarazú (2016: 24) note that:

attribution is typically multifaceted: providing textbooks and speeding up textbook distribution, like the provision of anti-malarial bednets, will no doubt contribute to overall impact, but determining and especially trying to quantify its specific contribution to broader outcomes is far from easy when set alongside many other contributory factors, only some of which are aid-related.

And this perspective is supported to some extent by a national level participant for instance who states that

...you see if you take education it's sometimes very difficult to single out a particular intervention to say that it is because of this that we have achieved that... you cannot just pinpoint to say since it is teaching and learning it is a process it is not a product where you can say that... (ND2).

District level participants also express similar sentiments:

Int: Can you attribute this solely to the JICA support or has there been other initiatives or so.

DC4: Errrr...

DC3: No there has been other initiatives...

DC4: Yeah.

DC3: By the district...

DC4: Yes.

DC3: Ahaa because there has been persistent training in line with you see three difficult areas... which hither to the teachers didn't know... At a particular point in time. ... we cannot ...

DC4: Be specific...

DC3: Oh definitely we have other activities contributing to these [results].

At the national level, it was suggested they could not separate the outcomes of the support received because to do so would require a structured impact evaluation study that controlled

for other factors. District level participants also said since there are other interventions taking place at the same time aid is received, it is difficult isolating the outcomes and impact of aid. Some non-aid interventions identified at the district level included continuous training undertaken under their own initiative to improve teaching and learning, and in the instance of school B, educated parents engaging private teachers at home for their children's tuition.

Secondly how aid results are measured is another issue. According to national level participants, there is no agreed format on how to measure the results of aid received by the recipient country. Rather, donors set parameters for measuring their aid results.

I will also say that, in terms of the results framework, it will be good for us to, you know, get back to the drawing table again and look at how we can really sort of count our results... (ND1).

The issues of attribution and measuring results mentioned here are extremely important as they are crucial to responding to the central research question of whether aid is contributing to or hindering educational development. The issues are especially worrying when the recipient country itself does not conduct its own evaluations of aid projects, although it monitors projects periodically. Instead structured aid project evaluations are mostly led by donor agencies, whilst members of the recipient country form part of the evaluation team, as discussed in Chapter 3. Nevertheless, for the MDGs and other international and national reporting on education development, a management information unit within the MoE together with the GES conducts yearly census under the EMIS. This is to capture details of progress on parameters such as enrolment, gender parity, available textbooks, and so on. The data is then reported in annual progress reports at the different levels: district, regional and national. For the purposes of this dissertation, the participants relied on available national and district statistical information, first-hand knowledge and personal experiences of aid and its impact within their context to respond to the interview questions. Of course, not every experience can be substantiated with documented evidence, but that does not mean such experiences should be neglected, although such experiences would need to be treated with caution. For instance, school A's participants could recall a period before DFID's aid was given, when pupils had to

bring their own chairs to school because the school did not have sufficient chairs. After the provision of chairs however, pupils no longer carried their own chairs to school. To the participants this is a clear case of the impact of a specific aid on their school, although there was no written evidence to back the experience shared. And so in spite of these caveats, on the question of *whether there has been any changes brought about in the basic education sector due to aid provision*, all participants said they had experienced aid induced changes, both positive and negative.

On the positive contributions of aid, participants point to an exhaustive 21 item list (attached as appendix 7.2). The contributions include increasing funding to the sector, aiding progression and retention of pupils, skills acquired by teachers and their managers, and improved teamwork. The selection of sub-themes deemed relevant to answering the research question as they provide useful insights are presented below in figure 5.2.3.1. These responses are explored as follows.

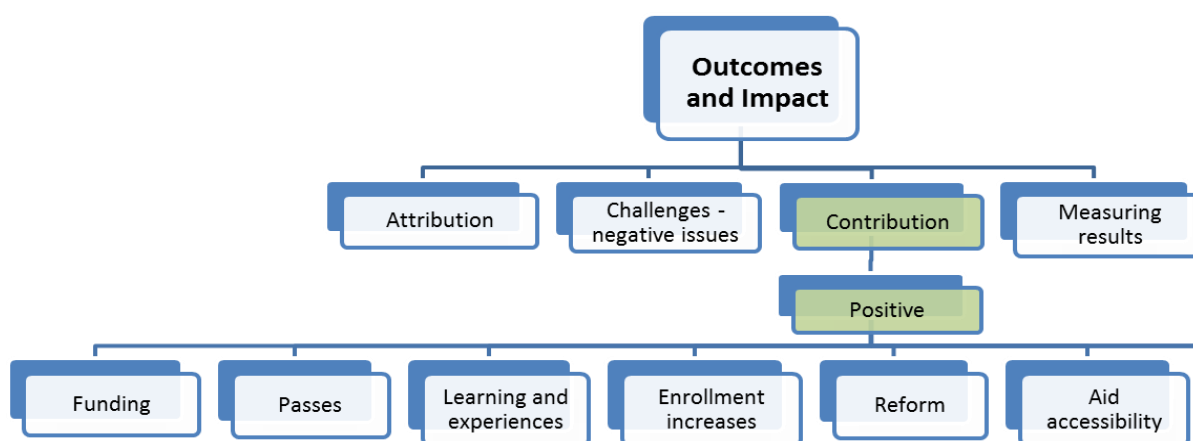


Figure 5.2.3.1 Selected positive contribution subthemes of the *Outcomes and impact* theme

First, participants mention there is increased funding because of aid.

Oh yes... the scope of improvements has increased and you are looking at it as a function or as a factor of the additional resources that you have; you can't run away from the fact of giving credit to those who provided the resource... (ND1).

Indeed, successive Education Sector Performance Reports (ESPR) give credit to the additional resources donor funds bring. In '2014 the total spending by donors on education in Ghana was GHS 321 million' (Ministry of Education, 2015: 56), accounting for 4% of the education resource envelope. The same report shows donor contributions over the years since 2011 when it was GHS 127 million, to 2012 when it was GHS 114 million, to 2013 when it was GHS 268 million (Ministry of Education, 2015: 52). DFID is credited with being the biggest contributor in 2014 with spending at GHS 79.7 million, accounting for 24.8% of all donor funds, whilst JICA contributed 2.7 million or 0.8% of donor funds (Ministry of Education, 2015: 56). Despite the difficulties of measuring aid's outcomes, without the contribution of aid these are funds that would otherwise not be available to the sector.

On the positive contribution of aid to increased 'passes', participants from the district and school level said through the additional funding and technical assistance they received as aid, teachers in their districts have been given regular in-service training and orientation on how to teach selected topics in mathematics and science, which the teachers previously thought were difficult. Because of this training, district and school participants say they now deliver student-centred instruction to pupils, which in turn improves student learning and the number of passes in examinations. Successive sampling surveys by the National INSET Unit (NIU) of the GES, with the support of PEDACO points to improvements in the teaching skills of teachers. This is as a result of the NIU having observed lessons of a sampled number of teachers that had benefited from the JICA sponsored school and cluster based in-service training (PEDACO, 2012: ix). A District Coordinator notes

... hither to most of the children... questions in line with basic electronics children are not able to do but this time we have, because of this training, these things have been able to resolved in such a way that we have recorded some appreciable percentage pass...(DC3).

A school teacher also says:

Last term in my class the person... who was best in mathematics had 69 percent, but from the midterm exams that we had last week we have somebody scoring 80 percent. So which means that with the ... introduction of the aid there has been massive improvement... (SAT3).

This is in addition to the participant also responding that in relation to 'increased passes', his students were now showing an interest in learning because of the practical and enjoyable way he now approaches his lessons. To illustrate his point this participant gave the example of how before the INSET training he used to teach without TLMs. But after the training for the topic of digestion, he got rats as TLMs for his pupils to learn with.

We had a lesson on digestion and if you come and see pupils dissecting err rats it was so marvellous. We have some of them preserved in our storeroom. It was so interesting so it has really boost my confidence level... (SAT3).

Another school level participant says:

... if not something we could hold on to at least in the performance of the pupils you know they are always doing better so I could say it has got a link... (SBT3).

Despite the NIU's reports of improvements in teachers' teaching skills, the claim of increased passes could not be substantiated as no concrete evidence was presented, or robust evaluations carried out to point to these improvements. This makes the claim of increased passes appear as not having a sound basis as a result of aid, however we cannot say that aid did not have any role in these perceived improvements.

On the issue of aid's contribution towards 'learning and experiences', district and school level participants say that aside from funding, aid provision also comes with elements of knowledge and experience sharing of good practices in how education development is undertaken in other parts of the world. The following excerpt captures a district level participant's response.

... supervision... the office staff have been trained... for how to carry out this... we have been orientated. Hither to we have some way... of an archaic methodology but because of this funding and the way you have been oriented... this time we go with a different and unique approach, ahaa. ... We've been maintaining it through this DFID funding... (DC3).

This new learning, according to these participants includes how to manage the education system in an efficient manner, for example institutionalizing in-service training of teachers as a means of improving teaching and ultimately improving learning. For instance, a staff member from the DEO and a teacher from School A had been sent on a study tour to Japan to learn how education development is undertaken there. Through this experience the teacher could now use low cost locally available materials such as empty water bottles instead of beakers to teach science practically. District staff also said they now know to use supervision trips to support teachers in areas they were finding difficulty in teaching, instead of finding faults as was originally the case.

Further, participants also said aid had contributed towards increases in enrolment, since through additional aid funding, they can undertake activities that promote enrolment or make their schools more attractive to prospective students.

... schools embark on enrolment drives in the communities. Apart from that sensitization of PTA... and SMC ... members... you organise periodic SPAM, School Performance Appraisal Meeting, to showcase the important activities schools are doing and the need for the community to support them. So it is community school relationship during that programme, ahaa. ... Community sensitization enrolment drive... All this are supported by some of the funding we get from the DFID... (DC3).

Successive Annual District Performance Reports (ADPR) attest to the community education activities, which have the objective of increasing the enrolment of pupils, having been undertaken by the district (Ghana Education Service 2010: 7, Ghana Education Service 2013:12). However, the impact these reports show is at odds with the district level participants' claims. The 2013 ADPR shows varying increases in enrolment at the KG level, and a declining trend in enrolment at the primary level (Ghana Education Service, 2013:12-13). The report attributes the uneven rises and declining rates to enrolment drives and capitation grants bringing pupils to school, but non-payment of levies driving parents to withdraw their wards afterwards (Ghana Education Service, 2010: 7, 10; Ghana Education Service, 2013:12-13), thus pointing to a retention issue for the district. EMIS data for both schools also shows the same trend, thus the evidence does not appear to bear the participants' claim out. Nevertheless, School A participants further note that because they are the only school in the locality with computers provided through aid, new students enrol to have access to the computers. To them this implies a direct positive effect of aid on enrolment. However, when probed further whether they had other evidence such as written statements from the new entrants saying they enrolled in the school because of the school's computers, they said no.

Next, while conditionality is often seen to have a negative effect, according to a national level participant, aid in the past has helped to push for positive reforms, as was the case in 1987 with the WB being the lead donor in funding efforts to reform the education sector (World Bank, 2004: 8-17). The 1987 reforms, detailed in Chapter 3, saw the replacement of the O and A levels of education with the Junior High and Senior High education system (World Bank, 2004: 8) and the duration of pre-tertiary schooling reduced from 17 to 12 years. That the push for reforms is seen as a positive contribution is a curious one, in that reforms are normally a conditionality of aid, which is flagged by the recipients in the next section as a negative effect of aid.

Again, on a more positive note a school level participant said that compared to the bureaucratic nature of the Ghanaian education system in disbursing money, the ease of

accessibility of the donor funds is a positive contribution. This is because on the Ghanaian side, there are different levels of the education system (community, district, regional and national), which must all be consulted in requesting funds. These consultations are often characterized by writing numerous letters to the appropriate authorities as well as power struggles. The number of layers of consultation also means it takes a long period to access funds. This is as against accessing donor funds, which at most times entails contacting one entity with one point of contact to access funds.

The second area of the contributions sub-themes under the ‘Outcomes and Impact’ theme is concerned with negative change: *Whether there have been any negative impacts associated with receiving aid and the reasons why?* In answering this question most participants said despite the aforementioned positive contributions, there is an equally exhaustive list of 18 negative contributions (attached as appendix 7.2) associated with receiving educational aid. A selection of the *negative issues* sub-themes deemed important to answering the research question because they provide useful insights is presented below in figure 5.2.3.2.

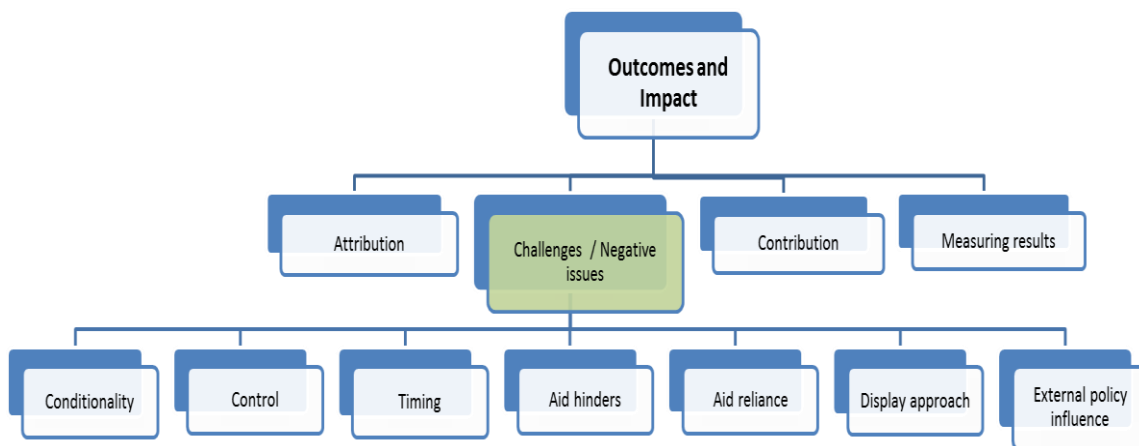


Figure 5.2.3.2 Selected challenges and negative issues subthemes of the *Outcomes and Impact* theme

The selected negative sub-themes are conditionality of, control and timing of aid, the hindering effects of aid, reliance on aid, the display approach of aid and the external policy influence of aid.

On the negative aspect of aid conditionality, we have already heard national level participants say that ‘if you get Japanese money you must buy Toyota ...’, but they also suggest more generally:

... every aid has a condition. I don’t think there is any aid that comes without any restrictions. So once it is an aid then there is restriction because it comes with conditions... (ND2).

Participants say it is almost as if donors give with one hand and take back with the other; what they term the pretence of aid giving. These criticisms align with condemnations of aid tied to expensive donor country products and the increasing use of consultancies in aid operations raised earlier in this Chapter and in Chapter 2. It also reflects a statement made by a DFID spokesman in 2011 that DFID’s budget support is a conditional direct help to recipient governments, so far as they adhere to rules on poverty reduction, respect of human rights, good governance and domestic accountability (BBC, 2011). A national level participant goes further to say there are wider aid conditions including the expectation by donors that recipient nations share in social and cultural values. This was said about past statements by former British Prime Minister, David Cameron, that recipient governments who were not gay-friendly were likely to have their aid cut (Press Association, 2011; BBC, 2011).

I remember sometime ago when ...they were talking about the fact that the British government was interested in gay something and then the Ghana government was not interested. People were afraid that if you don’t take care Britain will withdraw it’s resources... these are some of the challenges. So if the friendship is affected in anyway, it also affects the flow of the aids [/aid/] so there are a lot of restrictions as to what you will receive, when you will receive and how you will receive. And even the quantum can be cut... (ND2).

Related to conditionality is the issue of control referred to by participants from all levels of the education system.

... as I said, countries allocate resources according to their own budget and their own plans. ... they set aside... So in there, the negotiation in terms of how much money is required doesn't necessarily exist with us, we cannot go and negotiate... (ND1).

Now first of all ... in terms of interest... Japan is in control because they will tell you where their interest is because you cannot say that they are going to use their money to support the teaching of English language ... So they have come with the parcel that at least they have the capacity to support Ghana in the teaching and learning of science and mathematics so they have control over that... (ND2).

... sometimes they even budget and bring it to you. They don't allow you to budget... (DC2).

We don't have any control we don't have any say. ...when they decide to distribute the materials they bring them, ... Like they could have ...maybe consult us like whether what our needs... so that you tell them and they supply but in this case they don't ask they feel what they have they bring it... (SAT2).

Assessing the responses, the issue of donor control appears to cover most of the major decisions on aid giving, from whether to give; how much to give; when to give; and the modality or instrument to use to deliver as already mentioned under the 'Process' theme. They also say most often the aid giving will be in line with where the donor's interest lies, so that what is left is for participants to work within the parameters available to them. The resultant effect is that aid provided may not meet priority needs of the recipient. To illustrate, the HT of School B specifically mentions his need is for more classrooms because of overcrowding of students. Yet, the aid provided to the school is in-service training from both JICA and DFID. Despite this mismatch of needs, national and district level participants say aid provided through sector budget support gives them some level of control in utilising the resources, using country systems and around agreed themes.

On the timing of aid delivery, district level participants lamented the challenge of delayed aid releases. Extensive examples were given about the targeted audience for receiving the aid exiting through transfers or retirement, newly acquired skills decaying due to lack of opportunity to practice, and HTs doing the wrong things because of lack of information sharing on the new ideas acquired from the aid support. Extensive discussions with district level participants gave an indication of the magnitude of the issue and how it affects work schedules.

Continuing with the hindering effects of reliance on aid, national and school level participants say it is as if aid creates a dependency; since they have been relying on aid so much that when it is not provided they become stuck.

... it has hindered our... initiative to ... look for adequate funding to support education in the country. Because our expectation has been that oh we will get from the donors... so in the short term it has really contributed immensely but in the long term it doesn't provide us with the impetus to be able to think creatively to address our challenges... (ND2).

...[we] cannot do it without aid looking at the background of some pupil and as I said the population, the parents, this school was started by an individual so before they handed over err, that idea of ohh somebody will help somebody will help has been there, ahaa, so still the aid the...aid is needed, yeah... (SBHT1).

According to Lowenstein (2013: X) '[a]id dependency routinely leaves the host community or nation lacking necessary skills to empower themselves'. This may mean that the availability of aid may inhibit the internal efforts of recipient nations to support themselves and this would appear to provide support at least at the local level of manifestations of dependency culture. The dependency issue is further discussed in chapter 6.

Another issue raised was related to the form of training on offer and for one school level participant the display approach of aid provision was problematic. To this participant, the

requirement that lessons are demonstrated for other teachers to learn from as a way of showing improved capacity of the trained teacher, is a challenge for local teachers.

... the negative issue goes with the... ‘do for me to see’ syndrome. That’s why you know... some teachers in a... human institution you realise that there are still people who sees some of these things as a threat. You know I have to teach for somebody to see you know, how? (SAT3).

One possible interpretation may be that in the Ghanaian cultural context hierarchy, authority and humility are respected; and such displays of teaching in front of a teacher’s peers, superiors and outsiders may be intimidating, seen as arrogance, or lack of humility on the part of the teacher. Shyness on the part of the teachers may also be at play. However, because the lesson delivery of those trained by aid need to be observed periodically as part of surveys to check for improvements (PEDACO, 2012: ix), such practices go on.

Overall then, participants’ responses appear to suggest that the contribution of aid to educational development is mixed, having both positive contributions and negative impact. The implications of this finding are explored in Chapter 6.

5.2.4 Theme 4: Sustainability

In this study ‘Sustainability’ is defined as instances where activities supported by aid may be maintained by the recipient. There are two main areas of concern under ‘Sustainability’, first, *what happens after the aid provision, will there be an effect if the aid were to cease, and should it cease will the MoE/GES plan to continue supporting the areas the aid has been supporting?* Secondly, *should the Ghanaian government be undertaking the work being done by aid using its own resources and could it?*

In answering the first question participants from all levels indicated that delivering education without external aid will have an effect in the short term, but this effect may decline in the longer term. They suggest that with better succession planning the educational system could survive without external aid since, according to national participants, the majority of current provision of resources for education delivery is by government. Although they admit that sometimes national funding is delayed, not sufficient, or not released altogether, participants believe the activities being funded by aid can be sustained even if the aid is to cease.

... aid is not, the reason... of why [we are] having... A lot of success has been achieved. As I have said, aid is about 4 to 5 to 6, 7; less than 10 percent. ... when you balance the account; you still have some resources that you can credit the system with... (ND1).

Int: So if they leave you think you can continue?

DC3: We can...

DC4: We can...

DC3: We can have further sustainability because they are training us you know to be in the zone when they leave us, ahaa. So by giving orientation to our staff in the schools, head teachers, they are in a way training them to stand up on their toes

At the moment it is let me say, it has even ended because it's not coming as I don't even remember the last time we had our workshop, but what they taught us something. We should keep on organising in service training for the teachers, both school based and then cluster based. So the aid is not coming but whatever we learnt over there we are using it because now we don't need money from JICA before we organise the in service trainings. We use our IGF [Internally Generated Fund] to do it... (SBT2).

These participant responses are supported by successive ADPRs that show most education funding is from the national government (Ghana Education Service, 2010: 25-26, Ghana Education Service, 2013:31). The 2015 ESPR shows donor funds accounted for 4.9% of spending, compared to over 79% funding from government (Ministry of Education, 2015: 53). Despite the financially poor state the sector is in now, and a possible further worsening of it in the short term should aid cease, added to it much of government spending being on salaries (approximately 70%), it is still feasible that with succession planning, the sector could cope with withdrawal of donor funds in the long term, as is shown in Chapter 6.

On the question of whether *the MoE/GES plans to continue supporting the areas the aid has been supporting*, participants indicate there are possible alternative sources of funding (shown in figure 5.2.4.1 below) that have been identified and are being pursued.

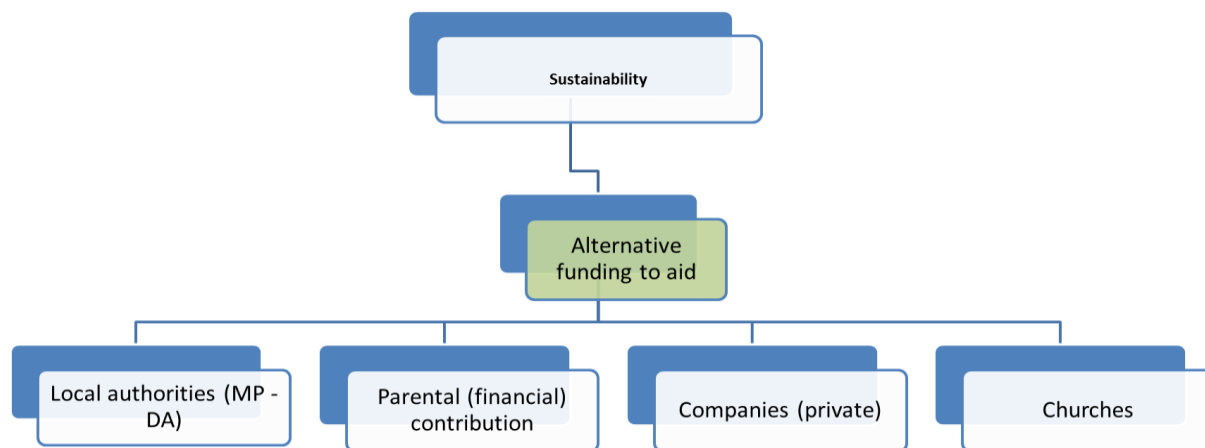


Figure 5.2.4.1 Alternative funding sources subtheme

These alternative sources include central government allocated funding for local authorities including for Members of Parliament (MPs) use in their constituencies, parental contributions, private companies and churches. Participants identified these sources since in the past they could successfully access funds from them periodically. The participants concede, however, that such funding sources will not be regular or systematic in providing funds the way the aid funds have been doing. Nevertheless, they argue that the Ghanaian government with better succession planning could continue supporting the areas the aid has been supporting. For now, however, it appears that because aid is available, these alternative sources are not being aggressively pursued.

On the second area of *whether the Ghanaian government should be undertaking the work being done by the aid using its own resources and if it could*, participants indicate that activities being funded by aid are existing activities within the education sector. As such a level of ownership of these activities already exists. Some donor funded activities include revisions to the Head Teacher's Handbook and supervision exercises, which they claim existed before the introduction of aid. They are at the same time taking ownership of new activities including the institutionalization of in-service training introduced by aid.

I said that the contribution that DFID and JICA are making; are in so far as they are important to us, a support to our own intentions... therefore ... we own those activities... if it stops, we have to find means by which we can still continue to work to achieve those objectives. So for us... it is not an either or... situation. We have positioned ourselves... to move in the direction of progress and we will continue to stick to that policy, going forward... (ND1).

if there is money to buy the materials to teach the children we will continue doing the INSET, because it has come to stay. And ...it is an order from the office that you should do at least two INSERTs a term and you will have to report to the office so it will continue. ... If there's no money then it will maybe come to a halt a little till money comes then we will continue... (SAHT1).

Recent trends in government spending in education show increases, although this is in the context of a rising GDP (Ministry of Education, 2015: 52). From 2011 to 2014 government spending on education almost doubled, going from GHS 3.5 billion, to nearly GHS 6.6 billion (Ministry of Education, 2015: 53). Of course, the increased government spending does not take away from the calls regarding the insufficiency of resources to the education sector in the *need* theme. The increased amount is still not enough to cover all the needs of the education sector. However, that there remains a need does not cancel out the possibility that the government could reprioritise its spending, which may include cutting funding to other areas such as health or social services, to cover areas previously covered by aid. With the continuing increase of government resources, confidence in government resources is high. For these and the reasons alluded to by participants, participants believe with or without aid, the work being done by the aid could be undertaken by the government using its own resources, provided they plan for it. To this end they concede in the short term, the absence of aid may be challenging and may affect performance of the education system, but in the long term, and with good succession planning, the system could cope.

...once they are playing a role... and you don't have that person playing that role then automatically it will be affected, but if there is a way out where we have a very succession plan that we know that this time that time they will be out of the scene so what are we doing to fill that gap, to fill the role that they are playing. I think if we are able to do that then the effect will not be as great... (ND2).

In addition, and looking to the future, a national participant accepts that aid cannot be forever. This is because with the country having attained lower middle-income status, some donors

have already started indicating Ghana does not need traditional aid anymore, but maybe technical assistance on how to manage its resources efficiently and effectively instead. The British High Commissioner recently announced Britain's intention to reduce aid through DFID to Ghana because it deems Ghana as a middle-income country that needs to take care of its basic services (Daily Guide Africa, 2016). The EU had earlier made a similar announcement (Daily Guide Africa, 2016). That recipients point to problems with technical assistance does not seem to alter the stance of the donors to use it. Another participant also believes aid will rather be transformed into a mutually beneficial relationship between the two countries.

... I know that maybe in future it's going to be more of a win win situation. So that if a country is providing you something, a donor is providing something the expectation is that they will also get something back. So I am thinking that in future the way things are going aids [/aid/] will now be looked at not in terms of one way ...type of support but in a win win situation... (ND2).

At the same time, participants indicated although they could cope without aid, some aid instruments such as budget support have the tendency to create dependency because the tendency to expect aid to be available on an ongoing basis may inhibit their effort to be self-sufficient. Instead, they believe aid targeted at building capacity will be more helpful, in order that they can wean themselves of aid.

5.2.5 Theme 5: Participants' recommendations

Recommendations, in this study, is defined as instances where suggestions were made by the participants for improvements in educational aid delivery. The main area of concern is *whether there were any recommendations for improvements to the educational aid scheme and the reasons for them*. Nearly all participants made suggestions on recommendations, since they had experienced both the positive outcomes and negative impact of aid. The categorised

responses are shown in figure 5.2.5 below.

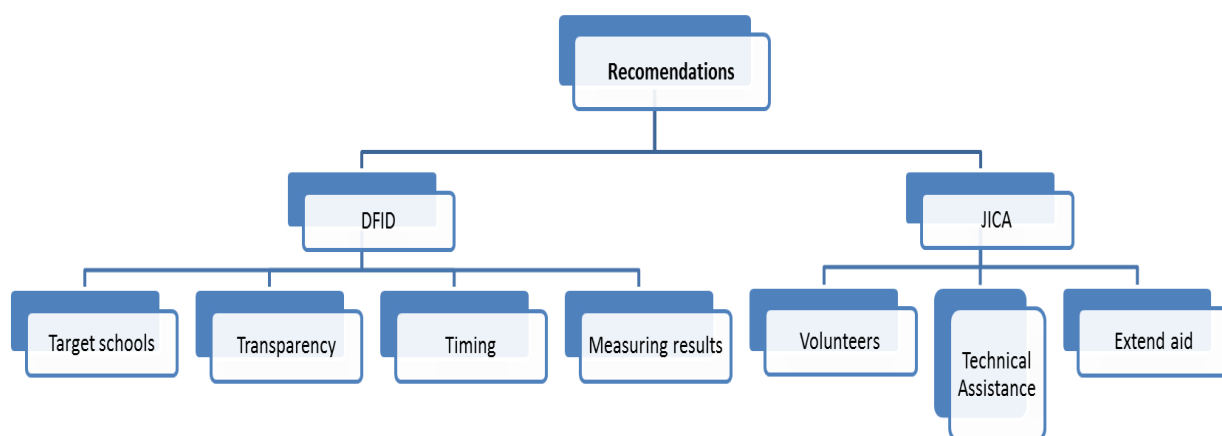


Figure 5.2.5 Recommendations theme and subthemes

The recommendations made about how the DFID could improve its educational aid program centred on the need to improve how the agency measures its results, the timing of aid delivery, targeting of schools, and transparency.

Recently, I know... DFID have had a bit of a problem and in the current effort to try and change and to bring those changes into the sector budget support arrangement... The British tax payer as they call themselves asked the question; “how can you convince us that, British money contributed to this?” and that is very difficult. But I think that, that doesn’t become very difficult if the parameters for these results are defined properly... (ND1).

To this participant improving how results are measured may mean the aid agency, tax payers and the recipient nation all gain common understanding of results achieved. District level participants on the other hand recommended that DFID improves the timing of aid releases in order that funds can be used for the right purposes at the right time.

... they should release it early and if they are releasing it timely then they have to find a way of requesting upon the national whatever to make sure that the money gets to where it is supposed to go at the right time... (DC2).

As a result of most school level participants not knowing of DFID, they recommended the agency targets selected schools directly to see the effects of its funding support, without the cumbersome process of providing aid through DEOs. Finally, school participants suggested DFID increase transparency of the process it uses to give aid by giving directly to the school level, with the full knowledge of community members and chiefs to make the process transparent to all involved. This is so that local chiefs can in turn hold the aid recipients accountable, as compared to channelling aid to the national level. Nevertheless, district participants admit some of the lack of transparency may be due to their own internal management processes.

Regarding aid from JICA, participants made recommendations on volunteers, technical assistance and the need to extend aid. Participants lauded volunteer activities by JICA and the ability of volunteers to stay in deprived areas. However, they suggested JICA increase the number of volunteers sent from the current one per area to about three to increase the volunteers' impact. On technical assistance, a national level participant requested for the streamlining of the administrative systems used to organize the agency's aid.

... the sector budget support has been more of a relaxed approach... than the project... approach which is considered too rigid for many... maybe JICA can devise... different... ways by which it manages its project approach... (ND1).

Finally, school participants suggested JICA extends its good works to other parts of the country so that other schools that have not benefited from JICA's assistance can benefit.

5.3 Summary of themes

Five major themes were identified from the recipients' responses: need, process, outcomes and impact, sustainability and recommendations. Under the 'Need' theme, participants say there are three ways that 'need' can be identified, by the development agency, by recipients, or as a joint effort between both parties. On why there is the need for aid, participants say it is because of scarcity of resources, underdevelopment and deterioration of the sector, and to maintain relationships (be it colonial, economic or political). On the other hand, they also say there is need for government to make choices that reduce waste in spending and ultimately the need for aid. Under the 'Process' theme, participants say the process to deliver aid is controversial and could be done in a better way, since aid conditionality ties it to expensive donor country products (experts, consultancies, and machinery). A minority of participants, on the other hand, believe the current process reflects a level of mutual understanding between donors and recipients. Although a national level participant indicated SBS is the preferred modality, the rest of the participants did not want to decide on which instrument was cost effective, preferred or the best, since the choice of instrument to use is normally the prerogative of the donor.

On 'Outcomes and impact' of aid, two caveats were given. First, participants could not say whether changes in the sector are solely due to aid, since there were other non-aid interventions. Secondly, the recipient country does not have an agreed national format on how to measure results of aid received. Despite these caveats, participants say there are both positive and negative outcomes of aid. Perceived positive contributions include increases in funding, teacher skills and student passes, learning and experiences of staff, and national reforms. Perceptions of negative impact include aid conditionality that requires spending on donor country products, use of experts that take part of the aid back to the donor country, and lack of control on aid resources especially those delivered by technical assistance. Further, delayed aid releases, reliance on aid that hinders initiative, the display approach to teaching associated with aid delivery, and the external influence of aid on national policy were mentioned as negative features.

On ‘Sustainability’ of aid, most participants say that delivering education without aid would have an effect in the short term, but not in the long term. They rather believe that with better succession planning including seeking alternative sources of funding such as local authorities and private organizations, the educational system can survive without aid. Finally, participants made ‘Recommendations’ for both donors’ programs. Regarding DFID’s programs, participants recommended improvements in how they measure results, the timing of aid delivery, targeting of schools, and transparency. Regarding JICA’s programs, participants recommended an increase in the number of volunteers, relaxation of bureaucratic structures of the technical assistance approach, and to extend their aid. The next and final Chapter, 6, discusses these themes focusing on what they may mean and what may be accounting for them considering existing literature and theories discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, the possible implications for professional practice and reflections of the researcher. The final sections of the chapter focus on the limitations of the study, suggestions for future research, a summary of the study, and conclusions reached.

Chapter 6. Findings discussion and conclusion

This final chapter contains interpretations of the themes presented in Chapter 5 and conclusions of the study. In the first part, a brief outline of the research including its main findings are presented, followed by what the findings may mean and what may be accounting for them in light of theories and literature discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. Further, possible implications of the findings for professional practice are enumerated, followed by reasons why the findings are important. Reflections on the impact of the study on the researcher are also presented. In the concluding section, limitations of the study, suggestions of possible future research, and a summary of the study are presented, followed by some final thoughts.

The dissertation's aim is to explore Ghanaian educational aid recipients' experiences to find out whether and how educational aid has contributed to or hindered educational development. 13 participants were interviewed from the Ministry of Education (MoE), Ghana Education Service (GES), two primary schools and a District Education Office (DEO). From participants' responses five major themes were identified, the most significant being the view that the outcomes of aid are mixed, having both positive contributions and negative impact. The other themes are there is a need for aid but recipient government action could reduce the need, the process used to deliver aid being controversial, sustainability of aid projects in the short term in question but not in the long term, and there being room for improvements in aid operations. In interpreting these findings, I emphasise that the primary focus of this study is the perceptions of the recipients of educational aid in the primary education sector.

6.1 Interpreting the findings

These themes may be interpreted several ways. First, the outcomes of aid are neither good nor bad, but a mix of both. Secondly, aid may be funding non-priority items. Thirdly, there is an urgent need to improve the delivery of aid. Fourthly, how aid impact is measured needs to be improved. Fifthly, there are tensions around the appropriateness of aid. Finally, aid may not be the first 'go to' option.

6.11 The outcomes of aid

That the outcomes of aid include both positive contributions and negative impact, likely suggests that aid outcomes are neither inherently good nor bad, but a mix of both. On the one hand, aid does seem to do some good, as we saw from recipient responses. National level participants observed that donor funds increased availability of funding. The Ministry of Education (2015: 56) reported donor funds accounted for 4% of the education resource envelope, an additionality that would otherwise not have been available. Other reported positive contributions detailed in Chapter 5 include improvements in teacher skills and learning experiences for staff. High profile proponents of development aid such as Jeffrey Sachs and Bill Gates may identify with such positive impact of aid.

There has been vast development success internationally, including stunning increases in... literacy, school completion rates, and other gains.... When we look at ODA success stories, however, we find that aid is most successful when it is indeed used for development assistance... (Sachs and Ayittey, 2009: 78).

Sachs goes on to say that aid critics are wrong, aid does work under certain conditions, and to him the issue is not "yes" or "no" to aid but the "how" of aid deployment (Sachs, 2014). Gates (2016) is also reported to have said 'I've long been an advocate of development aid because I've seen the impact it can have...'

Despite aid doing some good, on the other hand the finding likely suggests that aid does produce negative effects too as was seen from recipient responses of conditionality requiring recipient spending in line with donor imposed strictures a burden, including use of experts from the donor country. We have already heard a participant say that 'they are giving you the aid then they will bring their own people to come and do the work take the money away again....'. Aid is also cited as making recipients reliant on external resources as the expectation is that funds will keep coming. High profile sceptics of aid such as Dambiso Moyo

and William Easterly may identify with these reported negatives. Moyo (2009) argues aid can be a hindrance to self-development efforts of recipient countries, ultimately leading to dependency issues where recipients rely on aid (explored further in later sections). Easterly (2007) also argues that for the many years aid has been given to Africa, it has done more harm than good, and in some instances created economic dependency. In Ghana, Casely-Hayford *et al* (2007: 11) after reviewing aid's contribution to the education sector concludes that:

[o]verall, the impact of aid on the education sector appears to be negligible, at best particularly given the large level of donor inflows from the 1980's onwards which amount to over 3 billion US.

Interestingly, several researchers also posit that outcomes of educational aid on the sector are either inconclusive or mixed, echoing this study's major finding. Heyneman and Lee (2016) reviewed previous research on effects of aid on educational outcomes, and because of the varied findings of both positive and negative impacts, they conclude 'results on measuring the impact of aid on educational outcomes are inconclusive' (Heyneman and Lee, 2016:13). Riddell (2012: 13) also notes that authors of the EFA Global Monitoring Report were unable to answer questions on aid's impact on increasing outcomes for the MDGs because evidence since 2002 is mixed. Further, Riddell and Nin˜o-Zarazu'a's (2016) research on aid's impact concludes that whilst there are contributions, there is also a gap between what aid is achieving and what it could achieve due to challenges with the aid system, echoing the argument made in Chapter 2 by this author.

Other research with similar findings are by Okugawa (2010) and Brock-Utne (2002). Okugawa's (2010) case study in Ghana of what locals' experience is of the different aid instruments finds each aid instrument has its own merits and demerits, just as participants of this study point out. So, while the national level lauds the SBS approach for giving ownership of funds to the MoE, district and school level personnel were not enthused as funding did not always reach the lower levels, or when it did, it was not possible to identify its impact in their schools (Okugawa, 2010: iii, 222). TC on the other hand, although applauded for achieving results in pilot schools, was criticised for being unsustainable (Okugawa, 2010: iii, 222).

Brock-Utne (2002) also presents lessons from experience gained over 15 years in several African countries as aid agency staff and consultant. Through interviews with aid recipients she finds that although aid had been initially welcomed because of the extra resources it brought, ‘some negative attitudes toward the former colonial masters and the [WB]’ (Brock-Utne, 2002: 67 - 68) were now held because of aid conditionality. Like participants of this study, aid with conditionality was seen as imposing, not using country systems, and setting up parallel systems. Brock-Utne’s (2002) main lesson learnt is to use her knowledge of what is happening in Africa: supposed experts not having the local knowledge, projects not meeting national needs, and supranational agencies imposing policy on the continent, to convince her government to change policy and practice for educational aid to Africa for the better.

6.12 Aid funding non-priority items?

Another reading of the themes is that aid may be funding non-priority items. School level participants narrated incidents where they received unsolicited training workshops and desks from donors. Although participants acknowledge the technical knowledge the workshops brought, they also mention that if they had been offered the option of being given the money, they would have used the money differently. We have seen the Head Teacher (HT) of school B indicate that given the option of handling the aid funds, he would prioritise infrastructure needs. The insight gained is that aid may be funding non-priority items. This is despite the workshop being deemed a priority for the donor concerned. In Ghana, Addae-Boahene (2007: 13) reports that ‘[w]hile there is international consensus that aid should be about providing necessary resources for poverty eradication, aid flows rarely match need’. It appears there is a gap between what donors want to do and what the recipient nation’s needs are. There is the challenge of how to bridge the gap between the needs of both parties. Engagement with recipients to gain a better understanding of their priorities appears to be negligible. Processes to identify recipient needs also appear to need improvement, since a more focused needs assessment and targeted aid may improve the chances of producing positive outcomes. In addition, for the tax payer in the developed country that funds aid, the idea that aid may not be funding priority needs could be scandalous, especially when health care and education in the

donor country maybe facing austerity cuts. This impression of aid as a ‘waste of money’ is frequently portrayed in the UK media.

6.13 Aid delivery an issue

The third reading of the themes suggests there is an urgent need to improve the aid delivery processes. A cross section of participants, from national to school level, believes that the process to deliver aid is controversial. This is important because problems with the delivery process undermine aid’s results. Participants mentioned controversies including: sending experts from donor countries as a condition of aid that ends up taking a substantial portion of the allocated project budget, not having control on the amounts to be received, and, project conditionality that restricts purchases to products from the donor country only. It appears the structure of aid delivery creates dependence on donors’ machinery, experts, and funding. We saw both a school and a national level participant in Chapter 5 note that because of the expectation that aid will keep coming, it has reduced their initiative to look elsewhere for funds.

This reliance on aid likely reflects dependency theory which posits that the giving of tied aid to spending in donor country may be directly linked with underdevelopment of developing countries. Thus, the continued giving of aid may be to preserve economic and political interests, and ultimately the dependency relationship (Tilak 1988: 326; Takyi-Amoako 2010: 192). Illustrative of the dependency issue is Easterly’s (2014) recounting of some of the failures of Jeffrey Sachs’ Millennium Village project, which he calls the ‘saga of Dertu’s wells’. There may be other examples where aid has worked and been appropriate but the following depicts the issue at hand. Wells had been fitted with generators to pump water for a community within a village, but the frequent breakdown of the generator, which requires parts not available locally, take four months to order, and no local expertise to install, meant the wells lay idle for long periods of time (Easterly, 2014). Such levels of dependency likely suggest the donor remains in control of if and how locals develop.

In some countries, education aid has created dependency... dependency creates problems of many kinds, the most important of which is the impression that national sovereignty has been ceded to external authorities... (Heyneman and Lee, 2016:14).

Further, there is an argument that the presence of experts in recipient nations at times undermines the country nationals' confidence in performing their roles (Greenhill *et al*, 2006:24). This may be the case when existing local capacity is not valued or undermined so that the argument for the need for external experts can be amplified and justified. Instead, if local expertise were prioritised, it may contribute to reducing the brain drain phenomenon that African countries, including Ghana, face, or even attract and harness the talent of the diaspora to support national development.

One will also observe that the negative effects of aid enumerated (here and in Chapter 5) by this study's participants reflects the challenges of TC especially, and of aid in general presented in Chapter 2. The leading criticism is that TC is not aligned with recipient country needs; since TC tends to be 'heavily donor-driven' and controlled (Greenhill *et al*, 2006:24). The recipient government normally may not have management control over TC projects as reported in this study. In some participants' view, TC tends to be donor driven because it is tied to donor country firms and experts (Greenhill *et al*, 2006:24). This also means that TC projects tend to be costly, as expensive experts and products are flown in from the home country (Greenhill *et al*, 2006:24). The section on implications of findings for professional practice (6.2 below) discusses how improvements could be made.

6.14 The challenge of measuring results

The next observation the study findings suggest is that measuring the outcomes and impact of aid remains a challenge for the recipient country. This was an unexpected finding of the study for me. It is interesting that after all the years of aid receipt, at least in the case of Ghana for over 30 years, a common modality for measuring the impact of aid received has not been

developed. Some participants indicated that measuring results of aid is an issue of concern because ascribing results solely to aid, in the midst of multiple interventions by donors and the government itself, is a huge issue. In the district and schools where the study took place, some non-aid interventions taking place were the continuous teacher training undertaken by the Ghana Education Service to improve teaching and learning; and for those with economic capital as in school B, educated parents engaging private teachers at home for their children.

In addition, the recipient country seems to not have a standardized format for measuring aid results. Each donor providing aid in the country may have their own parameters for measuring impact through the evaluation of projects but as Easterly (2006a) notes, ‘in foreign aid, it is often self-evaluation, using reports from the same people who implemented the project’. Self-reported evaluations may have benefits but also has challenges as identified in Chapter 3, including possible biases in reporting findings more favourably than they are. I had been aware that donors set parameters for measuring results for each of their projects, but I did not know that attributing results to aid would be a challenge, due to the difficulty in isolating the outcomes and impact of aid from other non-aid interventions taking place while aid is being received. So, to assess impact likely requires a structured impact evaluation that controls for other non-aid input factors. For these reasons, it became apparent that there is difficulty in establishing a causal relationship between aid inputs such as financial resources and workshops, to outcomes. In the education sector a multiple number of inputs, at times interlinked, may have contributed to the achievement of a single outcome.

The OECD’s (2016a) evaluation criteria discussed in Chapter 3 may be a suggested guide to evaluate projects which most donors adapt and use, but this recipient country seems to have not adopted it, at least not for the education sector. Neither has the country, it appears, set its own standardized format on how to measure results of aid received. For these reasons there may be a need to relook at developing a results framework that is structured and rigorous enough to account for the outcomes and impact of aid, at the same time be able to isolate other interventions taking place outside of aid provided. This proposed framework should be a tool that can be agreed on by both recipient and donor. Such a tool may help in clarifying the

results of aid, which is quite contentious and a challenge to date. The implications of this finding for professional practice are explored later in this chapter.

6.15 The appropriateness of aid

Further, another reading I make of the themes is about the appropriateness of aid in a self-governing developing nation. This is another unexpected finding of the study for me, since beneath the smooth façade of donor and recipient diplomatic relations there seem to be simmering tensions. The tension appears to be around the responsibility of the national government to deliver on its mandate to develop the nation for the ordinary citizen, as against relying on foreign assistance to develop. This is as participants appear to accept that dependence on aid will not solve the developmental challenges of the country. '[A]id was never intended to make a direct major contribution to growth in developing countries' (Tilak 1988: 328). This may be especially so when one considers aid to the education sector is a small percentage (less than 10% usually and 4% in 2015) of the sector's resources. Moyo (2009) argues that the idea that aid can promote development is false because nowhere in the world has aid exclusively taken people out of poverty. In addition, Moyo (2009) posits that it appears the presence of aid makes the state cede its responsibility of providing public goods, including education, to development agencies. Thus, aid becomes a hindrance to self-help efforts of developing countries, relieving the state of its obligation to its citizens (Takyi-Amoako, 2010: 5). Moyo may be writing from what may be a neo-liberal elite perspective, but her arguments do resonate with this author. Aid may be contributing to dependency by reinforcing the global economy structure, that does not allow those in the global south equal access to these markets. So instead of helping, aid rather contributes to a dependency relationship between the donor and recipient country, between the periphery country and those at the centre, as has been discussed earlier. Although the global and financial order likely contributes to how a lower middle-income country like Ghana develops, yet, the responsibility to develop one's own country usually is expected to fall squarely on the shoulders of the recipient country's government. For this reason, there may be a need for the country to make a hard range of choices on how it develops, one of them possibly being the need to reduce its reliance on aid. Breaking away from aid support may be hard, but the country may need to

look unto itself, for resources to develop. At the district level, there were suggestions for the government to use IGFs to finance activities aid is funding. This they indicate is feasible because they recount anecdotal evidence of possible alternative sources of funding that have been identified and can be pursued. These sources include MPs fund allocation, parental contribution to education, approaching private companies and even the churches in the country to support education. There could be barriers to this vision in the form of funding not being regular, and the need to make trade-offs on what gets funded, either education or other social services. Yet, the participants identified these sources because in the past they have successfully accessed funds periodically from them. There is also the admission that capacity to manage the education system has been built over the years the country has been self-governing (over 60 years) and since aid has been provided (over 30 years). At the same time, there seems to be the believe that with long term planning, the country could support itself, although in the short term there will be some impact on its citizens while weaning themselves of aid, including reduction or cessation in funding to the education sector. DFID, it seems has come to the same realisation, having announced that it is stopping aid to Ghana (Daily Guide Africa, 2016). The Danish government in its policy paper on development assistance to Ghana also mentions that Ghana is in a transitioning period being a lower middle-income country, as such an exit program is to be run from 2017 (Danida, 2014: 3). We have already seen in Chapter 3 that the national government spends over 20% of its resources on education, which is no mean feat. This is despite over 70% of the 20% being spent on salaries seeing that teachers are the largest investment in education. Nevertheless, the 20% spending could be read that the country is already contributing far more to the sector than foreign aid is. This has not always been the case; the government's funding used to be lower before the year on year increases happened. So, although the tension around the appropriateness of aid may be well founded, how feasible the move from reliance on aid will be, considering the global placement of the country in the world system, may depend on the political will of both the government and citizenry. The implications of this finding for professional practice are explored later in this chapter.

6.16 Aid not an option of choice?

Finally, tied to the foregoing discussions is the reading I make of the theme that aid may not be the option of choice for participants, but when it is offered, recipients accept. This is another unexpected finding of the study for me. This understanding was arrived at mainly because although participants had indicated there is a need for aid, they also indicated the national government's actions could reduce the need by making some hard-political decisions. First, they suggested government make efforts to be efficient and make savings in using the scarce national resources available to tackle developmental needs. Secondly, they advanced the argument that better targeting of resources could mean areas currently being funded by donors could be covered by national funds. This argument is against the backdrop of some of these same participants admitting they are dependent on aid, and mentioning education resources are not sufficient. Thirdly, participants' reporting of how the need for aid was identified varied from the explicitly argued for need for aid identified in literature reviewed in Chapter 2. This becomes especially interesting when one finds that the process to identify the need for aid is not always initiated by the recipient as mentioned by a national level participant in Chapter 5, yet on paper it is continually shown that the request came from the recipient. It may appear there is some element of 'understanding' between development partners and recipients pointing to the initial aid identification as being initiated by recipients, when it may not be the case. On the recipient side too, they say so far as the aid is offered, because they accept there are hurdles for them to tackle in developing their country, in most cases they do accept. This may imply that aid may not be the first point of call for recipients to develop their country, however if donors come knocking, they will give them audience.

The question then is: although in some cases the government does request for aid, in some other cases too it does not request for aid, not as a first point of call anyway, so why is aid given in those instances nevertheless? From the participants' perspective, there were suggestions that donors may have an interest, such as neo-colonial, economic and political, in a nation for whatever reason and based on a predetermined stance, offer aid. Secondly, based on a donor country's foreign policy, they may be predisposed, or not, to give aid. Another submission was that some donor activities suggest some donors give aid just to demonstrate

their power. We saw national level participants mention in Chapter 5 that it appears the former colonial relations between Ghana and the UK influence why Britain, through DFID, have sought to give aid to Ghana. These statements reflect postcolonial theory and literature that posits that the aid relationship seems to be a means for the global North to continue extending and exercising power over other nations. Alesina and Dollar's (2000: 33) study on who gives aid to whom and why concludes 'colonial past and political alliances' are among the major determinants of who gives foreign aid to whom. They are able to demonstrate that aid is being used by some donors as a means of exercising patronage and political influence over developing countries. Riddell's (2007a: 3) research on making aid effective also indicates most ODA, 'continues to be influenced by the commercial, strategic and short-term political interests of donors'. Further, Alesina and Dollar (2000: 33) also demonstrate that countries that have a colonial history are likely to receive more aid regardless of their poverty levels. To one participant in this study, it is almost as if the donors sometimes give aid to enlarge their sphere of influence. So, although the formerly colonized country may have formally achieved political freedom at the time of independence, the political and social impositions and dominations that may have taken place during colonisation may be continuing in different forms such as through the provision of aid. As a possible consequence of the neo-colonial relationship, some of the participants point to the structural power dynamics of aid giving as beyond their control. Aid giving then, including decisions on who to give aid to and the reason for the aid, it appears, is beyond the control of the recipient. Nevertheless, recipients may be accepting the aid, although it may not be their option of choice, because it is on offer. The implications of this meaning on professional practice are further discussed under the implications section.

6.17 The author's argument

Overall, the findings of the study provide support for the argument made in Chapters 1 and 2 that aid is achieving less than its full potential due to problems with the processes used to deliver aid. We have seen in the findings 'donors often favour their own commercial interests to the detriment of developing countries' own plans' (Ingram and Sánchez, 2013: 33). Aid that uses technical assistance especially has come in for criticism as a good portion of the aid

seems to end up in the donor country to pay for consultants and training. At times, the allocated aid may not leave the donor country in the first place. This system of aid likely benefits the donor more than it does the recipient, detracting from the declared altruistic intent of aid giving that is supposed to be in favour of the recipient country. This type of aid may also not be available to the developing country to fight its needs, let alone contribute to educational development in the recipient country. A ‘key danger is that donors put their own aims ahead of the needs of beneficiary countries’ (UNESCO, 2015: 274). The pre-occupation with aid delivery models that favour the donor (Orivel and Sergent, 1988: 469) likely limits the impact of aid. This should not be the case. Rather, there is a need that any decisions or actions taken, are done, in the sole interest of the recipient, under any given circumstance, to abide by the espoused altruistic intent of aid.

The participants’ responses also point to power dynamics associated with aid. Key decisions to be made, such as total amount to give, modality to deliver the aid, duration of the aid to be given, are all mostly prerogatives of the donor. Power over these decisions raises issues of control and ownership. Who controls and owns the aid given? Challenges mentioned with the TVET situation and the school construction examples in Chapters 1 and 2 are repeated by this study’s participants as negatives of aid. Thus, the findings of the study mainly reflect the stance that aid, as it is structured now, is not achieving fully what it set out to do because it is not reflecting the needs of the recipient countries. This stance is not about whether aid works or not, but about how far the aid given could reach if only it was given in the sole interest of the recipient. If there were to be a more streamlined approach to aid delivery that does not concentrate so much on what the donor could also benefit from the process, aid could possibly do and achieve more positive results. The following section presents possible implications of the findings for professional practice.

6.2 Implications of the findings for professional practice in the educational aid sector

On the finding that aid is not funding priority items, a possible implication for practice is the need to decentralise the need identification process from the national authorities alone, to

include a cross section of regional, district, school staff and community structures such as school management committees. Needs may vary at the different levels of the education sector as we saw with the comments of the Head Teacher of School B. Going forward, there is a need for development agency staff together with target recipients to engage in a detailed and decentralised needs assessment process to better identify recipients' priority needs at each level, and to target the aid accordingly. Such a decentralised process would mean that each level of the education sector would have the opportunity to discuss with the donor the needs and priorities at their level. Such a move could support the drive for decentralisation, where the local level, deemed as better placed to know local needs, is expected to take charge and direct education development affairs, in consultation with community groups and structures. This move would be important because 'people want to be consulted and involved in decision-making that concerns them directly' (McGinn and Welsh, 1999: 9). This will likely be important for local people who are more likely to have intimate knowledge of pressing issues at that level, to help design programs to better target local priority needs. Of course, local capacity on what to look out for in aid negotiations and a needs assessment processes, where it does not already exist, may have to be built by the national level for the sub national levels, that is before the national level cedes power to identify aid needs to the local level. Such capacity building efforts could be achievable because laws on decentralisation of the education sector already exist (the 1988 Local Government Act and the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) Law 207, the Ghana Education Service (GES) Act 506, the White Paper on Education Reforms 2003, and the Education Act 778) as explained in the decentralisation section in Chapter 3. Once the priority needs of each level are identified, the implementation of the project is likely to be owned by the different actors at their levels. Also, it makes sense that during implementation of the aid project too, the management of aid resources includes and becomes responsive to the target communities through a decentralised implementation process. This can be achieved by 'giv[ing] local government... clear mandate ...functions, and considerable discretion over the use of ...funds and implementation' (Ferrazzi, 2006: 4). By involving the subnational levels of the education sector, aid operations could be made more transparent to the local managers of education, thereby contributing to the accountable delivery of education services to suit local needs.

Related to the preceding is also the need, moving forward, to create opportunities for the recipients of aid to be consulted in a deeper way, with more dialogue rather than presumption, on how the outcomes of aid could be improved. For instance, quarterly or yearly experience sharing meetings between donors and recipients to learn about what is working for the recipients and what is hindering outcomes could be a possible way to go. Joint monitoring visits by donors and recipients to project sites could also create the opportunity for the different parties to learn from each other to improve aid outcomes and impact. Further, the holding of teacher seminars where lessons from the field could be shared could also help both parties learn how to improve aid outcomes and promote deeper engagement at the same time.

When it comes to the finding of there being an urgent need to improve the delivery of aid, especially as most participants say the process is controversial, to which a possible implication for practice could be for development agencies to try out the giving of the choice to recipients to decide what and how funds are used to meet educational needs. There may be some pockets of good practices in educational aid delivery in the sector already that one could learn from. District level participants had mentioned the favourable way DANIDA, Denmark's development cooperation, gave funds to support the sector. This is as an evaluation of Denmark's cooperation with Ghana found that programmes were decentralised, flexible and sought to increase district level capacities (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark (Danida), 2008: 67-82). The process is said to start when DANIDA requests the DEO to open bank accounts where money will be deposited. The district then draws work plans it assesses as important to education development locally, and implements the work plan using DANIDA's deposited funds. The faster the DEO can implement planned activities, the more DANIDA provides further monies for implementation. Participants felt this approach served their purposes better because credit was given to them as stakeholders with knowledge of problematic areas needing attention, and the sort of solution that could tackle the challenge. This approach could be a better way to the current aid delivery process because, first, there is the understanding local, home-grown and indigenous solutions are a good starting point to promote development. There is need to 'build... on existing, indigenous knowledge and context specific solutions' (Greenhill *et al*, 2006:40). This is instead of the current system that mostly relies on foreign experts and know-how. Secondly, one may also note that the DANIDA model of delivery is decentralised, giving aid directly to the district level. Drawing

from this, there may be a need to decentralise the process to deliver aid, to give aid directly to whichever level of the sector, be it school, district or region, that needs it. This approach could be better than the donor funds going through the national level or the funds being held and controlled by the donor as tended to be the case in this study. Participants suggest giving aid directly to the school level with community members present to serve as an accountability check on aid receipt, which may improve the likelihood for funds to be used judiciously, although it may also lead to local level corruption. For funds to go directly to the local level however, there may be the need for the national level to cede financial autonomy to the different levels. The empowering of grassroots education managers who are more likely to have an intimate knowledge of pressing issues at that level, through providing budgetary and finance training, could help to manage donor funds to better address local needs. The national government may also need to build local capacity on fiscal decentralisation, for the local level to effectively exercise their new-found freedom to decide what and how funds are used. As has already been mentioned in the preceding paragraph, such decentralisation capacity building efforts could be possible because the laws on how to decentralise the sector already exist. Further, donors may need to hold periodic consultations with key recipient stakeholders to continue exploring other emerging and alternative processes to deliver aid for improved outcomes and impact.

Next, the implication for practice of there being a challenge in measuring the outcomes of aid, is the suggestion for the recipient nation to develop a standardized evaluation framework that could yield the necessary data to report results. There should be two sections to the evaluation framework. One section should be used for self-evaluation by the recipient, and the other for joint evaluation with the donor. To start with, there is need for the recipient country to evaluate the impact of aid it receives as implementers of development projects. To remove any element of bias from the donor side, the recipient agency may need to, using its own resources, collect, analyse and interpret data to determine the level of achievement of donor funded projects. Once the self-evaluation is complete, then, development agency staff, together with the target recipients could jointly evaluate per mutually agreed parameters.

Some of the parameters or criteria could be if the aid given addressed priority needs at the different educational levels. Questions would also have to be asked around whether the MoE and GES staff were integrally involved in the project design and implementation. Substantive involvement of key stakeholders is needed, especially staff that have the authority to make decisions on how the project should be implemented, including calling for alterations or amendments during the project implementation period if need be. Another parameter should determine who has control and disburses the project funds. In addition, the OECD's suggested five-point evaluation criteria, as detailed in Chapter 3, could be a reference point to further develop the recipient country's evaluation framework. The first of the five criteria is relevance, which is the applicability of the project to the recipient and donor countries' development priorities and policies. Here, emphasis should be placed on the recipient country's priorities, especially at the different levels (regional, district, school and community) of the education sector. The second criterion is effectiveness, which refers to the ability of the project to achieve its intended objectives. Since the project objective is the key here, it behoves on the recipient stakeholders to agree to objectives that best meet their priority needs during the project design phase. The third criterion is efficiency, the ability of the project to use least cost to achieve intended results. This is an area that demands scrutiny, including considering the cost of any external expertise or products as against local expertise used to deliver the project. Total and full project cost information needs to be disclosed by donors to recipients so that such evaluation judgements can be fairly made. The need to make aid transparent dominates the literature, with the key message that most aid information is not published, and even when information is produced, it is not always available or is difficult to access and use (Publish What You Fund, 2011: 6). The fourth criterion is impact. Impact refers to any changes, be they negative or otherwise, produced by the project intervention, whether intended or unintended. Here, it is suggested there is a need to establish linkages between the input variables and project activities, and the consequences and outcomes of the intervention. The final criterion is sustainability, the ability of the project interventions to be continued by the recipient once the donor support ends (OECD, 2016a). Mostly, how involved recipients are in a project's implementation can determine if the project is sustainable or not, which in turn links back to the earlier parameter to check for how substantively involved recipients are in project implementation.

Furthermore, there is also need for the independence of evaluations, of both the recipient and donor. For instance, using external evaluators from third countries to evaluate impact of aid may reduce bias or exaggeration in reporting results. Of course, employing external third-party evaluators may not automatically guarantee the independency of evaluations, especially when the third party is engaged by the funders of the project. That is why it is suggested the recipient country funds the evaluation. The composition of evaluation teams also may need to be examined. Although the involvement of a project's management team may lead to biased results, management could be part of the evaluating team; however, it is advisable for management not to lead the evaluation team. This is so that independent evaluators can reduce the influence of management on key decisions. Then, having undertaken the joint independent evaluation and the self-evaluation, both evaluations could yield more comprehensive results and information for the outcomes of aid received to be measured.

Despite these suggestions, the difficulty in establishing a causal relationship between the educational aid inputs to outcomes remains. That is why a further suggestion is that using the recommended parameters above, at the country level, development agency staff, together with MoE/GES staff including at the regions, districts, schools and community level, may need to engage in an ongoing process to refine how they attribute and measure the results of aid, ideally per sector. There is a need to make the framework per sector because different sectors may have different variables that may affect the impact of aid. Further, donors, most probably at the OECD level, together with selected target recipients of aid, may also need to engage in an ongoing process to agree on how to measure results of aid and develop a results framework, ideally per sector and country, that goes above and beyond the OECD peer review system that operates at present.

Finally, because there are tensions around the appropriateness of aid, there may be the need for the national government to make hard economic and political choices, which could be difficult, but could gradually and continually wean the country off aid, by identifying and pursuing alternative sources of funding for education. To illustrate, the 2015 ESPR puts 'total spending by donors on education in Ghana [at] ... GHS 321 million' (Ministry of Education, 2015: 56). The same report also says IGF was GHS 799 million (Ministry of Education 2015:

53), more than double the donor contribution. The District Assemblies Common Fund (DACF), which is also referred to as the MPs common fund, allocates millions of Ghana Cedis to each district to support developmental projects. According to Casely-Hayford *et al* (2007: 11), the:

DACF came into being with the 1992 Constitution and is financed from a constitutionally mandated 5.0% of central government revenue that is to be disbursed to district assemblies to supplement their development expenditures. The law establishing the Fund recommends that 20.0% of the allocation (implying 1.0% of total central government revenue) be invested in educational infrastructure, particularly for basic education, at the local level.

In 2015 alone, the first quarter releases of the DACF to all 10 regions amounted to GHS 110 million (Government of Ghana, 2016). There were three further releases of GHS 113 million in the second quarter, GHS 109 million in the third quarter, and GHS 112 million in the fourth quarter (Government of Ghana, 2016). These four releases amounted to a total of GHS 444 million, more than the donor contribution of GHS 321 million. In addition, the assumption is private companies and churches could give if there was a concerted effort to approach them to support education. Or as a suggestion, could private companies be levied a percentage of their profits to fund education? Looking at the figures presented here, these alternative sources of funding to the sector could feasibly replace funds given by donors. This is provided a rationalisation exercise is undertaken in-house within the MoE/GES to reorganise and prioritise activities currently funded by donors and these alternative funds, and a concerted effort made to ensure the alternatively sourced funds are used for the areas previously funded by aid.

It must be conceded that to adopt this approach will require political will on the side of government, education managers and the entire citizenry. For this reason, public education campaigns may need to be carried out for education managers, parents and the citizenry by the national government to inform of the country's move to wean itself off aid, and the need for self-help efforts by all. Such a public education initiative has been tried in the country before when the national government undertook extensive public education campaigns in the 1970's

to introduce an agricultural self-reliance program due to severe food shortages. The campaign implored the citizenry to grow the food they will eat under the slogan *operation feed yourself* (Girdner, Olorunsola, Froning and Hansen, 1980). The public education campaign, at the minimum, appears to have succeeded in creating awareness of the food shortage issues and what was expected of the Ghanaian (Girdner *et al*, 1980: 21). The National Council for Civic Education (NCCE), barring funding limitations, has the capacity at least in human resources and representation to carry out such a nationwide public education since it has within its mandate the duty to undertake civic education, and is present in all 216 districts of the country (NCCE, 2015). Within the education sector itself, the Community Participation Coordinators (CPCs) at the national, regional and district levels, who have the mandate to engage and mobilise community members in support of education and educational issues could also support to deliver such a public education campaign. By doing this, the recipient government could incrementally take on the responsibility of meeting the needs of its citizenry without resorting to aid. In the short term, donors on the other hand, may also need to redesign aid to be sustainable, for instance in building the capacity of the recipient nation to manage its own affairs, and to reduce long term dependency on aid. Further, developed countries could support developing countries to develop do-it-yourself approaches to development including investing in the country or identifying measures to improve efficiency in spending. Such donor efforts could support the weaning process being undertaken by the country.

6.3 The importance of the study findings and reflections of impact on the researcher

These findings are important because to start with, they add to the wider body of research available on the impact of educational aid in a developing country, and more importantly, the limited literature on recipients' experience of educational aid. The study contributes to the international education development field by exploring the views of those affected by it, its recipients. The findings do not conform to the key messages that aid is not working at the one extreme, neither do they conform to the other extreme of the message that aid is working. Rather, the findings move the debate on to how we can collectively make aid work more effectively for the millions of poor people that need it most. It is worth noting that the power

issues and the political economy that frames the donor – recipient space is one of an unequal relationship between the North and South. Most often it is a relationship that, viewed through a postcolonial lens, may appear to have donors perpetuating relationships of domination and imposition, if not manipulation. For instance, through meetings, policies and several intangible ways and means of delivering aid, the status quo of where each partner stands and their level of control is established. Thus, attempts to resist or change the status quo in favour of the recipient may face resistance. Yet, the need for change cannot be dowsed because of the fear of resistance. Change needs to happen, even if gradually. Change is needed to include recipients' voices, to provide them with voice, voices that can and do contest the dialogues and constructions that attempt to maintain donor control in the aid space (Larsen, 2000). Going forward, the issue then should be about where the shortfalls are and how they can be fixed. This is because the challenges attributed to aid could be fixed or retuned, yet we are living with these challenges as if they cannot be touched. For me, that is the greatest travesty of the situation.

Secondly, the findings are important because they offer possible practical suggestions on how some current weaknesses of the current aid dispensation could be overcome. I am aware that the impact of the study may be confined to my professional practice, however, as I intend to share the results with work colleagues, MoE, GES, and aid agencies the study focuses on, I also hope the study will provide an opportunity for the education development practitioners in these institutions to reflect on their professional context and practices. Development practitioners could use the knowledge gained from the findings about what is happening in Ghana, of projects not meeting national needs and development agencies influencing policy on the sector, to convince their agency or government to change practice in educational aid to Ghana and countries similarly placed for the better. Thirdly, the findings are important because the study brings to the field, and to the novice development practitioner perspectives on donor practices, that could be useful for training and development of new entrants to the international education development work. This is because the study offers an insider's view of the complexities and subtleties of the field.

Reflecting on the impact of the study takes me back to 2009, when as a development novice seeking to build theoretical knowledge and understanding in international education development, my ‘curious mind [was]... constantly alert and exploring’ (Dewey, 1997: 31). My new responsibilities necessitated I find avenues to professionally develop my capabilities to undertake my new role. My expectations for undertaking the EdD were that the programme would develop my analytical skills, further ground me in the subject of education, and contribute to my career development. Professionally, over the period of undertaking the dissertation, my capacity to interrogate education policy critically has been strengthened, contributing immensely to my work. I have also experienced a boost in confidence in my area of practice due to the dissertation research bringing new insights. I now engage in evidence-based practice and decision making, having gained the educational knowledge I so craved.

Further, I have come to gain grounding in the international education development subject, which has greatly improved my confidence as an education professional. Through the dissertation I have gained a better understanding of the outcomes of educational aid on Ghana’s education sector. I now understand that aid may not be the option of choice for recipients to seek help, that there are tensions around the appropriateness of aid, and measuring the outcomes and impact of aid remains an issue. I have suggested the implications of these new insights on practice in Chapter 6.2. In spite of the financial and political situation the country finds itself in, with the necessary political will and alternative sources of resources, these implications could change how we do international education development. I most certainly have refined my thinking on how I work and will bear the challenges encountered in mind for future decision-making. Before the dissertation though, I had suspected that aid may be funding non-priority items, that the process used to deliver aid is controversial and could be done in a better way because of my experience working in the field. The findings of the study appear to bear these perceptions out.

Interestingly, although the research was challenging at times because of competing demands, I have enjoyed the process; it has been an intriguing exposure for me. I have enjoyed putting my thoughts together and bringing all the data to a conclusion. At certain moments, I did say to myself I could be a Researcher, especially when I had to isolate myself from work and family

to get ideas on paper. I like reading and have always been intrigued by prolific authors about what keeps them motivated and their thoughts together whilst churning out such interesting articles like the ones I read for the dissertation. Having gone through this study, I have now come to the realization that I would not mind considering the possibility of combining my practice of working in the international development field with undertaking primary empirical research on issues of interest. I believe that would be a good blend of practice and research. I will need to explore the possibilities further going forward.

In addition to these discernments, I have also come to a better understanding of the concept of education as a social tool for individual self-actualization, and my interest has risen more in the nature and philosophy of education within the wider society. I now firmly believe education is a social tool for development. The reflective practice encouraged within the dissertation has ‘enable[d me] to understand the richness and complexity of’ (Forde et. al., 2006: 75) my professional life, ‘and to develop a sense of agency and ownership of [my] work’ (Forde et. al., 2006: 75). In knowing who I am, I have gained the emotional grounding I so craved. I have now gained a more accurate measure of my work and the role I need to play, and in the process discovered my voice (Brookfield, 1995). Further, my new level of confidence has helped to unearth my value systems and rationale for practice, through a greater sense of self-awareness. Working in a developing country where the challenges to development can be endless, this grounding is crucial to professional practice since

[w]ithout it, we are tossed about by whatever political or pedagogical winds... blowing at the time. A rational serves as a methodological and ethical touchstone. It provides a foundational reference point – a set of continually tested beliefs that we can consult as guide to how we should act in unpredictable situations... (Brookfield, 1995: 23).

This understanding also brings me to the realization that ‘our actions, decisions, and choices all reflect ideological perspectives’ (Brookfield, 1995: 40), even if we do not obviously come out to proclaim these. Now, within my current practice, I am able to explain my interest in taking moral and ethical decisions for the development of individual learners and the wider context within which they exist.

Also, I am able to better understand and explain the recurring tensions between my professional values, and the international development practices of the organization within which I work. This is important because although the hierarchically structured management system of the organisations I have worked in give

some room for “customisation” and “reasonable adjustment”... the exigencies of audit and compliance often press more powerfully on practice than do [practitioners]’ intentions... (Kemmis and Smith, 2008: 208).

Through the dissertation exposure I can now understand that my need for education to be done differently is causing the tensions between myself and my organisation. My focus now is to manage my work portfolio in the interest of the learners and the communities I serve, as well as go the extra mile to take emancipatory action to overcome imbalances in the aid delivery system. This would mean a move away from just the implementation of the donor oriented programmes for the sake of implementation, to a way of working that enables lasting development. I had started to campaign this need for a radical change in how we do education in the previous agency I worked. I will continue to do so where I work now, and in other educational institutions and development agencies in Ghana, when I interact with such entities.

In reflecting on these new perspectives of mine, I am also aware there will be further implications for my future practice. Firstly, I must explore the ideological basis of any organization I intend to work with, to better understand the political, social and historical influences of the organization’s ideologies. In so doing, I would be better placed to positively utilize the organization’s might for the development of education. Also, being more aware of what the organizational ideology is, means I will be more aware of areas where our ideologies differ, to minimize the risk of potential conflicts, as well as learn better ways of articulating my professional values, for the benefit of developing education. Finally, much as I have gained the understanding that praxis can be constrained by the practitioner’s organizational context, a route to overcoming this constraint for future practice would be to engage in practices that encourage moral agency at an organizational level. For example, encouraging group or organizational reflection, as a way of promoting organizational learning from experiences, may well help to develop organizational moral agency. Accordingly, to ‘enabl[e]... *praxis* thus requires a commitment to one’s own self-development, and one’s development in connection with others’ (Kemmis and Smith, 2008: 271).

6.4 Concluding the study

6.4.1 Limitations of the study and future research

Inescapably this study has limitations. First, the findings cannot be generalized or replicated. The study is context specific, representing a very small number of participants' interpretation of their experiences of educational aid relative to and as constructed by each of them, and having meaning that can only be established in relation to the person experiencing it within a context locally constructed by them (Lincoln and Guba, 2000: 168). Also, the findings generated are as a result of interaction between participants and the researcher, and given a different researcher and the same participants, the experience to be shared might be different. Secondly, there are other voices, such as students and parents, as possibly the ultimate recipients of aid, whose experiences could have also informed the findings of the study, but for manageability, they were not included. Thirdly, this study did not seek donor views on the aid receipt experience as the emphasis was on hearing from recipients of aid. Fourthly, only 13 participants were interviewed for the study. Although a small number, they were purposefully selected from the three hierarchical levels of the education system as key stakeholders likely to have experienced both DFID and JICA's basic educational aid receipt. Nevertheless, the findings could serve as reference on recipients' experience of educational aid in Ghana, bringing new insights to the international education development field and those affected by it.

For future research, a larger number of participants could be recruited including adding a diverse population such as donors, parents and students to the participants group. The research could also be undertaken in other countries to explore recipients' experience of educational aid, and the results compared to this study's findings for similarities and differences. Another area that could benefit from future research is measuring aid results. In addition to the suggestions made for improvements in Chapter 6.2, there is a need for a study to explore possible parameters that can be used to establish a causal relationship between educational aid inputs to outcomes. Such a study should help to improve how the results of aid are attributed and

measured, by developing a framework, ideally per sector, that focuses on individual case studies of aid, from inception of project to signed off outcomes.

6.4.2 Summary of the study

To recap, the aim of this dissertation has been to investigate the outcomes of educational aid on Ghana's education sector by exploring Ghanaian aid recipients' experiences of educational aid; focusing on whether and how educational aid has contributed to, or hindered educational development. This is in response to international development agencies having sent educational aid to Ghana for more than 30 years; the declared purpose being to support the country's educational development. Donor dominated research indicates the aid is promoting education development, yet other research shows the outcomes of aid are mixed, whilst only a few studies explore educational aid's actual outcomes as experienced in country by the aid recipients (Casely-Hayford *et al*, 2007; Okugawa, 2010). The study focused on DFID and JICA, one of the largest and smallest aid agencies respectively, providing basic educational aid to Ghana between 2007 and 2012.

The study was located within an interpretive approach to understand the participants' active and conscious interpretation of their experiences. The interviewing method was used to collect data for the study as it gave the opportunity to ask and hear of individual Ghanaian recipients' experiences. King's (2007) template analysis strategy was used to identify five major themes from the recipients' responses: need, process, outcomes and impact, sustainability and recommendations. From the forgoing themes six major findings were arrived at. The most significant is that outcomes of aid are mixed, having both positive contributions and negative impact. The other findings are: aid may be funding non-priority items because participants' priorities were not the same as what aid funds supported; there is an urgent need to improve the delivery of aid since the process is seen as controversial; measuring the outcomes of aid remains a challenge for the recipient country, since a common modality for measuring aid results has not been developed; there are tensions around the appropriateness of aid in a self-

governing developing nation; and aid may not be the first option to seek help, but if and when the aid is offered, recipients accept.

The implications of these findings are numerous. They include the need: to decentralise the needs identification process from the national authorities; to include a cross section of regional, district, school and community structures; for development agencies to give freedom to recipients to decide what and how funds are used to meet local educational needs; and, for the recipient nation to develop a standardized evaluation framework that can yield the necessary data to report results. Finally, the need for the national government to wean the country off aid by identifying and pursuing alternative sources of funding for education. Of course, such a move could be at the expense of cuts in spending for other equally important but poor public, social and health services and as such is likely to be contested.

6.4.3 Final thoughts

In concluding this report, several points stand out for me. First is a new understanding that aid alone cannot drive the development of basic education in Ghana. This is because a ‘careful review of the evidence indicates a positive impact overall, but aid alone will not turn the wheels of history’ (Tarp, 2007: 10). In spite of both historical and economic realities, there is the need for government to gradually take up its core mandate of supporting the sector with timely and adequate resources, be it financial or otherwise, to develop the sector sustainably. Secondly, throughout the themes and findings of the study, the need for decentralisation is evident in most implications for practice. For this reason, the decentralization effort needs to be taken seriously as it has the potential to impact every aspect of education development positively, from need identification, to project design, to implementation and evaluation. The laws on how to decentralise the education sector already exist as explained in Chapter 3. What is needed now is the political will to implement.

Next and more important is the realization that although there are challenges with aid; the ‘[p]roblems lie in both the aid agencies themselves as well as within the recipient countries’ (Riddell and Nin˜o-Zarazu´a, 2016: 30). We do not have to throw the bath water out with the baby in it. Let us fix the problems. Let us correct the negatives that does not allow aid to work, fully. Some of the solutions are within our grasp, both as donors and recipients. Some recipient nations could reprioritise activities and alternative funding sources to gradually take on the responsibility of supporting the education sector to develop. Some donors on the other hand could also reconsider the processes they use to deliver aid for better outcomes and impact. I believe however, that within the short term, something needs to be done to improve the outcomes of educational aid by both sides, donors and recipients alike.

7. Appendices

7.1 Interview guides

7.1.1 General

General details interview guide for dissertation study

Title: aid for basic education development in Ghana – the recipients’ experience

Ice breakers

1. Outline of the study will be explained to the participant
2. Introductory questions about background (age, gender, position/role, educational qualifications, and employment history (in the last five years))
3. Background details (context):

National	District	School
a. How aid is situated in relation to the rest of the education system in Ghana	a. Number and types of schools	a. Type of pupils served (Whether the pupils the school serves are predominately from poor or wealthy households)
b. Level of education development	b. Enrolment rate	b. Types of educational services provided
c. What are the education development needs?	c. Types of educational services provided	c. Performance
d. Levels of education in the country	d. Level of development and of education development	d. Challenges
e. Does the type of government the	e. Predominant age group	e. Class size? Number of pupils in each class/level?
	f. Predominant occupation of inhabitants	f. Length of school day
	g. Class sizes and pupil-	

country has have an influence on development / reliance on aid?	<p>teacher ratios</p> <p>h. Educational performance (pass rates)</p> <p>i. The educational needs of the district</p> <p>j. Literacy levels?</p> <p>k. Progression rates for males and females?</p>	<p>g. Distance pupils travel</p> <p>h. School lunch/meals?</p> <p>i. Buildings and facilities including toilets, kitchen, staffroom, labs, classrooms</p>
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General (except for school teachers)

4. How long has the country/district/school been in receipt of basic educational aid from DFID/JICA?
5. The total amount of basic educational aid the country/district/school has received in the last five years from DFID/JICA?
6. Which areas is DFID/JICA's educational aid spent on?

Possible areas: equipment / technology / technical experts / training / textbooks / school buildings and classrooms, and so on.

7.1.2 For Ministry of Education and Ghana Education Service level

Ministry of Education (MoE) and Ghana Education Service (GES) headquarters

The need for educational aid

1. Why does Ghana require educational aid?
2. How was the need for educational aid identified in the country?
3. How is the process to get educational aid initiated? For instance, do you ask for aid for specific projects, or, do aid agencies come to you and say "we have some 'funds' for

your education system / schools”. How involved in the request for the educational aid is the MoE/GES as compared to the aid agency?

4. What steps do you have to go through to get DFID/JICA’s educational aid allocated to the country? And who is in control? Who makes the final decision on the types and amounts of aid?
5. What negotiations between the MoE/GES and the aid agency take place regarding the area the aid is supposed to support?
6. Were any other stakeholders (regional/district/school officers) involved in these negotiations / discussions? How much is the approach top-down as opposed to bottom-up?
7. What did you anticipate the aid could do for your education system / school before it was allocated and why did you hold such expectations?
8. Do you think the expectations of your institution were shared by the aid agency?
9. How do you see the longer term in relation to aid – will it always be required and if so why?

Methods of delivering educational aid

10. What do you think of DFID/JICA’s method of delivering aid to the country?
11. What do you think are the benefits of DFID/JICA’s method of delivering aid to the country and why do you say so?
12. What do you think the limitations of DFID/JICA’s method of delivering aid to the country are and why do you say so?
13. How efficient (cost effective, value for money, able to functioning without waste) do you think DFID/JICA’s method for delivering aid is and why do you say so?
14. In your experience, do you think the DFID/JICA’s method for delivering aid to the country is the best instrument for the delivery of aid and why do you say so? For

instance, would you prefer money rather than say technical expertise, trainings, supply of textbooks?

Outcomes / impact of educational aid on the education sector

15. Have any changes been brought about in the basic education sector by the DFID/JICA educational aid? Please explain how and in what ways – for example in reaching millennium development goals targets or other development targets. Other changes could be in terms of how the sector is managed, the resources available to the sector, any new administrative procedures that need to be observed, new teaching methods, training sessions, monitoring, new reporting requirements, and so on.
16. What have been the benefits of the DFID/JICA educational aid for the basic education sector and why do you say so?
17. Has there been any impact by the DFID/JICA educational aid on the following and why do you say so? What evidence do you have to support this view?
 - a. Teaching and learning in schools
 - b. The enrolment of pupils in schools
 - c. The retention and progression of pupils
 - d. Girls' participation in schools
18. Has the DFID/JICA educational aid impacted on the performance of pupils in tests? In what way? What evidence do you have to support this view?
19. Has the DFID/JICA educational aid impacted on the performance of the basic education sector/schools in terms of national targets and development goals? In what way, and what evidence do you have to support this view? Please explain?
20. What impact do you think the DFID/JICA educational aid has had on the basic education sector's management (administration including planning, budgeting, monitoring and evaluation)?
21. What has been your experience of DFID/JICA's educational aid?

22. Do you think the educational aid provided met expectations in terms of the work it was used for on allocation and why do you say so?
23. How would you describe the contribution of DFID/JICA's aid to the education sector and why do you say so?
24. Would you say that DFID/JICA's educational aid has contributed to or hindered educational development in the country? Please explain either way and how.
25. Were there any negative issues associated with receiving DFID/JICA's aid in the basic education sector and why do you say so? For instance, issues to do with control of and decision making about the aid?
26. Do you think the DFID/JICA's aid could be used in a better way, if so, how? If not, why not? Would you have spent the money differently?

The sustainability of educational aid

27. Seeing that Ghana is now a more 'developed' country, how long do you think the DFID/JICA educational aid will keep coming?
28. What happens next after the current objectives by each aid agency (universal primary education and gender parity targets) are met? Will the donors withdraw the support after the targets are met? And would these targets remain met if the aid support ceased?
29. Will the MoE/GES plan to continue supporting the areas the DFID/JICA's aid has been supporting when they end?
30. Could the education sector's performance be affected if the aid ceases?
31. Should the Ghanaian government be undertaking the work being done by the DFID/JICA's aid using its own resources and why do you say so?

Overall assessment

32. If you had the opportunity, what recommendations for improvements would you like to make to the educational aid scheme of each agency (DFID/JICA) and why do you say so?

7.1.3 For District Education Office level

General

1. Could you explain your role in the DFID/JICA educational aid programme to your district? What input do have and how involved are you?

The need for educational aid

2. Why does your district require educational aid?
3. How was the need for educational aid identified in your district?
4. How is the process to get educational aid initiated? For instance, do you ask for aid for specific projects, or, do aid agencies or the MoE/GES come to you and say “we have some 'funds' for your district / schools”? How involved in the request for the educational aid is your district as compared to the aid agency and or the MoE/GES?
5. What steps do you have to go through to get DFID/JICA’s educational aid allocated to your district? Who makes the final decision on the amount of aid and what it is to be used for?
6. What negotiations between your district, the regional office, the MoE/GES and the aid agency took place regarding the area the aid is supposed to support? Possible areas: equipment / technology / technical experts / training and workshops / textbooks / school buildings and classrooms, and so on.

7. Were any other stakeholders (District Assembly / school head teachers / School Management Committees) involved in these negotiations / discussions? How much is the approach top-down as opposed to bottom-up?
8. What did you anticipate the aid could do for your district and schools within it before the aid was allocated, and why did you hold such expectations? For instance did you anticipate that the aid could draw more pupils to schools?
9. Do you think the expectations of the district's staff were shared by the regional office, the MoE/GES and the aid agency and why do you say so? For instance did you make these expectations known to the regional office or the aid agency?

Methods of delivering educational aid

10. What do you think of the DFID/JICA's method of delivering aid to the district and why do you say so?
11. What do you think are the benefits of DFID/JICA's method of delivering aid to the district and why do you say so?
12. What do you think the limitations of DFID/JICA's method of delivering aid to the district are and why do you say so?

13. How efficient (cost effective, able to functioning without waste) do you think DFID/JICA's method for delivering aid is and why do you say so?
14. In your experience, do you think the DFID/JICA's method for delivering aid to the district is the best instrument and why do you say so? Would you prefer money rather than say technical expertise, trainings, supply of textbooks?

Outcomes / impact of educational aid in the district

15. Has any changes been brought about in your district by the DFID/JICA educational aid? Please explain how and in what ways?

For instance changes in terms of how the district is managed, the resources available to the district and schools within it, any new administrative procedures that need to be observed, new teaching methods, training sessions, new reporting requirements, and so on.

16. What have been the benefits (both short-term and longer-term) of the DFID/JICA educational aid for your district and why do you say so? Please explain how and in what ways? What evidence do you base your responses on?
17. What impact do you think the DFID/JICA educational aid has had on the following and why do you say so? What evidence do you base your responses on?
- a. Teaching and learning in your district / schools
 - b. The enrolment of pupils in your district / schools
 - c. The retention and progression of pupils in your district's schools
18. Has the DFID/JICA educational aid impacted on the performance (the ability, or, manner of functioning) of pupils in tests? In what way? Please explain either way and what evidence do you base your response on?
19. Has the DFID/JICA educational aid impacted on the performance of the district? Please explain. What evidence do you base your response on?

20. What impact do you think the DFID/JICA educational aid has had on the district's education management (administration including planning, budgeting, monitoring and evaluation)?
21. What has been your experience of DFID/JICA's educational aid and why do you say so?
22. Do you think the educational aid provided met expectations in terms of the work it was used for on allocation?
23. How would you describe the contribution of DFID/JICA's aid to the district and why do you say so?
24. Would you say that DFID/JICA's educational aid has contributed to or hindered educational development in the district? Please explain either and how.
25. Were there any negative issues associated with receiving DFID/JICA's aid in the district? For instance Issues to do with control of and decision making about the use of the aid?
26. Do you think the DFID/JICA's aid could be used in a better way, if so, how and why? If not, why not? Would you have spent the money differently?
27. In your opinion, why is there a need for the aid and why do you say so?

The sustainability of educational aid

28. How long do you think the DFID/JICA's educational aid activities will be practiced in the district/schools? And how much say does the district have in this?
29. What do you think will likely happen after or if DFID/JICA ends their educational aid to your district? Do you think those areas currently supported by DFID/JICA's aid will remain supported if the aid ceases?
30. How would your district plan to continue supporting the areas the DFID/JICA's aid have been supporting when they end? Could the district continue?

31. Do you think the district/schools/pupils' performances will be affected if the aid ceases? Please elaborate
32. In your opinion, could and should the Ghanaian government be undertaking the work being done by the DFID/JICA's aid using its own resources, and why do you say so?

Overall assessment

33. If you had the opportunity, what recommendations for improvements would you like to make to the educational aid scheme of each agency and why do you say so?

7.1.4 For Head-Teacher level

School: head teacher

General

1. Could you explain your role in the DFID/JICA educational aid programme to your school? What input do have and how involved are you?

The need for educational aid

2. Why does your school require educational aid?
3. How was the need for educational aid identified in your school? Do you ask for aid for specific projects in your school, or, do aid agencies or the district education office come to you and say "we have some 'funds' for your school"?
4. How involved is your school in identifying the need for aid and negotiating for DFID/JICA's aid? Or is it imposed by the aid agencies or the district education office?
5. If involved, what steps do you have to go through to get DFID/JICA's educational aid allocated to your school? Who (aid agencies or the district education office) has the final word? Who makes the final decision on the amount of aid and what it is to be used for?

6. What negotiations between your school, district, region, MoE/GES and the aid agency took place regarding the area the aid is supposed to support?

Possible areas: equipment / technology / technical experts / training and workshops / textbooks / school buildings and classrooms, and so on.

7. What did you anticipate the aid could do for your school before the aid was allocated, and why did you hold such expectations? For instance, did you anticipate that the aid could draw more pupils to your school?
8. Do you think these expectations of the school were shared by the district, the regional, the MoE/GES and the aid agency? For instance, did you make these expectations known to the district education officials?

Methods of delivering educational aid

9. What do you think of DFID/JICA's method of delivering aid to the school and why do you say so? Does it match the priorities of the school?
10. What do you think the benefits of DFID/JICA's method of delivering aid to the school are and why do you say so?
11. What do you think the limitations of DFID/JICA's method of delivering aid to the school are and why do you say so? If you were given the money instead how would you use it?
12. How efficient (cost effective, able to function without waste) do you think DFID/JICA's method for delivering aid is and why do you say so?
13. In your experience, do you think the DFID/JICA's method for delivering aid to the school are the best use of aid, and why do you say so?

Outcomes and impact of educational aid in the school

14. Have any changes been brought about in your school by the DFID/JICA educational aid? Please explain how and in what ways.

For instance, changes in terms of how the school is managed, the resources available to the school and or teachers, any new administrative procedures that need to be observed, new teaching methods, training sessions, new reporting requirements, and so on.

15. What have been the benefits (both short-term and longer-term) of the DFID/JICA's educational aid for your school and why do you say so? Please explain how and in what ways? What evidence do you base your responses on?
16. Do you think the DFID/JICA educational aid has had any impact on the following and why do you say so?
 - l. Teaching and learning in your school
 - m. The enrolment of pupils in your school
 - n. The retention and progression of pupils in your school
 - o. Girls participation in school
17. Has the DFID/JICA educational aid impacted on the performance (the ability, or, manner of functioning) of pupils in tests? Please explain either way and what evidence do you have?
18. Has the DFID/JICA educational aid impacted on the performance of the school? Either way please explain how. What evidence do you have?
19. What impact do you think the DFID/JICA educational aid has had on the school's management (administration including planning, budgeting, monitoring and evaluation)? And why do you say so? What evidence do you have?
20. Looking back to your initial anticipation of what the aid could do for your school before its allocation, and now that the aid has been given to your school, do you think the educational aid provided met expectations in terms of the work it was used for? And why do you say so?
21. Were there any negative issues associated with receiving DFID/JICA's aid in the school? Issues to do with control of and decision making about the use of the aid for instance?

22. Do you think the DFID/JICA's aid could be used in a better way, if so, how and why?
If not, why not? Would you have spent the money differently for instance?
23. In your opinion, why is there a need for the aid and why do you say so?

The sustainability of educational aid

24. How long do you think DFID/JICA's educational aid activities will be practiced in the school? And how much say do you have in this?
25. What do you think will likely happen after or if DFID/JICA end their educational aid to your school and why do you say so?

Probe: do you think those areas currently supported by DFID/JICA's aid will remain supported if the aid ceases?
26. How would your school plan to continue supporting the areas the DFID/JICA's aid have been supporting when the aid end? Could the school continue anyway?
27. Will the school/pupils' performances be affected if the aid ceases?
28. In your opinion, could and should the Ghanaian government be undertaking the work being done by the DFID/JICA's aid instead using its own resources?

Overall assessment

29. If you had the opportunity, what recommendations for improvements would you like to make to the educational aid scheme of each agency and why do you say so?

7.1.5 For School (classroom) Teacher level

School: teacher

General

1. Could you explain your role in the DFID/JICA educational aid programme to your school?

Probe – involvement in training sessions, school improvement planning sessions, budgeting sessions, and so on.

2. How involved are you in how the school plans and uses the DFID/JICA educational aid? Do you have any say in what the money is used for and how it is used?
- What has the DFID/JICA educational aid been used for in your school in the last five years?

Expectations

4. What did you anticipate the aid could do for your school before it was allocated and why did you hold such expectations? For instance, did you anticipate that the aid could draw more pupils to your school?
- Do you think these expectations were shared by the head teacher, the district office and/or the aid agency? For instance, did you make these expectations known to the head teacher or the district education officials?

Outcomes and impact of educational aid in the school

6. Have there been any changes brought about in the school by the DFID/JICA educational aid? Please elaborate.
For instance, changes in terms of how the school is managed, the resources available to the school and or teachers, any new administrative procedures that need to be observed, new teaching methods, training sessions, new reporting requirements, and so on.
7. What experience do you have of aid programmes?
8. What form does this experience take?
9. Do you think personally, that there have been any benefits of the DFID/JICA educational aid for your school? What evidence are you basing your response on?
10. What impact do you think the DFID/JICA educational aid has had on the following and why do you say so? What evidence are you basing your response on?
 - a. Teaching and learning in the classroom / school
 - p. The enrolment of pupils
 - q. The retention and progression of pupils
 - r. The participation of girls in the school
11. Has the DFID/JICA educational aid had any effect on the performance of pupils in tests? And in what way? Please explain. What is the evidence for this?

12. Has the DFID/JICA educational aid impacted on the school's performance (the manner in which the school functions)? In what way? And what evidence are you basing your response on? Please explain
13. What impact do you think the DFID/JICA educational aid has had on the school's management (administration / timetabling)? And what evidence are you basing your response on?
14. How would you describe the contribution of DFID/JICA's aid to your school?
15. Were there any negative issues associated with receiving DFID/JICA's aid in the school? For instance, lack of choice or input into selection and planning.
16. Would you say whether and how the educational aid has contributed to or hindered educational development in your school?
Development: the process of the school changing and becoming larger, stronger, successful, advanced or not in its delivery of education.
17. Do you think the educational aid provided met expectations in terms of the work it was used for on allocation? Please explain.
18. In your opinion, why is there a need for aid?
.. Do you think the aid money could be better spent by the school?

Sustainability

20. What do you think will likely happen after or if DFID/JICA end their educational aid to your school?
Probe: Considering the role played by the aid, how is the role going to be undertaken in the absence of the aid?
21. Do you think those areas currently supported by DFID/JICA's aid will remain supported if the aid ceases?
22. Will the school/pupils' performances be affected if the aid ceases?
.. In your opinion, should the Ghanaian government be undertaking the work being done by the DFID/JICA's aid instead using its own resources? Could the government do so anyway?

Overall assessment

24. If you had the opportunity, what recommendations for improvements would you like to

make to the educational aid scheme of each agency and why do you say so?

7.2 screenshots of the major themes and all their subthemes in NVivo

Need	0	0	1/8/2014 9:34 AM
Choices	5	8	1/8/2014 10:06 AM
Development	2	5	1/8/2014 10:29 AM
Aid	1	2	1/8/2014 9:36 AM

Table 6.2.1 *Need* theme and subthemes

Need	0	0
Choices	5	8
Development	2	5
Needs	3	23
Teachers	3	4
TLMs	3	3
Finance	2	4
Expertise	2	6
Employment	1	1
Population	1	1
level	2	4

Table 6.2.1.1 Developmental needs

Need	0	0
Choices	5	8
Development	2	5
Aid	1	2
Reliance on Aid - Government responsibility	7	22
Expectations	1	1
Experience	1	1
Reasons	0	0
Scarcity of resources	9	34
Underdevelopment and deterioration	5	5
Dependency relationship	2	3
Poverty	2	3
Increasing demand for education	2	3
To maintain interest - relationships	1	7
Global systems-agenda-External policy influence	1	3
Reforms	1	2
Altruistic	1	1
Request	1	1
Recipient country dev strategic plans	1	1
Mismanagement	1	3
Educational aid purpose	1	3

Table 6.2.1.2 Reasons for the need of aid

Need	0	0
Choices	5	8
Development	2	5
Aid	1	2
Reliance on Aid - Government responsibility	7	22
Expectations	1	1
Met	6	7
Access	2	2
Quality	2	4
Capacity building	2	2
Not met	2	3
Shared with others	2	2
Partially	2	2
Gender	1	1
Children's use	1	1
Experience	1	1
Reasons	0	0
Identification	0	0

Table 6.2.1.3 Expectations of aid









 Process	0	0
 Controversial	11	23
 A better way	6	11
 Suspicion	6	8
 Pretence	3	9
 Aid delivery instruments-channels	2	3
 Mutual understanding	2	7
 Uncertainty	1	2

Table 6.2.2 *Process* theme and subthemes







 Outcomes and impact	 2	4
 Attribution	5	19
 Challenges - negative issues	3	4
 Measuring results	2	4
 Contribution	0	0

Table 6.2.3 *Outcomes and impact* theme and subthemes
























 Contribution	0	0
 Positive	3	14
 Increased passes	5	7
 Enrollment increased	5	10
 Progression and Retention	5	7
 Learning and experiences	5	10
 Infrastructure	2	5
 Impetus	2	3
 Improved planning	2	2
 M & E improvement	2	6
 Skills (acquired)	2	5
 Cascade training	2	3
 Basic education	2	3
 Capacity development	2	6
 Quality improvements	1	2
 Realisation of importance of certain things	1	1
 Morale boost	1	3
 BECE results	1	4
 Increased attendance (INSET)	1	1
 Improved teamwork	1	2
 Interest	1	1
 Ease of accessibility	1	1
 Reforms	1	1

Table 6.2.3.1 Positive contributions subtheme

Outcomes and impact	2	4
Attribution	5	19
Challenges - negative issues	3	4
Conditionality	3	7
External policy influence	2	5
Control	2	22
Timing	2	12
Restrictions	2	7
Fairness	2	3
Imposed strategies	1	3
Lack of choice	1	2
Acceptance	1	1
Replication	1	1
of Purpose	1	4
Reporting	1	2
Increased workload	1	2
Display approach	1	1
Contents-duration of training	1	3
Taking teachers out	1	1
Reliance on aid	1	1
Hinder	1	2

Table 6.2.3.2 Challenges/Negative issues of aid receipt

Sustainability	5	25
Alternative funding to aid	5	8
Approach (future)	5	12
Ownership	4	7
Performance	4	8
Capacity building	3	4
Future of aid	3	11
In the absence of aid	2	3

Table 6.2.4 *Sustainability* theme and subthemes














 Sustainability		5	25
 Alternative funding to aid		5	8
 Local authorities (MP - DA)		4	5
 Parental (financial) contribution		2	2
 Internal mechanisms - Own pocket money		2	4
 Reducing waste		1	1
 Efficiency savings		1	1
 Philanthropist		1	3
 NGOs		1	4
 Companies (private)		1	1
 Government of Ghana		1	1
 Church		1	1

Table 6.2.4.1 Alternative funding sources subtheme









 Recommendations		7	15
 DFID		4	5
 Measuring results		1	3
 Target schools		3	4
 Timing		1	2
 Transparency		2	3
 JICA		3	4
 Extend aid		1	1
 Technical Assistance		1	2
 Volunteers		1	1

Table 6.2.5 *Recommendations* theme and subthemes

7.3 Ethical approval from University of Glasgow and from the Ministry of Education and Ghana Education Service

CS5 25/10/2014


University of Glasgow | College of Social Sciences

Ethics Committee for Non Clinical Research Involving Human Subjects

Undergraduate Research: **NOTIFICATION OF ETHICS APPLICATION OUTCOME**

Application Details

Application Type Amendments to check Application Number: CS52002/0233

Applicant's Name Mama Berna Owusu

Project Title Dissertation study: aid for basic education development in Ghana – the recipients' experience

Application Outcome

☒ **Fully approved**

Start Date of Approval 19 November 2012 End Date of Approval 30 November 2014

If the applicant has been given approval subject to amendments this means they can proceed with their data collection with effect from the date of approval, however they should note the following applied to their application:

☐ **Approved Subject to Amendments without the need to submit amendments to the Supervisor**

☐ **Approved Subject to Amendments made to the satisfaction of the applicant's Supervisor**

Some amendments only need to be submitted to an applicant's supervisor. This will apply to essential items that an applicant must address prior to ethical approval being granted; however as the associated research ethics risks are considered to be low, consequently the applicant's response need only be reviewed and cleared by the applicant's supervisor before the research can properly begin. If any application is processed under this outcome the Supervisor will need to inform the College Ethics Secretary that the application has been re-submitted (and include the final outcome).

☐ **Approved Subject to Amendments made to the satisfaction of the College Ethics & Research Committee**

The College Research Ethics Committee expects the applicant to act reasonably in addressing the recommended amendments.

A covering note (letter or email) must be provided highlighting how the major and minor recommendations have been addressed.

☐ **Application is Not Approved at this time**

Please note the comments below and provide further information where requested. The full application should then be sent to the College Office via e-mail to Toni.Hume@glasgow.ac.uk. You must include a covering letter to explain the changes you have made to the application.

☒ **Amendments accepted. Application complete.**
This section only applies to applicants whose original application was approved but required amendments.

Application Comments

Minor Recommendations (where applicable)

None.

Minor Recommendations (where applicable)

University of Glasgow
 College of Social Sciences
 Riverside House, 53 Hillhead Street, Glasgow G12 8QF
 The University of Glasgow, charity number SC004401

Tel: 01 41-330-3007
 E-mail: Toni.Hume@glasgow.ac.uk

Page 1 of 2

In case of reply the
number and date of this
letter should be quoted

Tel. 233- 0302-642772/683614



Ministry of Education
Ministry Branch Post Office
P.O. Box Ml. 45,
Accra.

REPUBLIC OF GHANA

My Ref No:

Your Ref No: _____

22nd February, 2012

Dear Sir/Madam,

**RE: APPROVAL AND INTRODUCTION OF MS. MAMA BEMA OWUSU TO
CONDUCT EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH**

Ms. Mama Bema Owusu, a Doctorate in Education (EdD) student of the University of Glasgow, UK, has sought and gained the permission of the Ministry of Education to conduct research at the national, district and school levels for her study titled: "International development assistance methods to the basic education sector of Ghana, the recipients view".

The purpose of the study is to investigate how local aid recipient perceive the methods of educational aid delivery and what accounts for their perceptions, within the context of the UK's Department for International Development (DFID) and Japan International cooperation Agency (JICA).

Taking part in the study would involve participating in an interview of about 45 minutes to one hour. Interviews for the study are scheduled to take place in early December, 2012, and are to involve a maximum of eight persons at the national, district and school levels.

Ms. Owusu has agreed to take all necessary measures within the law to keep you taking part in the research confidential, and to protect your anonymity and the confidentiality of our responses.

The research is schedule to be completed by October, 2014. Once completed, Ms. Owusu has agreed to provide a written summary of the research results to all participants.

To support the research, your cooperation in the form of accommodating a visit and discussions from Ms. Owusu would be appreciated.

Thank you in advance for your willingness to meet with Ms. Owusu, and for sharing your views.

Should you have any further queries relating to this research, please contact my office.

Sincerely,



MAJOR (RTD) M. S. TARA
CHIEF DIRECTOR
For: MINISTER

GHANA EDUCATION SERVICE

*In case of reply,
the number and date of this
letter should be quoted.*

My Ref. No. GES/DO-G/Q&A/02/12
Your Ref. No.



Republic of Ghana

HEADQUARTERS
Ministry Branch Post Office
P.O. Box M.45
Accra

7th FEBRUARY, 2012

ALL DISTRICT DIRECTORS OF EDUCATION

**RE: APPROVAL AND INTRODUCTION OF MS MAMA BEMA OWUSU TO
CONDUCT EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH**

Ms. Mama Bema Owusu, a Doctorate in Education (Ed D) student of the University of Glasgow has sought and gained the permission of the Ghana Education Service to conduct research at the national, district and school levels for her studies. The main research is titled "International development assistance methods to the basic education sector of Ghana: the recipients view", whilst the smaller trial study is titled: "Foreign volunteer teachers in Ghana's primary schools: help or hindrance?".

The purpose of the main study is to investigate how local aid recipients perceive the methods of educational aid delivery and what accounts for their perceptions, within the context of the UK's Department for International Development (DFID) and Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA).

Whilst the trial study purpose is to trial the methods of interviewing and reviewing pre-existing text, at the same time as discovering how education actors perceive foreign volunteers in Ghanaian classrooms and what accounts for their perceptions, whether they see the volunteers as co-educators, helpers or hindrance, within the context of Japan's Overseas Cooperation Volunteers. Lessons learnt from the trial study will be used to revise the main study.

Taking part in either study would involve participating in an interview of about 45 minutes to one hour. Interviews for the trial study are scheduled to take place in April 2012 and are to involve a maximum of three persons at the school level.

Interviews for the main study are scheduled to take place in early December 2012 and are to involve a maximum of eight persons at the national, district and school levels.

Ms. Owusu has agreed to take all necessary measures within the law to keep your taking part in the research confidential, and to protect your anonymity and the confidentiality of your responses.

All the research is scheduled to be completed by October 2014. Once completed, Ms. Owusu has agreed to provide a written summary of the research results to all participants.

To support the research, your cooperation in the form of accommodating a visit and discussions from Ms. Owusu would be appreciated.

Thank you in advance for your willingness to meet with Ms. Owusu, and for sharing your views.

Should you have any further queries relating to this research, please contact my office,

Sincerely,


CHARLES AHETO- TSEGAH
DEPUTY DIRECTOR GENERAL (Q&A)
pp: AG. DIRECTOR GENERAL

cc:- All Regional Directors
Director, Basic Education Division
Director, Inspectorate Division

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