

Chapter 2

Problems of Seeding and Harvesting Higher Education in Postcolonial Ghana: Historical Antecedents and Contemporary Trends

Kwabena O. Akurang-Parry
Shippensburg University, Pennsylvania

INTRODUCTION

Higher education in Ghana has come under popular scrutiny and the consensus is that it is tilting toward a steep decline. The precipitous decline began in the mid-1980s when the dictatorial military regime of the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) began to implement the World Bank's Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPS), consequently minimizing state fiscal support for education. Overall, problems that imperil higher education in postcolonial Ghana are traceable to the very foundations of higher education in the distant past, indeed, during the high noon of colonial rule. Although the focal point of this chapter is an examination of the dilemmas facing higher education in postcolonial Ghana, the chapter also draws on historical antecedents to explain the watersheds of concatenated dilemmas of postcolonial higher education. The chapter is divided into three main sections. The first part plumbs the foundations of education in the precolonial period; the second part examines problems inherent in education during the colonial period and which were transposed onto the postcolonial scene; and the final section discusses the dilemmas of higher education in postcolonial Ghana. The chapter is predicated on a theoretical perspective, positing that postcolonial dilemmas of higher education are vestiges of education in the colonial period.

A NOTE ON THE SEEDING OF EDUCATION IN GHANA

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Gold Coast or colonial Ghana had been blessed with high standards of educational attainments. Contrary to the staple of the literature, the Gold Coasters' educational achievements did not only pertain to the littoral region, the hub of the Afro-European contact that had begun in the late fifteenth century, but had also occurred in the interior states of Akuapem, Krobo, Akyem, and Anum, areas operated by the Basel Mission before the imposition of colonial rule in 1873-74 (Kimble, 1963; Simpson, 1969; Gocking, 2000). The extant literature overemphasizes the contributions of the so-called Afro-Europeans, Euro-Africans, diasporic Africans, and Anglo-Fantis to the development of education and social change in the Gold Coast, hence marginalizes the role of the interior African intelligentsia. Indeed, the

Universities in Historical Perspectives

establishment of the Presbyterian Training College (PTC) by the Basel Mission in 1848 at Akropong-Akuapem, an interior region, laid the foundations of higher education in the eastern part of the Gold Coast. The PTC trained a large number of teachers and pastors who served in the Eastern Province, Asante, and the Voltaic districts in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The seeding of education in Ghana can be traced to the establishment of the so-called castle schools from the sixteenth century by the Portuguese (Graham, 1971). The name "Castle Schools" comes from the castles along the coast put up by the Europeans for trading purposes. Apart from trade, the forts and castles provided the venue for the conversion of Africans to Christianity and also served as classrooms that catered to the educational needs of European and Afro-European children. The curricula of the castle schools included Bible studies, reading, writing, and arithmetic. The castle schools were not widespread; they existed in the major coastal towns of Elmina, Cape Coast, and Accra. Although, the castle-schools formed the watershed of education in the Gold Coast. They were ephemeral because from about the mid-seventeenth century until about the early nineteenth century, they were overshadowed by the economic dictates of the trans-Atlantic slave trade (Boahen, 1975; Okunor, 1991).

If the seeding of education was the result of the castle schools, the flowering of education in the Gold Coast should be credited to the work of the nineteenth-century Christian missions and, in particular, the African agents of the church. From the late 1820s, European Christian missions arrived in the Gold Coast. The first to arrive was the Basel Evangelical Missionary Society in 1828; it operated in the southeastern Gold Coast. They were followed by the Wesleyan Missionary Society in 1835 that went on to carve out a proselytizing enclave in the southwestern littoral of Gold Coast (Boahen, 1975). By the 1850s, the Christian missions had overcome the initial setbacks of high mortality rate, language barriers, and overt hostilities from the indigenous rulers. Thereafter, the Christian missions provided the fertile grounds for the seeds of fruitful education. Several calls by the African intelligentsia in the late nineteenth century to the British colonial government to expand education had gone unheeded due to the latter's preoccupation with the colonial conquest. Therefore, it was not until the aftermath of the First World War, the period of the consolidation of colonial rule, that the colonial government earnestly promoted education. It should be stressed that throughout the colonial period, the colonial state nursed and promoted an educational system that favored males and geared toward the acquisition of basic literacy to sustain the colonial administrative system.

Contrary to the Eurocentric view that promotes the work of the European missionaries, but consigns the role of the African agents of the Christian missions to the backyard of mission history, much of the success in the establishment of education, from primary to tertiary institutions, should be credited to African agency. Apart from the African agents of the missions, African communities were instrumental in the establishment of a number of institutions of higher education. For instance, Okunor (1991) writes,

Problems of Seeding and Harvesting Higher Education in Postcolonial Ghana

The Fante Confederation made a tremendous effort [although it failed] to increase the number of secondary schools in the Gold Coast by floating bonds for the Fanti Public Schools Company and the National Educational Fund. (39).

In most cases, it was the African communities that put pressure on the Christian Missions and colonial governments to establish various educational institutions. For example, the Presbyterian Boys' Secondary School at Krobo Odumase, established by the Presbyterian Church in 1938, was partly due to the instrumentality of the Krobo community. Additionally, it was the African intelligentsia that put pressure on the colonial state to lay the foundations of higher education, including Achimota College and the University College of the Gold Coast, now the University of Ghana, in 1927 and 1948 respectively.

Overall, Ghana's system of higher education took shape in the early postcolonial period, when the government established a number of institutions in the area of the humanities, social science, and technology and mining. Supporting the institutions of higher education were a large number of primary and secondary schools. Indeed, the architect of these stellar educational endeavors was Ghana's first head of state, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, whose Accelerated Development Plans for Education in 1951-1957 and the Second Seven Year Plan for Education, 1960-1966 served as a watershed of modern, universal education in the Ghana (George, 1976). George notes, in summary, that "the central government expenditures on education had spiraled upward because the system had grown so fast- By 1965, government recurrent (operating) expenditures on education totaled 67 million cedis - 14 times the total in 1951. These expenditures accounted for more than a quarter of the total operating budget, and had become the largest single item. Of these recurrent expenditures on education, more than 26 percent went to the country's higher educational institutions and to scholarships for students in higher educational institutions both at home and abroad." (52). Thus, there can be no doubt that much of the turning point in higher education occurred during the formative stages of the postcolonial period.

SOME HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS OF POSTCOLONIAL DILEMMAS OF EDUCATION

Among the coastal societies, a large number of Gold Coasters educated their children overseas, including Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone, England, and the United States (McCarthy, 1983; Jenkins, 1985). By the mid-nineteenth century, elitist culture derived from higher education had flowered in the Gold Coast. But this did not occur without some additional problems, including regionalization of education, costly overseas studies, and copious assimilation of Eurocentric curricula that celebrated Europe and denigrated Africa. These and other precolonial problems continued throughout the colonial period. However, two major turning points injected meliorative seeds into the precolonial problems. For one thing, the burgeoning colonial economy based on cash crop created wealth that enabled a large number of rural Africans to send their

Universities in Historical Perspectives

children to school. Thus, by the early twentieth century, higher education was no longer the exclusive preserve of the littoral societies, the major beneficiaries of colonial and missionary education in the nineteenth century. For another, the imposition of colonial rule expanded the work of the Christian missions, including educational endeavors. Indeed, by the fourth decade of the twentieth century, a large number of capable Gold Coasters had received formal education in the Gold Coast and overseas as well.

During the nineteenth century, overseas studies tended to entail the humanities. This trend changed in the early twentieth century when a number of Gold Coasters obtained professional degrees in law and medicine. Others obtained terminal degrees in the physical sciences. Although, the coastal elites dominated the emerging trends in overseas higher education, increasingly, children from interior aristocratic families, enriched by the wealth derived from cash crop agriculture, notably the cocoa industry, also obtained higher degrees from overseas institutions. One notable example is the Akyem AbuAkurang royal family, one of whom was Dr. J. B. Danquah, a doyen of the nationalist politics that liberated the Gold Coast from the claws of British imperialism. The problems posed by overseas education then, and to some extent today, are several. First, degrees obtained from overseas institutions were considered superior to local ones, hence, over-reliance on overseas education inferiorized local educational achievements. Second, access to overseas education undermined local calls for the establishment of higher institutions in the Gold Coast, perhaps one reason why the colonial authorities failed to establish institutions of higher education in the early colonial period. Third, visceral attachments to empire and the imperial ethos, demonstrated by the educated elites who had been trained overseas, undermined indigenous institutions and worldviews.

Overall educational institutions in the precolonial and colonial periods were much regionalized, that is, schools were located in the littoral enclave where the Afro-European contact had occurred. The Christian missionary enterprise and colonial rule were more effective in the coastal areas than in the interior states because by the second half of the nineteenth century, when expansion occurred in the missionary enterprise and effective colonial rule manifested, the littoral regions had already had long contacts with Europe. The consequence of diffusion of innovations and acculturation made the coastal states more receptive to the institutionalization of Western education than their interior counterparts. Thus most of the beneficiaries of education and its consequent social change and economic transformation were the coastal communities. As a result, from the mid-nineteenth century to much of the postcolonial period, majority of the educated elites came from the coastal communities. Although, today schools are evenly spread, the best schools and institutions of higher learning are located in the littoral region. Indeed, until the early postcolonial era of the 1970s, the coastal elites had dominated the major professions, notably medicine, dentistry, law, accounting, academia, journalism, banking, and the civil service. Inter-marriage within the group further created an insular elite class that safeguarded their

Problems of Seeding and Harvesting Higher Education in Postcolonial Ghana

own interests, consequently buttressing their exclusive preserve in the arena of higher education, the main engine of social change and social mobility. Such dilemmas of education have been transposed onto the postcolonial terrain: certainly, a sacred cow topic, but it is common knowledge that until very recently admission into either the Ghana Law School or the Ghana Medical School was influenced by one's familial affiliations and ethnic affinities.

The curricula seeded in the colonial period focused on the studies of European-centered ideas and "civilization" (See, for example, Foster, 1965). Thus Africa-area subjects were relegated to an abysmal background as inconsequential academic entities. Both the Christian missions and the government schools promoted Eurocentric curricula that sought to denigrate African cultures and achievements. If there was anything Africa-area in the curricula, it was always a minor footnote and a negative one too (see, for example, Author, 1995, 1999, 2003a,b). The curricula dealt mainly with reading, writing, arithmetic, Bible studies, histories of European "civilization," and the heroic exploits of European rulers. Overall, there was very minimal technical and industrial education to promote advancements in science and technology, and whose very application could have led to the pathways of modernization and change. The result was that graduates of the schools came to appreciate European culture and history more than African ones (Akurang-Parry, 2002). Above all, the structural entities of the Eurocentric curricula have informed much of the postcolonial curricula, therefore, it is not surprising that today Ghanaians look down upon home-grown ideas and products, but avidly promote neocolonial values, embracing whole-heartedly non-African ideologies and products.

Although local languages were used in the schools, especially by the Basel Mission, by the 1920s, the English language had become the main language of instruction. Therefore, the use of the English language did not only become a means of communication among the elite in official circles, but also defined their class as well as their latitudes of social mobility. Those who influenced public life were those armed with the ability to speak the English language. Thus by the time the independence movement began, only those who could use the English language to articulate ideas and ideologies were catapulted to the forefront of public life. This problem decreased the nationalist political capital in the pre-independence period, mirroring some of the political pitfalls during the postcolonial period, a problem that has now led to the call within some quarters to de-emphasize the use of the English language as the means of instruction in schools.

In spite of the educational attainments of Gold Coasters, unemployment dogged them, especially, during the dawn of colonial rule from about the mid-1870s to about the end of the First World War. The reason for this was two-fold. First, as a result of the rising tide of social Darwinism in Europe that advanced theories and ideologies of African inferiority, educated, qualified Africans were not given the jobs they deserved. Second, once the African educated elites realized the circumscribing depths of colonial rule, they abandoned their initial

Universities in Historical Perspectives

covert support for colonial ideologies of progress and instead adopted reformist and revolutionary attitudes with the objective of developing independent political, social, and economic spaces within the framework of colonial rule. The colonial authorities responded by ostracizing the African intelligentsia from public life, designating them as political parvenus and half-baked scholars.

CONTEMPORARY DILEMMAS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Overpopulation of students and the corresponding paucity of teachers are daunting problems which institutions of higher education have to address. Recent population increases, especially the school-going age groups, have forced institutions of higher education to increase the number of students they admit each year. This has put additional strains on an already stretched facilities and resources. In fact, available figures suggest that less than half of those who qualify are admitted. This has also intensified nepotism and corrupted admission policies. It is common knowledge that the rich and powerful are able to influence admission policies due to the limited vacancies, resurrecting the elitism that had informed colonial education. Information on the course of action taken by those who qualify and yet do not gain admission is scanty. But an extrapolation of the evidence suggests that some of them eventually find themselves in professions that are not their calling, and since the unemployment rate is high and ever spiraling, it is also likely that such candidates are t candidatig556c -0.335 Tw (th)Tj0 Tc (eTj0.226 Tc 0.60gprof

Problems of Seeding and Harvesting Higher Education in Postcolonial Ghana

the university authorities have placed considerable limits on admission. For example, in 1999, more than 8,500 applicants satisfied the minimum requirement for admission into the University of Ghana, but were rejected due to the lack of facilities. Out of the 14,319 applications received, only 5,697 persons representing 38.9% of qualified applicants were offered admission. Also of the 2,060 senior secondary students (SSS), who qualified for admission, only 369, constituting 17 percent, were admitted.

Additionally, classroom space is not enough to cater to the growing student population. Congestion is the norm: lecture rooms that were built for about thirty students now cater to astonishingly large classes. It is therefore not uncommon to see students huddled outside lecture halls, listening to inaudible lectures. Similar problems have beset libraries that were built to hold a few hundred books and to sit a few hundred students. During periods of examination, students fill libraries to the brim, creating a din instead of an otherwise needed solemn atmosphere for learning. Student dining halls and cafeterias have experienced similar structural and spacial problems. Apart from the problem of space, chairs and tables are in short supply. Government funding aside, philanthropy as it exists in Western institutions of higher education, should be summoned to benefit the development of infrastructure and the provision of facilities.

As noted, one vestige of education in the colonial period has been the regionalization of higher education. The uneven balance in the geographical spread of education has continued to impact national development. Spatial location of institutions of higher education certainly impacts the very societies which they serve, because the schools are magnetic attractions that lure local communities to make use of the resources and facilities of such schools. Conversely, rural backwater communities that are far removed from institutions of higher education have very little to gain from the impact of such institutions. Apart from this, parents and their wards in regions far removed from institutions of higher education worry about distance, transportation, and familial support. These concerns certainly affect the educational attainments of those in backwater areas. Efforts have been made since independence in 1957 to correct the regionalization of higher education, the most recent one being the establishment of the University of Development Studies at Tamale in the Northern Region, but additional efforts should be made to make education spatially accessible to all.

A major dilemma facing institutions of higher education in Ghana is the lack of professors. The problem has worsened in recent years due to several factors. First, qualified personnel prefer to work in sectors of the economy where salaries and other remuneration are more attractive. Second, the exodus of Ghanaian professionals since the early 1980s has dried up the pool of qualified Ghanaians. The prospect of training teaching assistants to assume the position of lectureship is also very slim because they, like those who have received their terminal degrees, are eventually lured by better paying jobs. In fact, the

Universities in Historical Perspectives

title professor still carries social weight among academics, but among non-academics, it is seen as a job that does not pay. For these reasons, most institutions lack adequate, qualified personnel to meet the academic needs of students. It is likely that the paucity of qualified personnel will continue to worsen due to the failure of the government to satisfy the financial needs of teachers.

The above problem has been compounded by the lack of resources for research. In fact, a visit to the Balme Library of the University of Ghana shows that most of the books and what they have to offer in terms of ideas and epistemologies belong to moribund, neocolonial scholarship of the 1950s and 1960s. Worse still, journals with cutting-edge research foci are not available. This means that both professors and students are engaged in antiquated studies. In terms of pedagogy, it is not uncommon to find professors using the same notes for several years with minimal revisions that mirror emerging trends in their fields of study. With regard to professional growth, this may be a harsh judgment, but it is true that antiquated books and journals do not facilitate publications in seasoned, refereed international journals because both references and ideas that inform the research are long obsoleted before the article is submitted to be considered for publication. Local journals can fill the void, but they too come with problems. In the 1950s and 1960s, journals published by some African universities, including the University of Ghana, were well-respected internationally. For some time, indeed, from the late 1970s to the early 1980s, local journals became extinct because of several factors, including poor funding, political persecution of intellectuals, and instabilities that beset institutions of higher education due to the chronic shut down of the universities. Today, some of the journals, for example, *The Journal of the Historical Society of Ghana*, have been revived, but they do not command as much international prestige and patronage as they once did in the 1960s and 1970s.

Another dilemma is in the area of funding for travel, research, conference, and the development of curricula and pedagogies. Very recently, the Ministry of Education has introduced Faculty Development Research Grants as a part of the Ghana Education Trust Fund (GETFund) package that seeks to accumulate and disburse funds to schools. But given the galloping inflation at the forefront of the Ghanaian economy, the disbursement of such funds may only whet the research appetite of the professorate, but cannot quench their thirst for wholeness in research. All these factors help explain the massive exodus of Ghanaian professors in search of better opportunities elsewhere.

No studies have adequately measured the motivation of the Ghanaian professorate. But popular accounts and the endemic annual rituals of strike actions are indicators of the low morale and motivation of teachers of higher education. They often go on strike, partly because of some of the problems highlighted above, but more importantly because of inadequate pay and remunerations (Akurang-Parry, 2002). Indeed, since the early 1980s, university teachers' strike actions in the quest for better remuneration have clouded the annual academic climates of the university. The timing of such strikes significantly impact the ebb

Problems of Seeding and Harvesting Higher Education in Postcolonial Ghana

and flow of the academic calendar. The strikes normally occur at the beginning of the school year or just before examinations; hence such strikes affect not only the academic calendar but also the morale and motivation of teachers and students alike. In September 2003, for example, the university teachers' strike at the University of Ghana at the beginning of the academic year, is said to have caused the students to be confused as to whether to go home or remain on campus. Consequently, most students just roamed around, chatting and doing nothing.

It is not only teachers' strikes that derail the wheels of higher education, but also the perennial protests by students. Since the mid-1970s, when the economy began to nosedive, student protests, usually against university policies, especially those that deal with fees, grades, and accommodation, have become an inevitable part of the rites of passage on campuses of higher education. Student protests directed at university personnel or administration have, tended to end peacefully, but they have also occasionally left major violent social and political bruises on the university community. Students' strongest protests have been unleashed against the national government and its agents, especially the police and the army, that are sent to put down student demonstrations. Violent encounters between the armed forces and students were common during the PNDC military regime. In the early 1980s, for example, the PNDG sponsored armed thugs to invade the University of Ghana campus at Legon. The thugs, recruited from among the unemployed youth, attacked students, engaged in massive thievery, and destroyed facilities and properties. After chasing students out of the campus, the thugs occupied the halls of residence for several months. Thereafter and throughout the 1980s, the PNDC used armed thugs and other intimidatory tactics as instruments of policy to bulldoze student resistance. Today, because of the increasing appreciation for the new wave of democratic ideals, the use of state sponsored violence against students is becoming a thing of the past. Nevertheless, student protests often force University authorities to close down the universities in order to avert violence against students who, for example, choose not to participate in boycotting classes (Yusif, 2003).

Another perennial dilemma of higher education has been inadequate funding, scholarships, and grants for students. During the 1999-2000 academic year, 200 students that were admitted into the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi (KNUST), failed to report to school because they could not afford to pay fees (Author, 1999). Government funding, even if it exists, is woefully inadequate and does not meet the financial needs of students. Unlike Western countries, there are no jobs that students can do while in school to supplement government funding and familial support, and in fact, the problem is the same during school holidays. The trend these days is that students who can afford to travel overseas do so, work, and accumulate money for their education. But not everyone gets to experience this: most students cannot afford to buy air tickets and even those who have the means are constrained by their failure to obtain visas to travel overseas. The lack of funding has contributed to the endemic, sometimes violent protests by students, especially

Universities in Historical Perspectives

during the military dictatorship of the PNDC in the 1980s. Another unpalatable result has been the closing down of institutions, consequently, several terms or semesters and academic years have gone wasted. Overall, the high cost of living and unaffordable fees have prevented students from poor families from pursuing higher education.

There can be no doubt that the institutions of higher education have become breeding grounds for Westernism, corroding the very fabric of the indigenous way of life. Certainly, the university has always been the citadel of social change and radicalism. But the type of values that are pursued by students has very little to do with meaningful social change, but has much to do with neocolonial thinking, indeed, a throwback to the heyday of colonial rule, when the African intelligentsia swam in the cesspool of colonial values. While no study has been done to document this, there are popular anecdotes and stories about students who, for example, pretend that they dislike Ghanaian staple foods, cannot speak their own local languages, and whose everyday social theatrics and appearance connotes Westernism at its most banal and ludicrous state.

Apart from the problems of creeping Westernism, some halls of residence have become a law unto themselves. They have developed some populist sub-cultures that allow them to take matters into their own hands, in fact, at will, including university policies and established procedures. Although, the populist culture of such halls of residence serves as social control mechanisms among its members and the university community at large, to a large extent, it also demonstrates deviant behaviors that are in contradistinction to the common good of the university community. In September of 2003, for instance, Commonwealth Hall, an all-male residence of the University of Ghana, whose residents pride themselves as the "Vandals," destroyed the vice chancellor's lodge during a protest over water problems facing the Commonwealth Hall (Author, 2003). This is just but one example of the way that the "Vandals" have operated over the years. Whether such sub-cultures should be allowed to thrive in a democratic society remains to be seen. Overall, the university authorities have not been able to uproot the "vandal" culture, and the problem of deviant sub-cultures does not only pertain to the University of Ghana, but other institutions of higher education as well.

The syllabi of the courses in the humanities, arts, social sciences, indeed, disciplines that should serve as engines of conscientization and radicalization, paradoxically overemphasize Western-oriented topics. Additionally, existing pedagogies do very little to deconstruct the Eurocentric views seeded in the heyday of colonial rule. Before the fall of Communism, some professors paraded the ideological precincts of institutions of higher education. Masquerading as socialist and Marxist, they confronted capitalist ideologies that bordered on creeping neocolonial thinking and practice. Today, however, such ideological posturing is no longer fashionable; it died with the demise of Soviet communism. Besides, many of the professors, who strutted the stage as socialist and Marxist colossus, joyfully enjoyed the nepotistic brokerage of capitalist cakes

Problems of Seeding and Harvesting Higher Education in Postcolonial Ghana

thrusted into their willing hands by the PNDC government. Consequently, the new generation of students, steeped in Westernism due to what may be the influence of America's global century, and who were also witnesses to the overnight chameleon-like transformation of the socialists to capitalists, are not about to tolerate any cabal of professors that would try to disengage them from the voguish capitalist, Western epicurean lifestyle. The blame should not be laid at the doors of teachers alone; there is also the need to consider the lack of new books and journals that embody critiques of anachronistic schools of thought that can pave the way for conscientization and empowerment.

The curricula also stress what is normally referred to as "grammar type of education" instead of technical and vocational training. The popular perception in most African countries is that technical and vocational education are for those who do not do well in the nation-wide entrance examinations to institutions of higher education, especially the universities. The overemphasis and popular choice for the grammar-oriented education can be traced to the colonial period when the acquisition of "grammar" education served as a prerequisite for colonial government jobs, for example, as a stenographer or a clerk. Although, efforts have been made since the attainment of independence to promote vocational and technical education, exemplified by eight regional polytechnics and numerous secondary technical schools, with the KNUST as the flagship, negative perceptions of vocational and technical education have endured. Infrastructural problems have also derailed technical and vocational education. Built mostly in the 1960s, technical and vocational schools have, for the most part, not been

Universities in Historical Perspectives

this view was still prevalent and hence impacted the education of females. Even when women were educated, they were consigned to subjects that stereotyped women's nurturing capabilities as mothers: nursing, teaching, catering, home-making, and sewing. On the other hand, males were encouraged to pursue courses that led to medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, law and accounting. Today, gains are being made, but in the fields of science-based disciplines, much work remains to be done. The fruition of gender parity in education should not only be the work of the schools and educators, but also parents and whole communities: socialization of children should include an enduring message that women are as capable as men in any field of intellectual endeavor and challenge.

One dilemma of higher education in contemporary Ghana, which had its seeds in the colonial period, fraught with patriarchy and gender inequality, is the sexual exploitation of female students by male instructors (Oku-Egbas, 2004). Indeed, this sexual predatory cuts across various layers of the educational system, from primary school to the university. It involves male instructors who exploit female students sexually. This dastard acts are conditioned by the power exercised by male instructors both in the classroom and outside. In the colonial period, teachers were seen as authority figures, and in some cases, parents called on instructors to discipline their wards. The fact that the teaching profession was seen as an agency of social change and social mobility projected the teacher as a powerful symbol of authority, in essence, an infallible male figure in a patriarchal society. Economic dictates may have corroded some of the powerful forces of mythical social standing that the instructor has in the postcolonial period. Nevertheless, the instructor is still considered important in matters of passing examinations, an agency of social mobility. As a result, instructors exude power, an attractive coercive magnetism, that help them to exploit students sexually. Although, there are regulations that seek to provide social boundaries between students and instructors, they have not been vigorously enforced. Perhaps it is an on-going struggle between the values of antiquated patriarchy and modernity of gender equality.

Like the problem of gender, that of pedagogy was seeded in the colonial period and has percolated into the present times. Pedagogies were wedded to authoritarian approaches that led to the abuse of pupils and students. Much of the truancy and high drop-out rates in the colonial period, which indeed, have also characterized postcolonial education, especially at the primary/secondary level, can be attributed to the ever-present Spartan-like tradition that armed teachers to use excessive discipline in the classrooms and even outside. In the classroom setting, the instructor's views are absolutes, therefore, come across as authoritarian viewpoints. The instructor's viewpoints in the form of lecture notes and ideas and positions expressed in books and journals are seen as a fait accompli. Other forms of pedagogies, for example, group work, student presentation, and debates, are not a composite part of the learning process. Students are not encouraged to develop their own critical perspectives. The use of audio visuals, notably videos/films to enhance studies is virtually non-existent because

problems of Seeding and Harvesting Higher Education in Postcolonial Ghana

of the lack of equipments and facilities. There can be no doubt that students of African history, for example, can benefit from watching video clips on the reasons for colonial rule and its legacies. This approach enables students to hear firsthand the motives of the imperialists. It can also bring to life the silent African voices regarding the way they responded to colonial rule. Undoubtedly, such

Universities in Historical Perspectives

one was a law student. Eighty-nine of the 147 were second-year students, while the remaining 58 were in their third year. The students had failed to obtain the cumulative grade point average of 1.5 in the 2002/2003 examinations, written in June 2003 (Yusif, 2003). In fact, the government had

Problems of Seeding and Harvesting Higher Education in Postcolonial Ghana

The mushrooming of institutions of higher education, indeed, encapsulates all the problems outlined above, and more so mirrors the worst. First, academic standards and supervision of curricula geared to national development are problems that have to be vigorously dealt with. This is because the emerging universities are privately owned, founded by churches and individuals with their own agenda of what they consider to be the right academic structures of learning. For example, some of the schools are trumpeting theological and biblical studies, and whether this is right for a developing country in the context of the global economy is polemical. But there can be no doubt that the overemphasis on theological and biblical education is not what Ghana needs at the moment. Critics may scoff at this proposition, but what Ghana needs is the ability to apply science and technology in pursuit of development. New educational establishments and institutions face problems of infrastructure, and more importantly, facilities, personnel, and even cultural poverty. It is doubtful if these mushrooming institutions have well-stocked libraries and experienced faculties to meet the needs of their students. For now the answer is overwhelmingly no. The practical thing to do is to vigorously align with some of the old, established institutions of higher education in order to develop cultures of stellar academic standings before becoming independent, degree awarding institutions.

CONCLUSION

Numerous dilemmas confront higher education in postcolonial Ghana. Most of the dilemmas are traceable to the foundations of education in the colonial period. Major institutional and structural transformations have occurred in the postcolonial period, when most of the existing institutions of higher education were established. But in terms of curricula, pedagogies, and cultural orientations, postcolonial institutions of higher education have continued to mirror, even if tangentially, the cultural norms that prevailed in the period of colonial rule, shaped by the virus of the Mid/Late Victorian civilizing mission. Certainly, major gains, including the refurbishment of the University of Ghana; the establishment of two universities, namely the University of Cape Coast, and the KNUST; dozens of teacher-training colleges; several regional polytechnics, and other institutions were made in the early postcolonial period during the First Republic under able leadership of President Kwame Nkrumah. These institutions have benefited Ghana, and indeed, only Nkrumah's detractors would not credit him for his stellar achievements in the provision of education. The problems of education in the post-Nkrumah era may be traced to the lack of maintenance of the established institutions of higher education, the inability to develop new ones to meet the growing school-age population, the failure to gear education to Ghana's present needs. It should be stressed that the problems of higher education facing postcolonial Ghana are by no means unique by global standards. What has compounded Ghana's case is the economic downturn that has derailed the government's ability to support education.

Universities in Historical Perspectives

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Problems of Seeding and Harvesting Higher Education in Postcolonial Ghana

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