PROPHE THE PROGRAM FOR RESEARCH ON PRIVATE HIGHER EDUCATION
Dedicated to Building Knowledge about Private Higher Education around the World

LINDA TSEVI
ltsevi@gmail.com

QUALITY ASSURANCE IN PRIVATE HIGHER EDUCATION: THE CASE OF GHANA

ABSTRACT

This paper explores the implementation of quality assurance procedures for private higher education (PHE) in the West African country of Ghana. Focusing on the three main isomorphic classifications (coercive, mimetic and normative) of DiMaggio and Powell's (1983) institutional theory, the paper examines how regulatory measures are not only designed to enhance the quality of private higher education institutions (PHEIs), but also how they impact the efforts employed by private providers to meet quality assurance standards. Participants from five private university colleges and two private chartered institutions constitute the sample. In addition, documents from the websites of the sampled PHEIs are coded using NVivo 10 to determine the kind of efforts institutions make to convey the message of legitimacy across to students and other clientele. Additional participants are officials from the National Accreditation Board, higher education specialists and retired faculty of Ghana's public higher education institutions.

In general, open-ended interviews with selected participants and analysis of documents show evidence of private institutions' efforts to meet their quality assurance requirements through mimetic, coercive and normative isomorphism. These efforts appear respectively in institutional affiliations, conformity to mentoring (supervising) institutions' programs, and efforts to meet quality assurance requirements and measures established by the National Accreditation Board.

Introduction

Official quality assurance in higher education institutions in Ghana began in the early 1990s mostly in response to an increase in the numbers of private institutions providing post-secondary education. This paper explores private higher education (PHE) and implementation of quality assurance procedures in Ghana in West Africa. With a focus on the three main categories (coercive, mimetic and normative) of DiMaggio and Powell's (1983) institutional theory, this paper examines how regulatory measures are not only designed to enhance the quality of private higher education institutions (PHEIs), but also how they impact the efforts employed by private providers towards meeting quality assurance standards in order to be successful in their environment.

Context

Ghana established quality assurance guidelines about two decades ago. The National Accreditation Board (NAB) of Ghana was established in 1993 under policy guidelines advanced by the country to address quality issues in higher education institutions. This was as a result of growth in varied private providers of higher education (Effah and Senadza 2008). The NAB regulates both public and PHEIs and their programs.

Public higher education institutions in post-independence Anglophone Africa have been regarded as elite institutions following the British model with internal quality assurance measures and an external examiner system. During the pre-independence era, these institutions were controlled by universities in Britain and were thus tasked to similar standards. Sawyerr (2004) indicates that initially,

> ".... the universities were modeled after metropolitan examples and typically started off as colleges or affiliates of metropolitan institutions. For the former British colonies, the first postwar universities were set up as colleges "in special relationship" with the University of London. Staff appointments, syllabi, and examinations were controlled from London … and teaching and examination procedures were subjected to oversight by faculty from metropolitan institutions." 27.

The above pattern generally continued even after independence was granted to Anglophone countries in SSA. As self-regulatory entities public higher education institutions had, by definition, no need for regulation from an external body (Adjayi, Lameck, Goma and Ampah 1996). Levy (forthcoming) argues that regulation was not an intended theory of the Continental model, but rather instituted as a result of governmental tolerance for PHEIs.

SSA governments' motivation to establish quality assurance agencies were several. First, the economic downturn in most SSA countries impacted governments' ability to provide public access and choice to post-secondary education during the 1980s. As a result, Anglophone Sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries did not have the capacity to support public higher education. According to Assie-Lumumba (2006) higher education is so much more capital intensive than primary education that it demands ten times more what will be spent on secondary education. Public expenses on education in forty-nine Sub-Saharan African countries decreased from $10 billion in 1980 to $8.9 billion in 1983, even though school enrollments had increased by more than 50 percent due to population growth (Atteh 1996). Subsequently, access to higher education became a growing concern as enough public educational structures have not been established to accommodate the growing population. Sawyerr (2004) notes that enrollment at universities in SSA quadrupled from 1975 to 1985 and tripled from 1985 to 1995. These enrollment increases placed pressure on the resources at the public higher education institutions in their ability to provide quality environments for learning, and at the same time enabled government tolerance of private providers of higher education.

Reforms were instituted in the higher education sector by Sub-Saharan African countries, including Ghana to permit government broaden the scope of providers of higher education. Access and choice was provided to the increasing numbers of qualified secondary school graduates who were handicapped in their opportunities for pursuing higher education. Educational access could also be regarded as a mechanism for the attainment of social justice by equalizing opportunity for the disadvantaged (Karabel and Halsey 1977). Generally, in the Ghanaian setting, access to education is impacted by a number of issues such as socio-economic level, ethnicity and gender. Equal opportunity impacted educational choices based on elements that include school quality, cost to family, and rate of return. As indicated in Ballantine and Hammack (2009) regional variations affected educational opportunities for children from both the elite family and the working class family. The southern part of Ghana had more education accessibility than the northern part of the country as a result of colonial education institutions' dominance in the south during the pre-independence period. Moreover the south was more promising and open to development than the north.

However, various SSA governments could not shoulder the financial burden of providing higher education to all qualified applicants as a result of population growth (Atteh 1996). Sub-Saharan Africa is the only region that has had a continuous decrease of about 30 percent in public funding per tertiary student for over two decades (World Bank 2009). To address the shortfall of decreasing number of students gaining access to higher education institutions, reforms in the education sector were undertaken by Sub-Saharan African countries. And PHE grew substantially usually quite apart from government plan. Some of the reforms that SSA countries

had to undergo were engineered by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The Structural Adjustment Program (SAP), for example, emphasized the privatization of public services (higher education included). It was a prescription given most developing countries that had multiple issues precipitated by the economic downturn of the 1980s (Mabizela 2007; Sawyerr 2004; Konadu-Agyemang 2000). This prescription had its disadvantages as well since the implementing country's context had not been taken into consideration. According to Assie-Lumumba (2004) the SAP was regarded as the only path to SSA's development. In addition, Konadu-Agyemang (2000) is of the view that the benefits of SAP were outweighed by its disadvantages especially in relation to its impact on the provision of social services that were originally free to the Ghanaian public.

Though PHEIs had been springing up prior to their authorization (Levy 2006), there was an increase in the diversity of private providers of higher education afterwards. The increase in providers alleviated the burden on nation states as sole providers of higher education (Mkude 2011). Included among these providers were religious PHEIs, demand-absorbing institutions, commercial and elite institutions (Levy 2007; Materu 2007). It is important to note that some of these PHEIs are categorized as non-university level.

The Association of African Universities affirmed that private providers of higher education became involved in many Sub-Saharan African countries when national governments were not able to absorb the increasing "demands in each nation for higher education placements" in addition to the requirements for further educational resources (AAU 2007). Quality assurance became necessary for PHE based on the assumption that, unlike the public higher education institutions, the private sector did not already have the internal quality assurance mechanisms in place. This was in addition to financial constraints and a weak human and physical resource base that places these PHEIs in a precarious situation and does not provide the necessary foundation for the establishment of internal quality assurance committees. Thus quality assurance bodies were established to evaluate providers of higher education in the African sub-region and to determine whether institutions have the requisite resources and were following the required rules and norms.

Another salient factor that influenced the establishment of quality assurance agencies in SSA is the recognition that higher education has a significant role to play in the development of a nation's human capital thus fostering economic development (Materu 2007). Sub-Saharan Africa has the objective of indicating that its higher education system has quality, and capacity to compete favorably on the global scene. According to Levy (2002), PHEIs play varied roles. The roles include providing access, choice, and making profit. Private providers of higher education also complement a nation's efforts through human capital development, providing status to

individuals and emulating other PHEIs in their bid to gain legitimacy. Importantly, Mabizela (2007) notes that "regulation of private institutions has largely been a reaction to the surge of private institutions due to the increasing demand for access to higher education", 5.[1]

Ghana as a Case Study[2]

Background to Private Higher Education in Ghana

Before attainment of independence from colonial authorities, Western education was made available to natives in Africa to equip them to become mediators and interpreters. It later became a significant source of social change in the colonized African territories. The colonial British government granted authority to the missionaries in the Gold Coast (now Ghana) to establish educational institutions. And by the 1920s, the Princess of Wales School and College in Achimota was established. It was primarily set up as a vocational/technical educational institution, but soon became the basis of higher education in the then Gold Coast which was renamed Ghana after the attainment of independence (Atteh 1996).

Colonial Ghana was granted independence by the British in 1957. After becoming independent, public higher education provision was solely financed by the Ghana government. The funding package included full scholarship, boarding, lodging, and monthly stipends to students. Initially, a group of Ghanaians were trained to take over leadership in the public service from the colonial masters. Eventually, higher education was seen as a significant aspect of the ruling government's social policies. Between 1960s and 1970s Ghana spent as much as about 30 percent of her Gross National Product (GNP) on higher education (Assie-Lumumba 2006; Atteh 1996). However, with rapid population growth, coupled with the implementation of the Structural Adjustment Program policies, the government could not sustain its full sponsorship (Adjayi et al 1996; Assie-Lumumba 2006).

Conditions in Ghana's higher education sector in the 1980s deteriorated as a result of factors including continuous military interventions in the governance of the country, economic downturn of the 1980s resulting in the privatization of public services (including higher education), and population growth.   To address the demands of population growth and the

---

[1] Higher education has been variously defined. According to UNESCO's (1998) definition, higher education "consists of all types of studies, at the post-secondary level, provided by universities or other educational establishments that are approved as institutions of higher education by the relevant state authorities." It is also defined by Materu (2007) as institutions that have the legal authority to award degrees.

[2] This working paper draws freely from the author's dissertation (Tsevi 2015).

increasing numbers of secondary school graduates, the Ghana government, in the 1980s, expanded its scope of higher education by increasing student intake, without a corresponding increase in the number of teaching and instructional facilities (Thaver 2003). The resultant effect of this was a tremendous strain on physical, financial and human resources of the nation. Teachers and university professors in Ghana left in their numbers to other Sub-Saharan African countries like Botswana, Lesotho and South Africa that had higher salary levels and better instructional facilities. This affected the quality of higher education provision in Ghana (Court 1989), and ultimately propelled the government to take a more serious look at the challenge of providing access.

Funding for higher education in Ghana, however, decreased in absolute terms in the 1980s. It was mainly a consequence of the implementation of the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) that privatized public services under the guidance of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. As part of the SAP conditions, there was currency devaluation and a focus on primary and secondary education, at the expense of higher education (Assie-Lumumba 2004; Teferra and Altbach 2004). It was believed that the rates of return for primary and secondary education were greater than returns to higher education (Psacharopoulos 1985). This impacted the ability of the government to provide infrastructural facilities for its educational institutions even though school enrollments had increased by more than 50 percent (Atteh 1996). There was an excess demand over supply in the provision of postsecondary education, be it at the level of the university, professional or training institutes. The focus on primary and secondary education resulted in Ghana's education system swelling up at those levels without adequate space to absorb the students at the public higher education level. Thus admissions at the public higher education institutions were very limited. This created a perfect chance for private sector involvement.

The implementation of SAP worsened an already bad situation. It led to a major reduction in the public education budget (Saint 1992; UNESCO 1998). Coupled with this was the declining foreign assistance to Sub-Saharan Africa as a result of a change in World Bank policies towards higher education in the 1990s. It was based on the adverse belief that it generates minimal public good. The focus of the World Bank was more on primary and secondary education at this time. This was also emphasized at the Dakar summit on "Education for All" in 2000 (Bloom, Canning and Chan 2005).

Higher education's share of the entire education budget dwindled during the economic crisis (of the 1980s) reducing from 15 percent of the entire education budget to 11 percent. The FTE (Full Time Equivalent) funding of the student population was too low to provide a meaningful tertiary education decreasing from $2,500 a year in 1990 to about $900 in 1997. Meanwhile the growth in student enrollment numbers created additional problems such as the need for expanded library

facilities and academic resources to accommodate the increasing student numbers (Girdwood 1999; Sawyerr 2004). Comparatively, data of 1998 indicates that similar FTE average expenditure on a tertiary student in an OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) country was $9,063 (Cohn and Cooper 2004). This indicates the differential level of higher education investment in a developing country in Sub-Saharan Africa and a developed OECD country. Even accounting for purchasing power parity the difference is large.

Further, some faculty members at higher education institutions in SSA countries like Ghana have had minimal graduate level training. This limited the level of knowledge imparted to students, and at the same time restricted students' ability to access existing knowledge and generate new ideas. Instructional technologies were often lacking and teaching methodologies were obsolete. Textbooks were either not available for purchase or were too expensive for the student's pocket. Students would rather write notes in class and memorize them for examination purposes. These uncreative approaches to teaching and learning had little value in a world where creativity and flexibility were at a premium (Bloom, Canning, and Chan 2005). The World Bank Report (2000) indicated that a more enlightened view of learning was urgently needed in developing countries, which would emphasize active engagement and discovery of information instead of plaint assimilation of facts.

Moreover, as a result of the global crises of the 1980s, Ghana government's funding of tertiary education decreased substantially while the burden was shifted to families and private institutions among others. This shift placed an additional financial pressure especially on families in the low-income bracket. Thus the higher education landscape in Ghana was very gloomy during the 1980s and the early 1990s.

Policy Reformulation in Ghana/Ghana's University Rationalization Committee

Ghana's implementation of the SAP in the 1980s reduced state funding for post-secondary education. Consequently, the expenditure on the student population was too low to provide a meaningful education. Other contributory factors were rapid enrollment growth. Thus, the rapidly deteriorating conditions in Ghana's tertiary sector led to a major policy reformulation from 1986 to 1988 by Ghana's University Rationalization Committee (URC) (a body established by the Ghana government for higher education policy purposes). The URC proposed policies aimed at cost-sharing strategies, income-generating activities and cost-reduction measures at the post-secondary level of education (Girdwood, 1999).

To provide access to the growing secondary school population, the URC recommended that PHEIs be allowed to operate, regulated. A further recommendation by the URC was the

establishment of the Ghana National Accreditation Board in 1993, to accredit public and private institutions. A major objective of the accreditation board is to ensure quality (Girdwood 1999; Effah 2003; Okebukola 2002; Levy 2006). The opportunity granted private providers of higher education of varied categories aligns with the third wave as depicted by Levy (1986, 2006, 2007), which is, providing access because the demand for post-secondary education "exceeded the supply of public free higher education (2006, 222). Levy (1986) identifies three types of PHEIs namely: elite higher education institutions having high academic standards, higher education institutions that promote cultural differences, and higher education institutions that absorb unmet demand from the public sector. This third category is very prevalent in a Sub-Saharan African country like Ghana as in most developing countries.

Since the 1990s Ghana has had substantial growth in the private providers of higher education. This is in addition to other post-secondary institutions providing technical or professional training. The growth in private providers signals a decrease in the authority of the state (Kinser 2007). With the adoption of measures by the Ghana government to increase access to higher education, Ghana's Gross Enrollment Ratio (GER)[3] in 2005 was 4.0 for females and 7.0 for males (data.un.org), an improvement over the composite figures of 1990 and 2000 figures which were 1.4 and 3.0 respectively (Varghese 2004).

By the mid-1990s another task force established by the World Bank indicated that higher education was very significant to the growth of the economy, cultural and knowledge sectors of developing countries (World Bank 2000).

National Accreditation Board of Ghana

In 1993, the government of Ghana enacted PNDC Law 317 which established the National Accreditation Board (NAB) as the nation's quality assurance body for public and PHEIs. This legislation has been substituted by National Accreditation Board Act of 2007, (Act 744) and the Tertiary Institutions (Establishment and Accreditation) Regulations, 2010 (L.I. 1984). Notably, there were religious PHEIs operating in the Ghanaian economy even before the establishment of the NAB. The enactment of this new regulation constituted part of the delayed regulation since the establishment of PHEI was an element of surprise (Levy 2006; Slancheva and Levy 2007). The major goal of this law was to regulate and ensure quality in program offerings as well as provide

---

[3]The GER is calculated by dividing the number of students enrolled in tertiary institutions by the population (enrolled plus not enrolled).

accountability to stakeholders. Objective criteria for accreditation used by the NAB included academic content, staffing, physical facilities and funding of programs (Effah 2003; Okebukola 2002). The NAB is semi-autonomous and solely funded by the government. Established standards in Ghana require that higher education institutions seeking accreditation have sufficient human, physical and financial resources, minimum admission qualifications for students, and internal quality assurance mechanisms at the institutional level.

Higher education quality assurance in Ghana includes verification of resources, internal assessment measures as well as external peer review, policies guiding student admissions and staff promotions. The NAB accredits all post-secondary education in the country. Thus this paper explores the efforts that PHEIs make to gain and maintain legitimacy through participation in the quality assurance process by applying the three isomorphic classifications of institutional theory. The facilitating role of government is also explored. In addition faculty members/administrators, higher education specialists and NAB officials with expertise on the quality assurance situation in Anglophone SSA especially Ghana, are interviewed as part of the larger data compilation. The following section explains the types of higher education categories found in Ghana.

Ghana's Higher Education Categories

The NAB of Ghana classifies post-secondary education into eight categories (www.nab.gov.gh):

1. University – "an educational institution designed for advanced instruction and research in several branches of learning, conferring degrees in various faculties, and often embodying colleges, schools and similar institutions";

2. University College – "an institution of higher learning that is affiliated to a public university and that offers instruction based on programs approved by the university to which it is affiliated and whose degrees/diplomas/certificate are awarded by the parent university";

3. Polytechnic – "an institution of higher or further education in which courses in a larger range of subjects, especially, of a technical or vocational kind are available;

4. College – "an establishment for further or higher education in the liberal arts (Pure Science/Humanities) or professional studies; sometimes part of a university e.g. Business College, College of Music, Naval College;

5. School – "an educational institution devoted to a special branch of higher education e.g. School of Education, School of Medicine";

6. Institute – "an establishment offering advanced courses in the professions, or in the arts, or science and technology";

7. Academy – "a place of study or training in a special field, e.g. Military Academy, Maritime Academy"; and

8. Tutorial College – "an institution which prepares students to take the examinations of a university or a recognized professional body."

According to the Universities Rules of 1989, the accreditation procedures are the same for the private and public universities. One of the major roles of the establishment of PHEIs is to address an unmet demand. This paper focuses on private university colleges affiliated to mentoring chartered higher education institutions, and private chartered universities.

In Ghana, private universities begin as university colleges affiliated to chartered higher education institutions (universities) that serve as mentors for at least 10 years. These chartered mentoring institutions are not really mentors as the meaning of the word may indicate. They rather act in a supervisory capacity, thus the mentor institutions will be referred to as supervisors. To start a new private university college, an application has to be submitted to the NAB. The application will have the proposed name of the university college, academic resources available, timetable, indicating within the next three years how the objectives of the institution are to be achieved. The premises of the new private university college are inspected and verified and subsequently issued with a letter of interim authority. The NAB of Ghana has institutional standards that indicate minimum admission requirements for certificate, diploma and degree levels; minimum number of students that must be enrolled in a program; and minimum qualifications of faculty among others. One other requirement of higher education institutions is that they are required to prepare annual reports of every year's activities. In addition, there are institutional rights and obligations such as ensuring that course standards are at all times maintained. Educational programs on offer also have to be aligned to national education policies to qualify for accreditation. Institutions must also have adequate and stable financial resources as well as internal quality assurance committees.

Table 1 indicates the breakdown in the number and types of higher education institutions accredited in Ghana. Accredited private institutions are: three chartered universities, 53 university colleges, five distance learning institutions, 12 tutorial colleges, and 11 training colleges. During the 2008/2009 academic year, the private accredited institutions enrolled approximately 25,000 of the system's 177,000 total enrolment, a 14 percent share (National Council for Tertiary Education 2009).

Table 1: Number of Accredited Higher Education Institution in Ghana

Type	Higher Education Institutions	Number	Of Which, Private
University	Public Universities / Chartered Private Higher Education Institutions	12	3
Academy	Regionally-Owned (West Africa) Tertiary Institution	1	0
College	College of Agriculture / Professional Institutions / Private and Public Colleges of Education / Private and Public Nurses' Training Colleges	65	11
Institute	Distance Learning Institutions	5	5
Polytechnics	Polytechnics	10	0
Tutorial Colleges	Tutorial Colleges	12	12
University College	Private Tertiary Institutions Offering Degree Programs/ Registered Foreign Tertiary Institutions	53	53
School	The Schools (for example School of Education) are part of the University system	-	
	Total	**158**	**84**

Source: National Accreditation Board of Ghana Website (February, 2014)

Table 2 portrays the number of university colleges and private chartered universities that are degree granting by region in the country of Ghana. The regional capital Accra, located in the Greater Accra region has almost 70 percent of the established accredited PHEIs, while four regions (Northern, Upper East, Upper West and Western) do not have a single accredited PHEI. The Ashanti region has the highest population in the country (4,780,380), but it has only six accredited PHEIs which constitute 13 percent of the total. The location of the PHEIs also affirms the dominance of education institutions in the Southern part of Ghana during the colonial period (Ballantine and Hammack 2009). As indicated by Mabizela (2007) the location of PHEIs in the urban centers "is motivated by the possibility of large numbers of potential students, which would translate into more revenue", 27. The urban centers also provide graduates with job options.

Table 2: Regional Distribution of Ghana's Private University Colleges and Private Chartered Universities offering Degrees*

Region	Number of Private Universities and Colleges	Private Universities & Colleges Percentage	Regional Population (Based on 2010 population Census)	Regional Population Percentage
Ashanti	6	13.0	4,780,380	19.4
Brong-Ahafo	1	2.2	2,310,983	9.4
Central	2	4.3	2,201,863	8.9
Eastern	4	8.7	2,633,154	10.7
Greater Accra	32	69.6	4,010,054	16.3
Northern	0	0	2,479,461	10.1
Upper East	0	0	1,046,545	4.2
Upper West	0	0	702,110	2.8
Volta	1	2.2	2,118,252	8.6
Western	0	0	2,376,021	9.6
Total	**46**	**100**	**24,658,823**	**100**

*Data compiled from the websites of National Accreditation Board of Ghana and Ghana Statistical Service (June 2014).

In Ghana, PHE has varied ownerships. Some of them are established in partnership with a foreign higher education institution, or by religious organizations. Others are also established by individual Ghanaians (Varghese 2004). Ghana does not have for-profit PHEIs even though they are expected to generate income. However, these institutions are tax exempt. There has been a proposal to withdraw the tax exempt status of PHEIs, and that has generated a lot of ire (Kokutse 2013). Many of these private tertiary institutions offer courses that demand very low infrastructural and equipment investment. And they run specific curriculums that are tailored to the labor market (Levy 2004; Kinser 2007).

Also following a long standing finding about global PHE (Levy 1986) and replicated many times (Praphamontripong 2010; Musial 2012), programs on offer at many of the PHEIs in Ghana do not generally include the liberal arts or humanities. Most of the programs offered either have a commercial or religious focus. This is because many of these institutions are self-financing and thus will offer programs that will attract full fee paying students as well as be beneficial to the labor market. Business studies, information technology, and religious studies are some of the popular courses offered by PHEIs in Ghana. The public higher education institutions are obliged to provide traditional courses such as the humanities and the liberal arts, since they are mainly state-funded. However, they have to generate additional income by admitting full fee paying

students that includes international students from the sub-region and beyond (Varghese 2004; Levy 2006; Fried, Glass, and Baumgart 2007; Effah and Senadza, 2008).

PHE staffing in Ghana presents profiles and challenges also long established in literature (Levy 1986). The majority of faculty members are employed as adjuncts. These adjuncts are mostly full-time faculty at the public higher education institutions (Otieno and Levy 2007). There is very little focus on research. Much emphasis is placed on teaching and service as opposed to research. As a result, academic output from PHEIs in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) is very minimal (Varghese 2004).

The NAB is also presented with the challenge of guaranteeing that the growing numbers of PHEIs are accredited to ensure quality of programs offered.

Quality Assurance in Private Higher Education

Quality assurance (QA) has been defined as;
> "…the policies, attitudes, actions and procedures necessary to ensure that the quality and scholarship (including research) is being maintained and enhanced…. It requires actions internal to the situation, but may also involve actions of an external body or bodies. It includes course design, staff development, and the collection and use of feedback from students and employees" (Gaither 1998, 3).

The above definition indicates that quality assurance is both internal and external. Thus for a PHEI to be evaluated, the following criteria including institutional mission, governance and administrative structure, financial resources, physical facilities, support services for students, learning and teaching resources and accountability processes are employed.

Quality assurance in PHE became popular for several reasons. Lemaitre (2009) indicates that quality assurance
> "…mechanisms were intended to recover the social legitimacy of PHE, threatened because of the perceived low quality of new institutions calling themselves universities but not really responding to the 'traditional' view of institutions dedicated to teaching, research and community service." (92).

Thus appeared the felt need for regulation to provide legitimacy to PHEIs. Fielden and Varghese (2009) advances reasons why there is the need for regulation in PHE. Reasons include protection of the consumer, especially the first generation student, who may not have any social network to draw upon to determine which higher education is legitimate; obtaining correct information about what is going on in PHEIs for decision-making purposes; and also "monitor the financial

results of for-profits, since excessive profits could lead to removal of any incentive or tax exemptions they might have been granted." (72). Quality assurance is also required as a result of accountability to government, students, employers, professions and colleagues.

Quality assurance agencies in higher education have varied designations that include accreditation agency, audit units or validating agencies. Their main goal is to imbue higher education institutions with the ability to self-evaluate. In higher education, quality assurance is noted to be comprehensive and include inputs, processes and outputs. Inputs consist of student qualifications, professional experience of the teaching staff and physical facilities at the institution. Processes include evaluating areas of learning and teaching, 'successes' and 'difficulties' of students, feedback from students about the teaching processes. Outputs include views of alumni of the higher education institution after employment for a while, graduates employed, and applicable external examiner's report (Barnett 1987; Frazer 1992). In Ghana for example, the Ghana National Accreditation Board has on its website a 'Roadmap to Accreditation' which indicates actions that a prospective higher education institution has to take (Fielden and Varghese 2009). It should be noted that though institutional quality assurance has been in existence for a while (in Ghana's case during the colonial period), quality assurance as accomplished through national agencies is a fairly recent phenomenon (Okebukola and Shabani 2007). In Ghana, the National Accreditation Board was established in 1993.

Quality Assurance Mechanisms

Quality assurance is divided into two types, namely internal and external quality assurance. An internal QA makes certain that a program or an institution has policies that guide its standards and objectives. On the other hand an external QA is conducted by an outside organization (Sanyal and Martin 2007). External quality assurance mechanisms include accreditation, quality audit and quality assessment. A quality audit evaluates the procedures in an institution to determine if control measures are working. Quality assessment and reviews measures a PHEI's practices and programs, and grades it using external evaluation procedures (Gaither 1998; Sanyal and Martin 2007). Accreditation, which is the main focus of this paper, is defined as

> "….the outcome of a process by which a governmental, parastatal or private body (accreditation agency) evaluates the quality of a higher education institution as a whole or a specific higher education programme/course, in order to formally recognize it as having met certain predetermined criteria or standards and award a quality label." (Sanyal and Martin 2007, 6).

Accreditation is supposed to validate the quality of a higher education institution's programs based on the goals, mission, quality of learning opportunities, research, community involvement,

administration and stakeholders' expectation. Through the accreditation process, a PHEI is either accorded or denied recognition.

In Ghana, accreditation of PHEIs through the quality assurance process began in 1993 when the NAB was established. According to Okebukola and Shabani (2007), during the colonial period in Ghana, higher education was not the main focus of the colonial authority. Therefore higher education institutions were scarce. The University College in Ghana (established in 1948) was affiliated to the University of London, which awarded its degrees. After Ghana attained independence, it increased the number of public higher education institutions.

Institutional Theory

Institutional theory explains how organizations are able to change their culture and structure, or adapt themselves to socially accepted values and norms. Thus organizations become isomorphic when they embody the processes, structures and rhetoric prevalent in their organizational field. Quality assurance frameworks are noted as reflections of myths that higher education institutions have to abide by under pressure. Quality assurance regulations work as strong forces to mold these organizations (Bell and Taylor 2005). DiMaggio and Powell (1983) explored two pressures for isomorphic change in organizations and noted them as competitive and institutional pressures. When organizations are competitive, they exhibit emulative tendencies in their search for efficiency. Institutional pressures are subdivided into coercive, mimetic and normative categories. Coercive isomorphism happens when there is pressure from the external environment on an organization or a PHEI, to conform to society's cultural expectation especially from the state. Mimetic isomorphic pressures indicate that organizations tend to model similar organizations in their fields that they believe are successful and legitimate. Normative isomorphic pressures are linked to professionalization when cultural support is obtained from local and global professional associations (DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Meyer and Scott 1982). Importantly, isomorphism also establishes the influential capabilities of the organization as well as institutional legitimacy (Deephouse and Suchman 2008).

DiMaggio and Powell (1983) further indicate that mimetic, normative and coercive concepts bring about similarities within certain organizational fields thus enhancing legitimacy. On a more significant note, Scott (2008) asserts that organizations (or PHEIs) have to conform to the rules and belief systems dominant in the environment in their efforts at interpreting quality assurance. The institutional life of a higher education institution consists of competitors, students, employers and regulatory agencies and they constitute an impact on legitimacy.

Isomorphism in Ghana's Private Higher Education

Findings from analysis of open-ended interviews held with sixteen purposively selected interviewees show much about isomorphism in Ghana's private higher education. So does document analysis of institutional websites using thematic *a priori* coding, generated from literature. The findings of this paper are summarized under the following headings as follows:

1. Quality Assurance and National Accreditation Board Requirements,
2. Quality of Graduates/Programs and Quality Assurance,
3. Quality Assurance and Staffing,
4. NAB Accreditation Time Frame and Other Issues, and
5. Document Analysis.
These topics are discussed subsequently.

Quality Assurance and National Accreditation Board Requirements

This paper notes that the NAB represents the regulatory framework and provides the controlling edge over PHEIs in Ghana. Thus for institutions to be classified as legitimate, they have to respond to the demands of the external environment especially the state, and be subject to coercive isomorphism through conformity in their efforts towards addressing quality assurance standards. Coercive isomorphism for example, is in evidence when higher education institutions in Ghana, are pressurized by the quality assurance body through invitations, regulations and persuasion to abide by the regulations of the accrediting body. Failure to abide by regulations will result in sanctions and thereby loss of recognition.

Accreditation granted to PHEIs in response to conformity to quality assurance standards, indicates acceptability as well as the institution's compliance to beliefs, values and rules in the environment that it is located. This paper finds evidence that PHEIs have to comply with the requirements of the quality assurance process in order to be accredited. Therefore, coercive isomorphism which is noted as externally imposed usually by the state is linked to recognition of an institution's accreditation status. These findings confirmed the results of other studies. In Santana et al (2010) Brazilian higher education institutions had to respond to the demands of the external environment and be subject to coercive isomorphism. Suspitsin and Suspitsyna (2007) indicate that PHEIs in Russia maintained their legality with state actors through conformity, and accredited institutions easily attracted students than the non-accredited ones. Similarly, Giesecke (2006) confirmed that accreditation as a regulative framework, was one of the ways that higher education institutions maintained their legality. Wilkins and Huisman (2012) noted that apart from rankings, regulative framework (accreditation) was salient for an institution to obtain legitimacy. Gonzalez, Montano and Hassall (2009) examined resistance to the introduction of

policies aimed at combining the skills in accounting and business administration studies in Spain. The study revealed that accounting and business education in Spain addressed both competitive and institutional (mimetic, coercive and normative) pressures in the skills development of students.

This paper indicates that PHEIs in Ghana are compliant to the quality assurance process and thus will always abide by state requirements and follow the path that leads to recognition. As stated in literature, there are indications that in order for institutions to be classified as legitimate, they have to respond to the demands of the external environment through conformity, for example, as well as employ the regulatory framework in order to be recognized.

As required by the NAB, PHEIs have established internal quality assurance offices and put in place measures that will enhance their recognition. Quality assurance procedures are noted as scripted procedures that institutions have to undergo to obtain recognition (Ogawa and Bossert 1995). The NAB's role in this regard is to assist in capacity development of PHEIs through regular capacity building workshops. Quality assurance stakeholders recognize the importance of continuous capacity development (Shabani 2013).

Another regulatory requirement of the NAB is institutional affiliation which consists of a mentor (supervisor) institution and a mentee institution. PHEIs in Ghana have multiple affiliations because of the number of programs they offer. Levy (forthcoming) finds that PHEIs affiliated to public universities may not have a specified timeframe. In a similar vein, the affiliation process in Ghana does not have a specified time frame as noted in the L.I.1984, and the private affiliates are in the majority. An affiliate private institution in Ghana is weaned off its mentor (supervisor) when it eventually attains a charter status. The minimum number of years required for a PHEI to charter is ten years, however, when this researcher was in Ghana to collect data (in 2014), she observed that the NAB did not approve two PHEIs that have applied for charter and have been affiliated to two public higher education institutions for more than ten years. Further, the reasons for denial were not explicitly stated according to an interviewee of one of the institutions that was denied charter. When this researcher questioned an NAB official about it, he indicated that those two PHEIs were denied charter because their faculty members did not have enough publications to their credit. This brought into focus the need for faculty members to have enough research publications to their credit. Some faculty members at PHEIs in Ghana have minimal or no publication to their credit.

Quality of Graduates/Programs and Quality Assurance

Data obtained from PHEIs reveal that many offer programs that are mimetic in nature and do not require a high start-up cost. In addition, general respondents' perceptions about the program quality are also mixed. However, a few PHEIs in Ghana are on the verge of offering programs requiring high start-up cost (such as the physical sciences and engineering programs) as the established public higher education institutions. During the data collection in Ghana by this researcher, she observed that two of the selected institutions (Ashesi University College and Valley View University) were constructing structures that would enable them offer programs in the physical sciences and engineering.

The similarity in the programs offered by these PHEIs indicates mimetic isomorphism. Research demonstrates a relationship between mimetic isomorphism and successful efforts of a PHEI. Higher education institutions mimicking prestigious ones and a result of the pressures of isomorphism is illustrated in the study by Morphew and Huisman (2002) as well as Bell and Taylor (2005). Studies have shown that newly established higher education institutions emulate prestigious institutions in order to gain legitimacy. A PHEI seeking external recognition must conduct its activities to resemble institutions that are already recognized. Therefore, mimetic isomorphism evolves when there is uncertainty in the system that enhances the process of imitation. In addition, when there are vague goals, and technologies are not well understood, organizations may imitate other organizations (March and Olsen 1976). Researchers describe 'mimetic isomorphism' as enabling organizations to emulate or copy the norms and forms of recognized institutions, such as higher education institutions in their efforts at gaining legitimacy.

Indeed mimetic isomorphism is prevalent in the programs offered by the PHEIs. With the exception of one chartered private university (Trinity Theological Seminary), there was emulation in the program offerings at the other six PHEIs. The popular programs were Business Administration and Information Technology, though two out of the five private university colleges (Ashesi University College and Regent University College of Science and Technology) had slightly modified some of their programs to make them unique. Emulation in program offerings was also a way of institutions dealing with uncertainty as newly established higher education institutions emulate prestigious institutions in order to gain legitimacy. Results from interviews of representatives of PHEIs did not emphatically indicate that institutions are emulating prestigious HEIs but it can be implied from the examination of the curriculum of individual PHEIs. Thus, the efforts of these PHEIs reflect mimetic as well as coercive and normative isomorphism.

Similarly, this paper's findings reveal mixed perception and concern about the quality of graduates from PHEIs. Some interviewees believe that since private institutions are affiliated to mainly public institutions, the quality of graduates from PHEIs are similar to that of its mentoring

(supervising) institution. As a result, some graduates of PHEIs may not be employable due to their lack of capabilities (either writing or oral).

Program offerings on the Ghanaian higher education landscape are influenced by a number of factors including the job market (Kinser 2007) and the infrastructural layout required. For example, some of the PHEIs in Ghana offer programs that students are interested in, have a demand on the job market and have low infrastructural layout. Research indicates that these findings are validated. A study of PHEIs in select European countries by Fried, Glass and Baumgartl (2007) noted that PHE providers in Europe offer programs identical to what was offered by similar providers as is the situation in Sub-Saharan Africa. In addition, programs offered also did not have high start-up costs. Teferra and Altbach (2004) indicate that programs taught in PHEIs in Africa are restricted and 'generally similar across the continent and narrow in their program coverage" (34) and relatively have low start-up cost. Similarly, Varghese (2004) indicates that PHEIs in African countries offer programs that "require less investment in terms of infrastructure and equipment." (17).Therefore few PHEIs in Ghana will venture into programs that require huge infrastructure like engineering. Another outcome from this paper is that programs are offered to equip students with values of critical thinking and job search skills. This is linked to normative isomorphism because students learn the norms of critical thinking as well as job search skills while standards are developed. This paper reveals similarity in program offerings at majority of PHEIs in Ghana (Varghese 2004), and this is obvious when the curriculum of the institutions is examined.

To promote quality of academic standards among the general public, PHEIs in Ghana have implemented measures to assist in the examinations and assessments of students to maintain credibility. In Ghana, one of the measurements of a higher educational institution's credibility is contingent on how examinations are held and proctored. PHEIs in Ghana have instituted values and norms to maintain their credibility when it comes to proctoring examinations, an outcome which is evidence of normative isomorphism. Examinations are held in high esteem and are considered as a measure of institutional credibility in Ghanaian PHEIs. One would have expected other measures such as credible faculty members, taking prominence in enhancing an institution's image.

Varied ways of strengthening the quality assurance process of PHEIs include regular training of peer reviewers (Materu 2007), and incorporation of graduate education in the quality assurance process (Hayward and Ncayiyana 2015). Peer reviewers in Ghana for example are trained on-as-needed basis. However, respondents are of the view that there should be regular training scheduled for them as this will strengthen the quality assurance process. In addition, newly established public higher education institutions must be held to the same standards as the PHEIs

before charter is granted by the government. Respondents explained that newly established public higher education institutions that may not have all the complements of a full research university are granted charter by the government almost as soon as they are established. Generally, respondents believe that such an almost automatic charter granting to public institutions does not enhance the quality assurance process. The preceding notes that strengthening the quality assurance process at the institutional level is required if institutions are to be abreast and up-to-date with the accreditation process. Research indicates that regular training of peer reviewers enables harmonization of working methods in a structured environment (Hayward 2006, Shaw 2000). According to Hayward (2006), peer reviewers in Ghana acknowledge the need for regular training to adequately equip them to deliver what is expected of them.

Quality Assurance and Staffing

PHEIs depend hugely on adjunct faculty members. A preliminary search on one of the websites of the institutions reveals that adjunct faculty members constitute more than fifty percent of the academic faculty resource. In view of the continual growth and expansion in PHEIs, this brings to light the lack of full-time faculty members as well as shortage of those having PHDs or research degrees available to teach (Fried, Glass and Baumgartl 2007; Hayward and Ncayiyana 2015). Many of the PHEIs in Ghana that do not have adequate full-time faculty members of their own rely on the public higher education institutions (Otieno and Levy 2007) or retired faculty to address their staffing needs. The increase in the number of private institutions has further deepened the need for qualified academic and non-academic staff. Ghana is noted to have a need for 1000 new faculty, however, the public universities are able to hire only 20-30 a year to replace the retiring faculty and therefore, Hayward and Ncayiyana (2014) advocate the need for the quality assurance process to pay particular attention to doctoral education and research. Further, the authors advocate that graduate education should take on a more regional role in West Africa as is the case in the country of South Africa. In South Africa, higher education institutions provide discounted tuition fees to graduate students from countries outside the South African region pursuing either Master's or doctoral programs. Students who are classified as qualified but needy are also eligible for food and housing subsidies. However, students from countries in the South African sub-region pay the same fees as the natives of South Africa. The preceding example indicates that South Africa is assisting to address faculty shortage in other African countries by providing a regional support in graduate education (Hayward and Ncayiyana, 2015). The authors contend that this South African example should be emulated in other regional centers in Africa (Hayward and Ncayiyana 2015).

In addition, there is also the lack of qualified non-academic staff to support the quality assurance process at the institutional level (Manyaga 2008; Okebukola 2002). Likewise, the NAB officials acknowledged during interview that sometimes they are overwhelmed by work as a result of inadequate staff which delays their work output especially in responding to the demands of the PHEIs seeking accreditation.

NAB Accreditation Time Frame and Other Issues

PHEIs that are granted accreditation by the NAB have different time periods of certification. The periods ranged from one to five years. However, this paper finds that the accreditation time frame is linked to the frequency of institutional monitoring by the NAB to determine whether quality assurance requirements are adhered to. This indicates the authority of the NAB and its role at ensuring that institutions conform to the quality assurance requirements. Thus the longer accreditation time frame given a PHEI indicates minimal visits by the NAB officials and peer reviewers, whereas a shorter time frame means frequency of oversight visits by the NAB officials and peer reviewers. On a more significant note, the NAB document, L.I. 1984 that informs prospective institutions about accreditation procedures does not provide a definite time frame for each accreditation period. It only states in schedule 11(3) that "The period of accreditation shall be as specified on the certificate of accreditation." Thus, this regulation is open to interpretation and at the discretion of the NAB officials.

Some PHEIs have been non-complaint to the time frame given to them for program and institutional accreditation. As a result the NAB often modifies the time-frame to give institutions adequate time for their program and institutional accreditation renewal. However, institutions still delay and are non-complaint to the time frame.

A shocking finding is that some PHEIs after seeking accreditation by using the curriculum vitae of various qualified professors, somehow "lose" these professors on their list of employees once they have obtained accreditation. This indicates the manipulative and dishonest nature of some PHEIs. These affected institutions use manipulation to gain legitimacy and recognition in their environment. This finding can also be linked to shortage of faculty members in Ghana in particular and brain drain in Africa in general. According to Tettey (2006), 50 percent of faculty members at a public higher education institution (University of Ghana) were over 50 years and close to retirement. In addition, there are not enough doctoral students graduating to replace faculty members that are retiring (Ng'ethe and Ngome 2007).

Document Analysis

An analysis of documents on the websites of five private university colleges (Ashesi University College, Ghana Technology University College, Regent University College of Science and Technology, Pentecost University College, and Methodist University College) and two private chartered universities (Valley View University, and Trinity Theological Seminary) using NVivo 10 reveals that each institution has a specific area of focus in the documentation displayed on their individual websites.

Ashesi University College focused on 'accountability' on the part of students. Regent University College and Pentecost University College emphasized on the quality of 'faculty' on their websites. 'Quality assurance' was the major emphasis of Ghana Technology University College and Valley View University. Methodist University College focused on student progression and achievement. Valley View University also emphasized on academic content while Trinity Theological Seminary focused on 'educational programs.'

Analysis shows linkages to coercive and normative isomorphism. Institutional emphasis on faculty, student progression, and academic content are associated with coercive isomorphism, as part of institutional requirements aimed at ensuring that the regulations and standards set by the NAB are followed. Ashesi University College for example, focused on accountability on the part of students especially during examinations. This is also noted as aiding in the future ethical development of the student even after graduating from Ashesi University College. Therefore norms of accountability are developed for the student to follow, which are linked to normative isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). In sum, document analysis shows efforts of PHEIs to continually ensure acceptance by their stakeholders.

Conclusion

Quality assurance insinuates itself as a form of accountability to government, students and employers among others. The quality assurance process is widely recognized as a coercive force that promotes conformity of a PHEI by the authorizing entity (Bell and Taylor, 2005). Promoters of the process see it as a manifestation of how regulation should protect consumers and well-meaning private investors, as well as ensure that private institutions conform to official statutes. This fits with reasons Fielden and Varghese (2009) advance for regulating PHEIs to include consumer protection as well as monitoring of financial results.

The Ghanaian PHE landscape includes conflicting requirements as well as duplication of activities between mentoring (supervising) institutions and the NAB, shortage of academic and non-academic staff, dependence on adjunct faculty, non-compliance to timeframes given for program and institutional accreditation, and a charter process that does not have very definite

requirements. How such matters will be addressed in the near future is unclear. But the NAB and others may advocate a holistic approach involving a strong regulatory hand. PHEIs will remain wary of such approaches but, on the other hand, are necessarily concerned with how perceptions of shoddy practices present deep challenges to their legitimacy, and thus to their own well-being.

References

Ade Ajayi, J. F., Lameck K. H. Goma, and G. Ampah Johnson. 1996. *The African Experience with Higher Education*. Athens: Ohio University Press.

Association of African Universities (AAU). 2007. The Quality Assurance Situation and Capacity Building Needs of Higher Education in Africa. Accra, Ghana.

Assie-Lumumba, Ndri, Therese. 2004. *Cyberspace, Distance Learning, and Higher Education in Developing Countries*. Brill Academic Publishers.

Assie-Lumumba, Ndri, Therese. 2006. *Higher Education Reform in Africa: Crises, Reform, and Transformation*. Dakar: Codesria.

Atteh, Samuel O. 1996. The Crisis in Higher Education in Africa. *A Journal of Opinion*, 24(1): 36-42.

Ballantine, Jeanne, H. and Floyd M. Hammack. 2009. *The Sociology of Education: A Systematic Analysis.* Upper Saddle River, New Jersey.

Barnett, R. A. 1987. The Maintenance of Quality in the Public Sector of UK Higher Education. *Higher Education*, 16, 279-301.

Becker, Gary, S. 1975. *Human Capital* (2ed.). New York: Columbia University Press.

Bell, Emma and Scott Taylor. 2005. Joining the Club: The Ideology of Quality and Business School Badging. *Studies in Higher Education*, 30(3), 239-255. Doi: 10.1080/03075070500095671.

Bloom, David, Canning, David and Kevin Chan. 2005. Higher Education and Economic Development in Africa. Africa Region Human Development Working Paper. Series No. 102, Washington, D. C.: The World Bank.

Cohn, E., and Cooper, S. T. 2004. Multi-product cost functions for universities: economies of scale and scope. In Johnes, G., Johnes J. (eds.), *International Handbook on the Economics of Education,* Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd., Cheltenham, UK, 579-612.

Court, David. 1989. Sub-Saharan Africa. *Comparative Education Review*, 33 (2): 282-283.

Deephouse, David. L. and Mark Suchman. 2008. Legitimacy in Organizational Institutionalism. *The Sage Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism*, 49-77.

DiMaggio, Paul. J. and Walter W. Powell, 1983. The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields. *American Sociological Review*, 48: 147-160.

Effah, Paul. 2003. Ghana . In Damtew Teferra and Philip Altbach (Eds.), *African Higher Education: An International Reference Handbook*. Indiana: IUP. Retrieved September 9, 2010 from http:www.user.globalnet.co.uk/~univghana/ghanahed.htm.

Effah, Paul and Bernadin Senadza. 2008. Ghana. In D. Taferra and J. Knight (Eds.). *Higher Education in Africa: The International Dimension*. CIHE, Massachusetts and AAU, Ghana.

Fielden, John and N. V. Varghese. 2009. Regulatory issues. In Bjarnason Svava, Kai-Ming Cheng, John Fielden, Maria-Jose Lemaitre and N. V. Varghese. *A New Dynamic: Private Higher Education*. Paris: UNESCO.

Frazer, Malcolm. 1992. Quality Assurance in Higher Education. In Alma Craft (Ed.). *Quality Assurance in Higher Education: Proceedings of an International Conference*. The Falmer Press.

Fried, Jochen, Anna Glass, and Bernd Baumgartl. 2007. Shades of Privateness: Non-Public Higher Education in Europe. In P. J. Wells, J. Sadlak, and L. Vlasceanu (Eds.). *The Rising Role and Relevance of Private Higher Education in Europe.* Bucharest, Romania: UNESCO-CEPES.

Gaither, Gerald. H. 1998. Editor's notes. *Quality Assurance in Higher Education: An International Perspective.* Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Giesecke, H. C. 2006. Legitimacy Seeking Among New Private Institutions of Higher Education in Central and Eastern Europe. *Higher Education in Europe*, 31(1), 11-23.

Girdwood, Alison. 1999. Tertiary Education in Ghana: An Assessment: 1988-1998. Report for the World Bank.

Gola, M. (2003). Premises to Accreditation: A Minimum Set of Accreditation Requirements. In ENQA Workshop Report #3, *Accreditation Models in Higher Education Experiences and Perspectives*, 25-31, Helsinki, Finland.

Gonzalez, Jose, Maria, Gonzalez; Montano, Jose, Luis, Arquero and Trevor Hassall. 2009. Pressures and Resistance to the Introduction of Skills in Business Administration and Accounting Education in Spain: A New Institutional Theory Analysis. *Journal of Vocational Education and Training,* 61 (1): 85-102.

Hayward, Fred. 2006. "Quality Assurance and Accreditation of Higher Education in Africa." Paper prepared for presentation at the Conference on Higher Education Reform in Francophone Africa: Understanding the Keys of Success, June 13-15, Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso.

Hayward, Fred and Daniel J. Ncayiyana. 2014. "Confronting the Challenges of Graduate Education in Sub-Saharan Africa and Prospects for the Future." *International Journal of African Higher Education*. 1(1): 173-216

Hayward, Fred and Daniel J. Ncayiyana. 2015. "Confronting the Challenges of Graduate Education in Sub-Saharan Africa." *International Higher Education*, 79.

Karabel, Jerome and Halsey, A. H. 1977. Educational Research: A Review and Interpretation. In *Power and Ideology in Education*. (Eds.) J. Karabel and A. H. Halsey. New York: Oxford University Press.

Konadu-Agyemang, Kwadwo. 2000. The Best of Times and the Worst of Times: Structural Adjustment Programs and Uneven Development in Africa: The Case of Ghana. *The Professional Geographer*, 52 (3): 469-483 (August).

Kinser, Kevin. 2007. Sources of Legitimacy in U.S. For-Profit Higher Education. In Slancheva, S and Levy, D. C. (Eds.) *Private Higher Education in Post-Communist Europe: In Search of Legitimacy*. New York, NY: Palgrave/MacMillan.

Kokutse, Francis. "Private universities angered by denial of tax breaks". *University World News*, 115, August 17, 2013.

Lemaitre, Maria J. 2009. "Quality Assurance for Private Higher Education." In Bjarnason Svava, Kai-Ming Cheng, John Fielden, Maria-Jose Lemaitre and N. V. Varghese. *A New Dynamic: Private Higher Education*. Paris: UNESCO.

Levy, Daniel. C. 1986. *Higher Education and the State in Latin America.* Chicago. The University of Chicago Press.

Levy, Daniel. C. 2002. Unanticipated Development: Perspectives on Private Higher Education's Emerging Roles. Program for Research on Private Higher Education (PROPHE) Working Paper Series No. 1. http://www.albany.edu/dept/eaps/prophe

Levy, Daniel. C. 2004. New Institutionalism: Mismatches with Private Higher Education's Global Growth (Working Paper #3). Albany, NY: Program for Research on Private Higher Education (PROPHE), University at Albany, SUNY.

Levy, Daniel. C. 2006. The Unanticipated Explosion: Private Higher Education's Global Surge. *Comparative Education Review*, 50(2), 217-240.

Levy, Daniel. C. 2007. A Recent Echo: African Private Higher Education in an International Perspective. *Journal of Higher Education in Africa*, 5 (2&3), 197-220.

Levy, Daniel. C. (Forthcoming). Regulating private higher education.

Mabizela, Mahlubi. 2007. Private surge amid public dominance in higher education: The African perspective. *Journal of Higher Education in Africa,* 5(2&3): 15-38.

Manyaga, Timothy. 2008. Standards to assure quality in tertiary education: the case of Tanzania. *Quality Assurance in Education 16*(2): 164-180.

March, James G., and Johan P. Olsen. 1976. *Ambiguity and Choice in Organizations*. Bergen: Universitetsforlaget.

Materu, Peter. 2007. *Higher Education Quality Assurance in Sub-Saharan Africa: Status, Challenges, Opportunities, and Promising Practices*. The World Bank, Washington, D. C.

Meyer, John W. and Richard W Scott, 1983. Centralization and the Legitimacy Problems of Local Government. In J. W. Meyer, and W. R. Scott (Eds.), *Organizational Environments: Ritual and Rationality*: 199-215. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Mkude, Daniel. 2011. Higher Education as an Instrument of Social Integration in Tanzania: Challenges and Prospects. *Research in Comparative and International Education 6* (4). www.wwwords.uk/RCIE.

Morphew, Christopher, C., and Jereon Huisman. 2002. Using Institutional Theory to Reframe Research on Academic Drift. *Higher Education in Europe* 27 (4): 492-506.

Musial, Joanna. 2012. Typical and top-ranked Polish Private Higher Education: Inter-sectoral and Intra-sectoral Distinctiveness. A dissertation submitted to the university at Albany, State University of New York.

National Council for Tertiary Education of Ghana. 2009. "Summary of Student Enrolment in Public Universities." NCTE. Ghana.

Ng'ethe, Njuguna, and Charles Ngome. 2007. "University-Industry Linkages in Kenya: With Special Reference to the Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology (JKUAT)," World Bank, Washington, DC.

Ogawa, Rodney, T. and Bossert, Steven, T. 1995. Leadership as an organizational quality. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 31(2): 224-243.

Okebukola, Peter. 2002. Globalization and quality assurance in higher education: A view from Nigeria. In S. Uvalic-Trumbic (Ed.). *Globalization and the Market in Higher Education: Quality, Accreditation and Qualifications*. UNESCO Publishing.

Okebukola, Peter and Shabani, Juma. 2007. Quality Assurance and Accreditation in Higher Education in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Higher Education in the World 2007*. Global University Network for Innovation. New York, Palgrave Macmillan.

Otieno, Wycliffe, and Levy, Daniel, C. 2007. Public Disorder, Private Boons? Inter-sectoral Dynamics Illustrated by the Kenyan Case. Working Paper #9. Albany, NY: Program for Research on Private Higher Education (PROPHE), University at Albany.

Praphamontripong, Prachayani. 2010. Intra-sectoral Diversity. A Political Economy of Thai Private Higher Education. A dissertation submitted to the University at Albany, State University of New York.

Psacharopoulos, George. 1985. "Returns to Education: A Further International Update and Implications". *Journal of Human Resources*, 20 (4), 583-604. University of Wisconsin.

Rusch, Edith, A and Wibur, Catherine. 2007, Spring. Shaping Institutional Environments: The Process of Becoming Legitimate. *The Review of Higher Education*, 30 (3), 301-318.

Santana, Silvinia. Moreira, Cristiane. Roberto, Teresa and Flavia Azambuja. 2010. Fighting for excellence: the case of the Federal University of Pelotas. *High Educ*, 60: 321-341.

Saint, William. 1992. *Universities in Africa: Strategies for Stabilization and Revitalization*. Washington D.C., World Bank.

Sanyal, B. and M. Martin. 2006. Quality assurance and the role of accreditation: An Overview. Global University Network for Innovation. In Joachim Tres (Ed.) *Higher Education in the World 2007: Accreditation for Quality Assurance – What is at Stake*? 3-19. UK: Palgrave, Macmillan

Sawyerr, Akilagpa. 2004. "Challenges Facing African Universities: Selected Issues." *African Studies Review*. 47(1): 1-59. April.

Scott, Richard, W. 2008. *Institutions and organizations: Ideas and Interests* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Shabani, Juma. 2013, Academic quality, assessment and accreditation, *International Higher Education*, 73: 16-18, Fall

Shaw, Charles, D. 2000. "External Quality Mechanisms for Health Care: Summary of the ExPeRT Project on Visitatie, Accreditation, EFQM and ISO assessment in European Union Countries." *International Journal for Quality in Healthcare*, 12, No. 3: 169-175.

Slancheva, S and Daniel C. Levy, (Eds.). 2007. "Introduction." *Private Higher Education in Post-Communist Europe: In Search of Legitimacy*. New York, NY: Palgrave/MacMillan.

Suspitsin, Dmitry, and Tatiana Suspitsyna. 2007. Private Higher Education in Russia: Free Enterprise Under State Control. *European Education 39* (3): 62-80.

Teferra, Damtew and Philip G. Altbach. 2004. African higher education: Challenges for the 21st century. *Higher Education*, 47: 20-50.

Tettey, Wisdom. 2006. "Staff Retention in African Universities: Elements of a Sustainable Strategy." World Bank, Washington, DC.

Thaver, Bev. 2003. 'Private higher education in Africa: Six country case studies.' In Teferra, D. and Altbach, P. G. (Eds). 2003. *African Higher Education: An International Reference Handbook*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington. 53-60.

Tsevi, Linda. 2015. Quality Assurance in Private Higher Education: The Case of Ghana. A dissertation submitted to the University at Albany, State University of New York.

UNESCO: United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization. 1998. *Higher Education in Africa: Achievements, Challenges and Prospects*, UNESCO Regional Office, Dakar.

Varghese, N. V. 2004. Private Higher Education in Africa. UNESCO, IIEP, ADEA, AAU. Paris, France.

Wilkins, Stephen and Jeroen Huisman. 2012. UK business school rankings over the last 30 years (1980-2010): trends and explanations. *High Educ*, 63: 367-382

World Bank. 2000. *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril or Promise*. Washington D.C. World Bank

World Bank. 2009. *Accelerating Catch-up: Tertiary Education for Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Washington, D.C. World Bank