



**Doctoral School of
International
Relations and
Political Science**

THESIS SUMMARY

Asante Gabriel

**Fee-Free Educational Policy for Social Development:
Examining the Conditions and the Social Benefits of Cost Elimination at the
Upper-Secondary Level in Sub-Saharan Africa**

PHD DISSERTATION

Supervisors:

Gajduschek György, PhD (Full Professor)

Bartha Attila, PhD

Budapest, 2023

DOCTORAL SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND POLITICAL
SCIENCE

CORVINUS UNIVERSITY OF BUDAPEST

Thesis Summary

Asante Gabriel

Fee-Free Educational Policy for Social Development:
Examining the Conditions and the Social Benefits of Cost Elimination at the
Upper-Secondary Level in Sub-Saharan Africa

ARTICLE-BASED PHD DISSERTATION

Supervisors:

Gajdusчек György, PhD (Full Professor)

Bartha Attila, PhD

© Gabriel Asante

Contents

| | |
|---|----|
| 1. RESEARCH BACKGROUND AND JUSTIFICATION OF THE TOPIC | 4 |
| 2. APPLIED METHODS OF THE THESIS | 12 |
| 2.1 Qualitative case study design | 12 |
| 2.2 Quantitative large-n designs | 13 |
| 3. MAIN FINDINGS OF THE INDIVIDUAL PUBLICATIONS..... | 15 |
| 3.1 Article 1: The Politics of Social Policy in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Configurational Approach to Fee-Free Policies at the High School Level | 15 |
| 3.2 Article 2: The effects of cost elimination on secondary school enrolment in Sub-Saharan Africa..... | 17 |
| 3.3 Article 3: The positive externality of education on crime: Insights from Sub- Saharan Africa | 19 |
| 4. CONCLUSIONS | 21 |
| 5. MAIN REFERENCES | 24 |
| 6. AUTHOR’S PUBLICATION LIST | 31 |

1. RESEARCH BACKGROUND AND JUSTIFICATION OF THE TOPIC

Human rights issues have been an interesting and fascinating area of my studies since my undergraduate days, and this interest intensified during my education at the master's level. My focus was the management of prisoners' rights in Ghana. Two prison centres were selected as the study area. The research exposed me to many interesting areas worthy of further investigation. Most of the prison population were youth between the ages of 18 to 25 years who had no education, or education below the upper-secondary level (high school). They were mostly males. Most of them had been convicted of stealing (Asante, 2016). These findings attracted my curiosity and presented me with exciting puzzles such as what is the relationship between the level of education and crime on the one hand, and what are the measures or policies that may be effective at increasing school participation on the other. In addition, I was curious to understand the conditions that drive the adoption and implementation of such measures or policies aimed at increasing school enrolment.

A review of the literature was completed when I began my PhD studies. The following major conclusions were derived. First, there is a relationship between cost-elimination policies (popularly called fee-free education) and the rate of school enrolment in the Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) region (Al-Samarrai & Zaman, 2007; Blimpo, Gajigo, & Pugatch, 2019; Duflo, Dupas, & Kremer, 2017; Garlick, 2013; Godda, 2018; Morgan, Petrosino, & Fronius, 2014; Psacharopoulos & Arriagada, 1987). Second, policies that encourage and increase educational participation at the upper-secondary level (or high-school level) have the social benefit of reducing the rate of criminal engagement among youth (Bell, Costa, & Machin, 2016, 2018; Bennett, 2018; Hjalmarsson & Lochner, 2012; Lochner, 2004). Upper-secondary education was the dominant level of education examined in this literature because the youth enrolled in this level of education (i.e., age 14-19 years) are theoretically more inclined to engage in criminal activities compared to other cohorts in society, hence keeping them in school reduces the inclination to commit more crimes (Bell et al., 2018). Third, some countries in the region (SSA) have rolled out cost-elimination policies at the high-school level (Republic of Ghana, 2017; Republic of Namibia, 2015; Republic of Sierra Leone, 2018).

The literature review, however, revealed some gaps. Despite the vast literature on the theoretical expectations about the rise of expansionary social policies, current

empirical studies about the conditions necessary and sufficient for adopting fee-free policies at the upper-secondary level are largely lacking. Notwithstanding this, understanding the drivers of cost-elimination policies is an appropriate way to better appreciate the source of these social policy changes within the academic literature and, practically, if need be, understand how to improve them. The puzzle here is due to the contradictory theories about the evolution of expansionary social policy: researchers have identified the role of growth in democratisation (Brown & Hunter, 1999; Lake & Baum, 2001), electoral competition (Altman & Castiglioni, 2020; Harding & Stasavage, 2014), the ideological orientation of ruling political parties (Ha, 2015; Huber, Mustillo, & Stephens, 2008), the level of economic development (Islam & Clarke, 2002; Sen, 1976) and the social context. Here, the ambition is to contribute to developing pre-existing theory in a way which enables us to account for the condition(s) that drive and explain the adoption of cost-elimination policies as a component of expansionary social policy at the upper-secondary level in SSA. Based on this, I attempted to conduct an explorative study and posed research question one that:

RQ1) Under what condition(s) are fee-free policies adopted in SSA?

In the literature, scholars argue that democratic regimes respond to popular demands, including the provision of social policies, more sensitively than authoritarian regimes due to the more competitive nature of accessing power in a democracy (Brown & Hunter, 1999; Dornbusch & Edwards, 1991). However, due to the complexity of the ideal-type democracy-authoritarian dichotomy, scholars have further investigated more specific concepts, such as electoral competition, that influence social policy provision. Indeed, electoral competition plays a critical role in social policy provision. This is attributed to the influence of political parties in the agenda-setting of public policies with the overall ambition of obtaining a political advantage over their competitors during electoral campaigns (Downs, 1957; Dragu & Fan, 2016; Ward, Kim, Graham, & Tavits, 2015). Literature from SSA in particular that attempts to explain the provision of universal free primary education has identified the significant influence of electoral competition in triggering the adoption of fee-free policies (Avenstrup, Liang, & Nellemann, 2004; Harding &

Stasavage, 2014; Stasavage, 2005). I expect this to hold for fee-free policies at the upper-secondary level.

Furthermore, the traditional partisan theory of policy outcomes argues that leftist governments are more liable to increase the provision of social policies due to their ambition of reducing social inequalities compared to their counterparts on the right (Ha, 2015). Within the political economy, the increase in the wealth of a country is argued to spur the provision of social welfare (Islam & Clarke, 2002; Sen, 1976). Last, the social context, such as the demographic structure associated with a strong demand for education, may necessitate the need to provide specific social policy.

Notwithstanding the above propositions, other scholars have challenged the universal applicability of these theories. For instance, Altman and Castiglioni (2020) and Tavits and Letki (2009) have questioned ideological leanings concerning social policy provision. They argue that social policies are not the exclusive domain of the left since right-wing parties engage in equal expansionary social policies. Moreover, Grindle's (2004) study in Latin America makes a strong case that economic conditions and electoral cycles are not associated with educational changes but rather the interest of political executives in advancing their political interests. Despite the foregoing contrary evidence, I address all the five highlighted prominent explanations for expansionary social policy in analytical Study 1 to explore and understand the condition(s) necessary and sufficient for adopting fee-free policies at the high-school level in SSA. The study challenged the dominant idea of the partisan theory of policy outcome and the economy in the provision of social policy. I argued that in developing democracies such as SSA, where the maximisation of electoral votes is high, social policies such as fee-free education are primarily influenced by electoral politics that result from domestic electoral competition.

Another observation derived from the review was the effects of fee-free policies on enrolment. The results have been mixed. While some argue that there is a positive relationship (Al-Samarrai & Zaman, 2007; Blimpo et al., 2019; Duflo et al., 2017; Godda, 2018; Psacharopoulos & Arriagada, 1987), others find no significant or a negative association (Branson & Lam, 2017; Ponce & Loayza, 2012). These mixed findings may be explained by the variation in the countries that were selected, control variables, timeframe, or the analytical technique that was used. Additionally, these studies are either concentrated at the primary level or lower-secondary school

level (Al-Samarrai & Zaman, 2007; Deininger, 2003; Godda, 2018) or focus on only one or a few selected countries for analytical purposes (Branson & Lam, 2017; Duflo et al., 2017; Garlick, 2013; Mamba, 2020). However, it is critical to examine the SSA region from a broader perspective concerning the relationship between fee-free policies at the upper-secondary level and the rate of enrolment. Based on this, I posed research question two that:

RQ2): What is the effect of cost elimination on secondary-school enrolment in SSA?

School enrolment refers to the extent of physical access and enrolment in education (Lewin, 2015). In principle, a higher level of school enrolment means a high level of access. In the contemporary world, education is built on four main principles: access, quality, relevance, and equity (Lewin, 2015; Stromquist, 2012; UNESCO, 2009). Although each of the four principles is fundamental in education, quality, relevance, and equity can be pursued when people have physical access. For this reason, access or enrolment can be considered a prerequisite for quality, relevance, and equity. However, meaningful and sustained access goes beyond enrolment to include the other fundamentals of modern education (Consortium for Research on Education Access, Transition and Equity [CREATE, (2021)]). But, more than 50% of children of school-going age are without access to education in SSA (World Bank, 2018). Many people are excluded from education right from the beginning of the educational cycle and between transitions (Lewin, 2007).

As expected, many reasons have been assigned for the inability of children to enrol in formal school. These factors have been categorised according to the demand and supply frameworks of school participation (Hunt, 2008). The demand-driven factors include socioeconomic status (for example, poverty, inequality and unemployment), sex, a low level of family support, poor academic achievement, pregnancy, and substance use. They could also be due to living in a low-income neighbourhood, having peers with a weak educational background, and having friends and siblings who drop out (Akyeampong, Djangmah, Oduro, Seidu, & Hunt, 2007; Hunt, 2008). Demand-driven factors affect enrolment, as students lack the means to enrol in school.

Supply-driven factors include high student-to-teacher ratios, the low socioeconomic status of the school population, academic tracking, a lack of support

between grade transition, conflict, racial or ethnic segregation, and location (Bradshaw, O'Brennan, & McNeely, 2008; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998; De Witte, Cabus, Thyssen, Groot, & van den Brink, 2013; Jimerson, Egeland, Sroufe, & Carlson, 2000). Supply-driven factors affect enrolment when the consumption power for schooling exists but other factors inside or outside school pull or push children out of school (Hunt, 2008). In sub-Saharan Africa, recent studies support the idea that these factors affect school participation (Amagnya, 2020; Bertoni, Di Maio, Molini, & Nisticò, 2019; Duflo et al., 2017) and further point to the lack of school supply due to a woefully inadequate school infrastructure for accommodating students (Akyeampong et al., 2007; Ananga, 2011).

In considering all the factors associated with demand and supply frameworks that contribute to the low enrolment rate, the literature identifies poverty, especially economic poverty, as the main reason that households and individuals are unable to afford educational fees (Psacharopoulos & Arriagada, 1987). In relation to the foregoing, and based on research question two (*R2*), this work specified the following hypotheses:

H1: *Cost elimination has a significant positive relationship with upper secondary school enrolment rate in Sub-Saharan Africa.*

H2: *The level of increase in upper secondary school enrolment through cost elimination reduces as the rate of poverty increases.*

The final piece of the puzzle was related to the several fragmented theoretical positions and the numerous empirical studies that investigate the sources of crime and how crime is reduced. For example, Agnew's (1985) general strain theory views the source of crime as strain experienced by individuals. Sutherland and Cressey's (1966) differential association theory holds that criminal behaviour is learned through association. Cullen (1994) takes a bold theoretical step in arguing that crime is due to a lack of social support, hence extending social support – such as education – to people can reduce the aggregate crime rate. Recent empirical literature has investigated the effects of education on crime and how policies to promote educational participation may affect criminal engagement (Bell et al., 2016; Bennett,

2018; Hjalmarsson & Lochner, 2012; Lochner, 2004). However, this abundant literature is concentrated in the Western world and uses micro-level data. The few studies that have attempted to investigate this subject in SSA have not incorporated the role of educational policies or have conflated levels of education (Austin & Kim, 1999; Muchwanju, Chelule, & Mung'atu, 2015). Consequently, the nexus between education and aggregated crime in general and specifically in SSA has not been vigorously examined. Is there any empirical evidence to suggest an association between the rate of educational participation and the crime rate in SSA? Do fee-free policies play any role in the education-crime nexus in the region? In relation to the foregoing, research question three was defined as:

RQ3) What is the effect of the high-school enrolment rate on the crime rate in SSA?

According to social support theory (Cullen, 1994), instrumental or expressive support provided by families, interpersonal relations, or states through social programmes can reduce aggregated crime. In this case, the provision of fee-free education as a form of social policy to youth at their peak crime age – that is, at the theoretical age of upper secondary education – can be considered an unintended crime reduction strategy (through prevention). Cullen's normative theory draws on the weaknesses of earlier theorists who emphasised crime reduction through punishment. These theorists viewed crime as due to individuals' own shortcomings on account of strain (Agnew, 1985) or learned through their own associations (Sutherland & Cressey, 1966). These theorists emphatically linked the control of crime as a means of reducing crime in society.

Notwithstanding this, the empirical Western literature has extensively investigated the role of education and educational policies in crime reduction in society at the individual level. In the early nineteenth century in France, Adolphe Quetelet demonstrated that the crime level in France peaks for individuals in their late teens, at an age where they should be in school (Quetelet, 1984). Economists such as Becker (1968) demonstrated that the more one is educated, the less one will engage in crime. Becker situated his argument in human capital theory. He argues that acquiring knowledge and skills increases the opportunity cost of engaging in crime relative to education, thereby reducing individuals' motivation to commit crime. Bell, Costa, and Machin (2016, 2018), Hjalmarsson and Lochner (2012),

Lochner (2004), and Lochner and Moretti (2004) extended the theoretical propositions of Becker and investigated in detail the causal effect of education on crime. They concluded that education has unobserved positive externalities, making it less likely that educated people engage in crime. Therefore, policies that encourage schooling at the typical peak crime age help to reduce crime in society.

However, in this dissertation, I take a further step to investigate the macro-level effect of the rate of schooling on the crime rate in SSA. To achieve this, I utilise the rate of high-school enrolment and investigate any association with the rate of crime in the region. The enrolment rate is investigated alongside government fee-free policies aimed at increasing education as an instrument that has been identified as valid and relevant in relation to school enrolment. The utility of Cullen's (1994) social support theory as an organising idea rests on the argument that social support provided by any societal agent, such as the family, interpersonal relations, or government, reduces the national aggregate crime. This is because social support strengthens social structures and impacts the aggregated social variables.

Furthermore, it is important to dichotomise or study different categories of crimes separately, rather than to estimate the overall number of crimes due to differences in patterns of crime related to their predictors (Brame, Mulvey, & Piquero, 2001; Elonheimo et al., 2014). For example, to focus on property crime and violent crime using specific indicators such as theft and homicide, respectively—which was the focus of this study.

Accordingly, and based on the research three (*RQ3*) posed: I specified the following hypotheses:

H1: *An increase in the high-school enrolment rate is negatively and significantly related to the rate of property crime/theft.*

H2: *An increase in the high-school enrolment rate is negatively and significantly related to the rate of violent crime/homicide.*

So, the dissertation was presented as a portfolio/article-based thesis. Each of the three research questions that was posed constituted one academic paper that is published in a high-ranking peer-reviewed journal. Each article constituted one chapter of the dissertation. The dissertation was amended with an introductory chapter at the beginning and a conclusion chapter at the end. Each paper contains a

distinctive theoretical argument, and all are connected to the central theme of fee-free education at the upper secondary level as an expansionary social policy. The conclusion focuses on proposing and discussing the theoretical proposition that this dissertation contributes.

In conclusion, the overall theoretical proposition of this dissertation (combining all three analytical studies) was that the provision of fee-free education at the upper-secondary level as a social policy has some positive impact on social variables. However, the dominant mechanism that facilitates the drive for the provision of fee-free policies is electoral competition, not the social need for a policy solution. The argument is that although there is a social need to provide fee-free policies due to the low rate of school enrolment, the motivation to do so is not social need per se, but the mechanisms of elections. This assumption is considered valid due to the influence of domestic electoral politics and dynamics concerning how to extract the maximum political capital from initiating and adopting fee-free policy in developing democracies. Although these policies have immediate intended and unintended positive effects on social variables, the manifestations of the latter are strongly embedded in political parties' strive for political power.

2. APPLIED METHODS OF THE THESIS

My approach was a mixed-methods, iterative one that drew on multiple sources and employed different data collection methods to enable the triangulation of findings. The triangulation process was completed through cross-verification from more than two sources, resulting in more valid and reliable conclusions. Accordingly, this section describes how the data was collected and analysed. The dissertation's ambition was to uncover the conditions facilitating the adoption of fee-free policies at the upper-secondary level and the social benefits of these policies concerning the school enrolment rate and the crime rate in SSA. The study started with a qualitative case study design in Study 1. Afterwards, large-N designs using panel data analysis in Studies 2 and 3 were employed.

2.1 Qualitative case study design

For article one, I employed diverse case study designs. I approached the topic in the following way. First, countries in SSA that have adopted either a holistic or a partial fee-free policy at the high-school level between 2010 and 2020 were selected. The timeframe was utilised as a means of “build[ing] narratives of process” (Porta, 2008, p. 207), not for panel data structuring. From these countries, cases were derived for an exploration of the necessary and sufficient conditions for adopting fee-free policies, or otherwise. I employed the methodological approach of fuzzy set qualitative comparative analysis (fsQCA) (Ragin, 2008). In investigating this, I was interested in two main outcomes: 1) Condition(s) necessary and sufficient for the presence of fee-free policy; and, 2) condition(s) necessary and sufficient for the absence of a fee-free policy.

Seven countries were identified as having adopted a fee-free policy (other than a legal framework) for at least one year within the specified period. These countries include Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Namibia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, and Uganda. As a result, and based on the selected timeframe (2010 to 2020, involving 11 time periods), 11 cases were identified for each country leading to 77 cases in total. Taken together, 48 cases had the outcome “presence of a fee-free policy” (holistic or partial), while 29 cases had the outcome “absence of a fee-free policy”.

Five potential conditions were analysed. These are regime type, electoral competition, ideological lineage, economic conditions, and social context. Regime type was defined as a democratic regime or an authoritarian regime using the

Economic Intelligence Unit (EIU) Democracy Index and cases were classified as high (strong) democracy or low (weak) democracy. Furthermore, electoral competition was defined as either the political party in power promised to offer fee-free education during the electoral campaign, or did not. Ideological lineage was measured based on the leftist-rightist ideological continuum. Economic condition was measured as the level of economic development measured in gross domestic product per capita or growth in wealth. Finally, the social context was conceived through the educational system using the rate of school participation at the lower secondary level. The data were sourced from the EIU democracy index, official national sources, political parties' documents (mainly their manifestos) and their websites, knowledge about international ideological groupings, World Bank development indicators, and the UNESCO Institute of Statistics (UIS). The results were presented as configurations in tables, followed by qualitative discussions (narratives) through which configurations were applied to the cases to test the validity and robustness of the results.

2.2 Quantitative large-n designs

The following two articles used a quantitative method through implementing a panel data analysis of SSA countries, with country-year as the unit of analysis (Wooldridge, 2016). The period selected was from 2003 to 2018. The main dependent variable in Study 2 (i.e., RQ2) was upper secondary school enrolment and male and female enrolment rates. Cost-elimination policy and poverty rate were the independent variables. Cost-elimination policy was measured as a national policy intervention or legal framework that eliminates registration fees and tuition fees. A dummy of "1" was created for a country-year associated with this policy according to the working definition; otherwise, "0". The poverty rate was measured as the number of those living under the poverty rate of \$1.90 per day. This variable was analysed to estimate its moderating effect in the cost elimination-enrolment nexus.

In the same way, the main dependent variable in Study 3 (i.e., RQ3) was the rate of property crime and violent crime. The rate of theft and homicide are used as proxies for property crime and violent crime, respectively. These matrixes are measured as the log of the number of crimes (theft or homicide) per 100,000 population in a year. The main independent variable was upper-secondary-school enrolment measured as the gross enrolment rate for upper secondary school,

regardless of age, as a proportion (%) of the official total population of the corresponding age group in a year.

In articles two and three, other variables identified to have plausible effects on the dependent variables such as unemployment rate, effective rule of law, conflict, death penalty, inequality rate, national income, and GDP per capita growth were controlled to avoid confounding effects. The data were collected from recognised international institutions, including the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) (2018), the UNESCO Institute of Statistics (UIS) (2021), World Bank Development Indicators (2021), World Governance Indicators (2019), and official national sources. In the analysis, fixed-effects (FE) panel data analysis complemented with instrumental variable (IV) two-stage least squares (2SLS) estimates were used to generate the results. The results were presented in tables and graphs, followed by interpretations and discussions. Before this, descriptive statistics and pooled ordinary least squares (pooled OLS) estimates were initially generated to understand the pattern of the data before carrying out the main analysis.

3. MAIN FINDINGS OF THE INDIVIDUAL PUBLICATIONS

3.1 Article 1: **The Politics of Social Policy in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Configurational Approach to Fee-Free Policies at the High School Level**

Originally Published:

Asante, G. (2023). The politics of social policy in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Configurational Approach to Fee-Free Policies at the High School level. *SAGE Open*, <https://doi.org/10.1177/21582440231184970>

The first research ambition focused on addressing the conditions necessary and sufficient for expansionary social policies, specifically fee-free policies within the general framework of the research ambitions. The study was situated within the social policy literature and identified potential condition(s) within the socio-political environment that are favourable (or unfavourable) to the adoption of fee-free policies at the high-school level in SSA. The results show the strong influence of electoral competition in both outcomes. In the analysis of the outcome “presence of fee-free policy” the path analysis showed that the presence of electoral competition (i.e., the political party in power promised fee-free policy during their electoral campaign) *and* low level of economic performance *or* the presence of electoral competition *and* high level of lower-secondary-school enrolment rate (i.e., a relative higher number of people attending junior high school) are sufficient to drive fee-free policy at the high-school level. Regarding the outcome “absence of fee-free policy”, the absence of electoral competition is sufficient to cause the absence of fee-free policy.

Indeed, the results from Study 1 support the broader theoretical positions and contribute to our understanding of expansionary social policies within developing democracies such as SSA. The results from the study identify electoral competition and dynamics as having a significant role in the development of social policies (Grebe, 2015; Keefer & Khemani, 2005; Stasavage, 2005). In addition, they support earlier empirical studies, mainly in relation to the basic level of education in SSA, which argue that political demands trigger the adoption of universal free primary education due to electoral competition (Avenstrup et al., 2004). The implication drawn from this study vis-à-vis the dissertation’s general theoretical proposition was that elections strongly influence agenda-setting, policy formulation, and the adoption

of social policies in SSA. The combination of a high level of lower-secondary school enrolment with electoral competition further provides strong evidence of the expectations. This is believed to exist due to the increase in political capital required and the potential to maximise political power to adopt fee-free policies when many young people are ready and progressing to the high school level.

Weak economic performance combined with electoral competition in the production of fee-free policy may, however, be counter-intuitive but was not surprising. For example, among all the cases that were analysed, cases from South Africa were associated with the strongest economic performance. Notwithstanding this, only a partial fee-free policy has been adopted in relation to the relatively weak economy of Ghana in 2017, but adopted a holistic fee-free policy. Moreover, in Ghana, the government adopted a partial fee-free policy in 2015 when the economy grew by -0.17%, with a GDP per capita of US\$1,706. Ironically, in 2013 GDP per capita was US\$2,361 with growth of 4.8%, but a fee-free policy was not implemented either in 2014 although the problem of the low rate of transition from lower secondary to upper secondary school persists. The reason attributed to this by other scholars is political actors' desire to fulfil a campaign promise made in the 2012 general elections, in view of the next general election in 2016, despite the declining economy (Adarkwah, 2022; Mohammed & Kuyini, 2021).

Furthermore, the study did not reveal any influence of political parties' ideologies in the adoption of fee-free policies. This result calls for a rethink of the left turn of the partisan theory of policy outcomes which argues that left-wing parties pursue expansionary social policies more than right-wing parties. In the dissertation, fee-free education in SSA was identified as not the preserve of left-wing parties. In fact, right-wing parties were identified to engage in rigorous fee-free policies compared to left-wing parties, which supports the findings of Tavits and Letki (2009) in post-Communist Europe.

3.2 Article 2: **The effects of cost elimination on secondary school enrolment in Sub-Saharan Africa**

Originally Published:

Article 2: Asante, G. (2022). The effects of cost elimination on secondary school enrolment in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Educational Review, Epub* (Ahead of print). <https://doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2022.2028732>

Do fee-free policies have any effect at all? In Study 2, I was interested in investigating the effect of fee-free policies on school enrolment and the moderating effects of the poverty rate. The result of the study was that fee-free policies significantly positively affect the rate of high-school enrolment in SSA. All other things being equal, an implementation of cost-elimination policy in one year leads to an average increase of 6% in the upper-secondary-school enrolment rate. As expected, offering fee-free education improves school participation, thereby improving the country's human capital formation.

The results support Hypothesis 1 and earlier studies at the basic level of education that posited that fee-free educational policies increase enrolment (Akyeampong et al., 2007; Kabubo-Mariara & Mwabu, 2007; Sabates, Akyeampong, Westbrook, & Hunt, 2010). However, a higher rate of poverty moderates the cost-elimination-enrolment nexus, reducing the effect of cost elimination on enrolment. This means that an increase in the enrolment rate may still not be achieved despite the implementation of fee-free policies if national poverty levels are high. This also supports Hypothesis 2 and earlier studies that argue that eliminating fees amid a high level of poverty will only have a minimal positive impact on enrolment (Branson & Lam, 2017, 2017; Garlick, 2013; World Bank & UNICEF, 2009). Conversely, offering fee-free education means that poverty does not have an extremely negative effect on enrolment. The implication of this study within the broader dissertation was that social policy – and in this case, the provision of fee-free education – at the high-school level promote school participation and social inclusion for endogenous growth. However, high rate of national poverty works against the positive effects expected to be derived from expansionary social policies such as fee-free educational policies.

The general outlook of developing economies and, in this case, SSA indicates a high poverty level. For example, SSA has a national average poverty rate of 40% (Asante, 2022). Despite the efforts of various national governments to reduce the poverty rate, it is a continuous process that demands time. The implication here is that relinquishing access to education to the capabilities of individuals will continue to have an adverse negative effect on school participation. Therefore, social policies such as fee-free education offered by national governments should be encouraged to mitigate the low level of school participation within the region. Notwithstanding, the continued government agenda to reduce the national poverty rate is key for the long-term sustainability of the evolution of social policies, such as the positive effect of fee-free policies on school participation to promote human capital development.

3.3 Article 3: **The positive externality of education on crime: Insights from Sub-Saharan Africa**

Originally Published:

Asante, G., & Bartha, A. (2022). The positive externality of education on crime: Insights from Sub-Saharan Africa. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 8(1), 1–24.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2022.2038850>

Apart from whether fee-free policies have a significant positive outcome on the rate of school enrolment, is there any impact from these policies on society? To address this question, I utilised crime as a subject of investigation. I had the ambition of uncovering the effect of the macro-level rate of school enrolment on the crime rate and further utilising fee-free policies as an instrument of enrolment to estimate the causal effect of the education-crime nexus. The results support the first proposition that an increase in enrolment negatively affects property crime. A 1% increase in the enrolment rate leads to a 1.6% reduction in the theft rate, all other things being equal. There is no evidence of a significant effect on violent crime. Furthermore, when school enrolment was estimated as a function of fee-free policies using the two-stage least square estimates, the negative effect on the rate of theft was more significant and robust than the baseline estimates. With a 1% increase in enrolment, there is a 3.3% reduction in theft rate, all other things being equal. What may explain the relatively more substantial effect may be the gains for enrolment due to fee-free policies. Meanwhile, the rejection of Hypothesis 2 is suggested by the belief that while socioeconomic factors (such as the level of school enrolment) may affect social phenomena such as theft, crimes against the person, typically homicide, may depend on more complicated predictors that are difficult to account for using aggregated data.

The results of this study support Cullen's (1994) normative social support theory with regard to property crime and other empirical studies and speculation about the effect of educational levels on crime rate (Buonanno & Montolio, 2008; Jonck, Goujon, Testa, & Kandala, 2015; Killias & Aebi, 2000). The implication of the research described in the paper within the broader theoretical framework of the dissertation was that fee-free education at the upper secondary level as an

expansionary social policy for supporting access to education improves social structures and has the additional benefit of reducing the rate of theft, lending credence to social support theory. This implication contributes to accomplishing the general ambition of the dissertation. The evolution of social policies, specifically fee-free educational policies, does not only have an immediate effect of improving school participation but has societal benefits that transcend beyond the immediate beneficiaries of these programmes and policies. The social benefits of reducing aggregated theft rate reinforce the need to investigate the sources of the evolutions of these policies (as undertaken in analytical Study 1) to better understand and, if need be, improve these social structures within the broader social policy literature.

4. CONCLUSIONS

- The expansion of fee-free educational policies from the basic level of education to the upper secondary level in many Sub-Saharan African countries (SSA) can be considered expansionary social policies. This is because it involves direct government spending rather than leaving matters to the market. Although research about expansionary social policies has long existed, less attention has been devoted to fee-free educational policies at the upper secondary.
- The dissertation's underlying ambition was to 1) understand the conditions necessary and sufficient for the adoption of fee-free educational policies at the upper-secondary level; 2) examine the effects of fee-free policies on upper-secondary school enrolment rate and; 3) examine the effect of upper-secondary school enrolment rate on crime rates in SSA.
- The three articles making up the article-based dissertation contributed to a better understanding of the evolution of expansionary social policy in developing democracies and the effect and impact of these policies on social variables.
- The first article focused on addressing the conditions necessary and sufficient for expansionary social policies, specifically fee-free educational policies at the upper secondary in SSA.
- The study was situated within the social policy literature and identified potential condition(s) within the socio-political environment that are favourable (or unfavourable) to the adoption of fee-free policies at the high-school level in SSA, using fuzzy-set qualitative comparative analysis (fsQCA).
- The results showed the strong influence of electoral competition in both outcomes. In the analysis of the outcome "presence of fee-free policy" the path analysis showed that the presence of electoral competition (i.e., the political party in power promised fee-free policy during their electoral campaign) *and* low level of economic performance *or* the presence of electoral competition *and* high level of lower-secondary-school enrolment rate (i.e., a relative higher number of people attending junior high school) are sufficient to drive fee-free policy at the high-school level.

- Regarding the outcome “absence of fee-free policy”, the absence of electoral competition is sufficient to cause the absence of fee-free policy.
- The second article investigated the effect of fee-free policies on school enrolment and the moderating effects of poverty rate.
- The result of the study was that fee-free policies significantly positively affect the rate of high-school enrolment in SSA. As was expected, offering fee-free education improves school participation, thereby improving the country’s human capital formation.
- However, a higher rate of poverty moderates the cost-elimination-enrolment nexus, reducing the effect of cost elimination on enrolment. This means that an increase in the enrolment rate may still not be achieved despite the implementation of fee-free policies if national poverty levels are high.
- The third research article investigated the impact of fee-free policies on a key social variable: crime rate. I had the ambition of uncovering the effect of the macro-level rate of school enrolment on the crime rate and further utilising fee-free policies as an instrument of enrolment to estimate the causal effect of the education-crime nexus.
- The results support the first proposition that an increase in enrolment negatively affects property crime.
- Furthermore, when school enrolment was estimated as a function of fee-free policies using the two-stage least square estimates, the negative effect on the rate of theft was more significant and robust than the baseline estimates. The gains for enrolment due to fee-free policies may explain the relatively more substantial effect.
- There was no evidence of a significant effect on violent crime as proposed in Hypothesis 2. The rejection of this Hypothesis was suggested by the belief that while socioeconomic factors (such as the level of school enrolment) may affect social phenomena such as theft, crimes against the person, typically homicide, may depend on more complicated predictors that are difficult to account for using aggregated data.
- Although all three studies had a unique theoretical and methodological approach, in general, they have all improved our understanding of the general idea of expansionary social policies using fee-free policies as the central focus of the analysis.

- They have improved our knowledge about how expansionary social policies evolve in developing democracies such as countries in SSA and the effect and impact of these policies on social variables.
- To understand how fee-free policies at the upper-secondary-school level get on the agenda and subsequently get adopted in SSA, one needs to understand the electoral politics triumphed in the domestic political environment. In brief, one needs to be aware of the dynamics of electoral competition and political agents' interests.
- But, the application of the theoretical exposition of this thesis should focus on developing democracies such as those in SSA countries.
- Notwithstanding the dominance of electoral competition in the evolution of fee-free policies, the outcome and the impact of these policies on society are positive. The provision of universal upper-secondary education makes a critical contribution to the human capital formation of the sub-region and offers safer societies.
- Finally, as an emerging policy alternative for improving access to education at the upper secondary level in SSA, drawing the attention of academics into this research field from a broad range of disciplines, the dissertation has an additional contribution of providing innovative methodological approaches that are yet to be applied to this area of research in SSA.

5. MAIN REFERENCES

- Adarkwah, M. A. (2022). Anatomy of the “Free Senior High School” Policy in Ghana and Policy Prescriptions. *Interchange*, 53, 283–311. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10780-022-09459-3>
- Agnew, R. (1985). A Revised Strain Theory of Delinquency. *Social Forces*, 64(1), 151–167. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2578977>
- Akyeampong, K., Djangmah, J., Oduro, A., Seidu, A., & Hunt, F. (2007). *Access to Basic Education in Ghana: The Evidence and the Issues - Country Analytic Report*. Falmer: CREATE.
- Al-Samarrai, S., & Zaman, H. (2007). Abolishing School Fees in Malawi: The Impact on Education Access and Equity. *Education Economics*, 15(3), 359–375. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09645290701273632>
- Altman, D., & Castiglioni, R. (2020). Determinants of Equitable Social Policy in Latin America (1990–2013). *Journal of Social Policy*, 49(4), 763–784. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047279419000734>
- Amagnya, M. A. (2020). Factors Affecting Education in the Builsa District of Northern Ghana. *Africa Education Review*, 17(2), 104–121. <https://doi.org/10.1080/18146627.2018.1530571>
- Ananga, E. (2011). *Dropping out of school in Southern Ghana: The push-out and pull-out factors*. University of Sussex: CREATE.
- Asante, G. (2016). *The Effects of Human Rights Management Practices in Correctional Facilities on Inmates and Ex-Inmates in Ghana: The Case of Kumasi Central and Female Prisons* (Unpublished Master’s Thesis, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology). Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi. Retrieved from <https://www.academia.edu/36367724>
- Asante, G. (2022). The effects of cost elimination on secondary school enrolment in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Educational Review*, Epub(Ahead of print), 1–25. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2022.2028732>
- Austin, R. L., & Kim, Y. S. (1999). Educational Development and Homicide in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Homicide Studies*, 3(1), 78–98. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1088767999003001005>
- Avenstrup, R., Liang, X., & Nellemann, S. (2004). *Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi and Uganda: Universal Primary Education and Poverty Reduction* (Working Paper No. 30765). Washington, DC: World Bank Group. Retrieved from World Bank Group website: <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/126191468779365715/Kenya-Lesotho-Malawi-and-Uganda-universal-primary-education-and-poverty-reduction>
- Becker, G. S. (1968). Crime and Punishment: An Economic Approach. *Journal of Political Economy*, 76(2), 169–217. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1830482>

- Bell, B., Costa, R., & Machin, S. (2016). Crime, compulsory schooling laws and education. *Economics of Education Review*, *54*, 214–226.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econedurev.2015.09.007>
- Bell, B., Costa, R., & Machin, S. (2018). *Why does Education reduce Crime?* (No. CEP Discussion Paper No 1566). London: Centre for Economic Performance. Retrieved from Centre for Economic Performance website:
<https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED593178.pdf>
- Bennett, P. (2018). The heterogeneous effects of education on crime: Evidence from Danish administrative twin data. *Labour Economics*, *52*, 160–177.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.labeco.2018.02.002>
- Bertoni, E., Di Maio, M., Molini, V., & Nisticò, R. (2019). Education is forbidden: The effect of the Boko Haram conflict on education in North-East Nigeria. *Journal of Development Economics*, *141*, 1–19.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdeveco.2018.06.007>
- Blimpo, M. P., Gajigo, O., & Pugatch, T. (2019). Financial Constraints and Girls' Secondary Education: Evidence from School Fee Elimination in The Gambia. *The World Bank Economic Review*, *33*(1), 185–208.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/wber/lhw051>
- Bradshaw, C. P., O'Brennan, L. M., & McNeely, C. A. (2008). Core competencies and the prevention of school failure and early school leaving. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development*, *2008*(122), 19–32.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/cd.226>
- Brame, R., Mulvey, E. P., & Piquero, A. R. (2001). On the Development of Different Kinds of Criminal Activity. *Sociological Methods & Research*, *29*(3), 319–341. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0049124101029003003>
- Branson, N., & Lam, D. (2017). *The impact of the no-fee school policy on enrolment and school performance: Evidence from NIDS Waves 1-3* (No. Working Paper Series Number 197). A Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit. Retrieved from A Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit website:
http://saldru.com.uct.ac.za/bitstream/handle/11090/856/2017_197_Saldruwp.pdf?sequence=1
- Bronfenbrenner, U., & Morris, P. A. (1998). The ecology of developmental processes. In W. Damon & R. M. Lerner (Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology: Theoretical models of human development* (pp. 993–1028). Hoboken, NJ, US: John Wiley & Sons Inc.
- Brown, D. S., & Hunter, W. (1999). Democracy and Social Spending in Latin America, 1980–92. *American Political Science Review*, *93*(4), 779–790.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/2586112>
- Buonanno, P., & Montolio, D. (2008). Identifying the socio-economic and demographic determinants of crime across Spanish provinces. *International Review of Law and Economics*, *28*(2), 89–97.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.irl.2008.02.005>

- CREATE. (2021). *Why access to education is important*. University of Sussex: CREATE. Retrieved from CREATE website: <http://www.create-rpc.org/about/why/>
- Cullen, F. T. (1994). Social support as an organising concept for criminology: Presidential address to the academy of criminal justice sciences. *Justice Quarterly*, 11(4), 527–559. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07418829400092421>
- De Witte, K., Cabus, S., Thyssen, G., Groot, W., & van den Brink, H. M. (2013). A critical review of the literature on school dropout. *Educational Research Review*, 10, 13–28. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.edurev.2013.05.002>
- Deininger, K. (2003). Does cost of schooling affect enrolment by the poor? Universal primary education in Uganda. *Economics of Education Review*, 22(3), 291–305. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0272-7757\(02\)00053-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0272-7757(02)00053-5)
- Dornbusch, R., & Edwards, S. (1991). *Macroeconomics of Populism in Latin America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Downs, A. (1957). An Economic Theory of Political Action in a Democracy. *Journal of Political Economy*, 65(2), 135–150. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1827369>
- Dragu, T., & Fan, X. (2016). An Agenda-Setting Theory of Electoral Competition. *The Journal of Politics*, 78(4), 1170–1183. <https://doi.org/10.1086/686310>
- Duflo, E., Dupas, P., & Kremer, M. (2017). *The Impact of Free Secondary Education: Experimental Evidence from Ghana*. Working Paper. Retrieved from <https://www.poverty-action.org/printpdf/6446>
- Elonheimo, H., Gyllenberg, D., Huttunen, J., Ristkari, T., Sillanmäki, L., & Sourander, A. (2014). Criminal offending among males and females between ages 15 and 30 in a population-based nationwide 1981 birth cohort: Results from the FinnCrime Study. *Journal of Adolescence*, 37(8), 1269–1279. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2014.09.005>
- Garlick, R. (2013). *How Price Sensitive is Primary and Secondary School Enrolment? Evidence from Nationwide Tuition Fee Reforms in South Africa* [Working Paper]. Retrieved from <https://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/3241466186067633/garlick-schoolfees.pdf>
- Godda, H. (2018). Free Secondary Education and the Changing Roles of the Heads of Public Schools in Tanzania: Are They Ready for New Responsibilities? *Open Journal of Social Sciences*, 06(05), 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.4236/jss.2018.65001>
- Grebe, E. (2015). *The politics of social protection in a competitive African democracy: Explaining social protection policy reform in Ghana (2000-2014)* (CSSR Working Paper No. 361). University of Cape Town. Retrieved from University of Cape Town website: <https://open.uct.ac.za/handle/11427/21575>
- Grindle, M. S. (2004). CHAPTER TWO. From Public Problems to Political Agendas. In *Despite the Odds: The Contentious Politics of Education Reform* (pp. 27–57). Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. Retrieved from

<https://press.princeton.edu/books/paperback/9780691118000/despite-the-odds>

- Ha, E. (2015). The impact of democracy, government ideology, and globalisation on social spending in less developed countries. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 56(5), 338–365.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0020715215624481>
- Harding, R., & Stasavage, D. (2014). What Democracy Does (and Doesn't Do) for Basic Services: School Fees, School Inputs, and African Elections. *The Journal of Politics*, 76(1), 229–245.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022381613001254>
- Hjalmarsson, R., & Lochner, L. (2012). The Impact of Education on Crime: International Evidence. *CESifo DICE Report*, 10(2), 49–55.
<http://hdl.handle.net/10419/167078>
- Huber, E., Mustillo, T., & Stephens, J. D. (2008). Politics and Social Spending in Latin America. *The Journal of Politics*, 70(2), 420–436.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022381608080407>
- Hunt, F. M. (2008). *Dropping Out from school: A Cross Country Review of Literature*. University of Sussex: CREATE.
- Islam, S. M. N., & Clarke, M. (2002). The Relationship between Economic Development and Social Welfare: A New Adjusted GDP Measure of Welfare. *Social Indicators Research*, 57(2), 201–228.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/27526990>
- Jimerson, S., Egeland, B., Sroufe, L. A., & Carlson, B. (2000). A Prospective Longitudinal Study of High School Dropouts Examining Multiple Predictors Across Development. *Journal of School Psychology*, 38(6), 525–549.
[https://doi.org/10.1016/S0022-4405\(00\)00051-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0022-4405(00)00051-0)
- Jonck, P., Goujon, A., Testa, M. R., & Kandala, J. (2015). Education and crime engagement in South Africa: A national and provincial perspective. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 45, 141–151.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2015.10.002>
- Kabubo-Mariara, J., & Mwabu, D. K. (2007). Determinants of School Enrolment and Education Attainment: Empirical Evidence from Kenya. *The South African Journal of Economics*, 75(3), 572–593.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1813-6982.2007.00138.x>
- Keefer, P., & Khemani, S. (2005). Democracy, Public Expenditures, and the Poor: Understanding Political Incentives for Providing Public Services. *The World Bank Research Observer*, 20(1), 1–27. <https://doi.org/10.1093/wbro/lki002>
- Killias, M., & Aebi, M. F. (2000). Crime Trends in Europe from 1990 to 1996: How Europe Illustrates the Limits of the American Experience. *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*, 8(1), 43–63.
<https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1008745112022>
- Lake, D. A., & Baum, M. A. (2001). The Invisible Hand of Democracy: Political Control and the Provision of Public Services. *Comparative Political Studies*, 34(6), 587–621. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414001034006001>

- Lewin, K. M. (2007). *Improving Access, Equity and Transitions in Education: Creating a Research Agenda* (Research Monograph No. 1). Brighton, UK.: CREATE.
- Lewin, K. M. (2015). *Educational access, equity, and development: Planning to make rights realities* (Fundamentals of Educational Planning No. 98). Paris: UNESCO: International Institute for Educational Planning. Retrieved from UNESCO: International Institute for Educational Planning website: [https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000235003/PDF/235003eng.pdf.m](https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000235003/PDF/235003eng.pdf.multi)
ulti
- Lochner, L. (2004). Education, Work, and Crime: A Human Capital Approach. *International Economic Review*, 45(3), 811–843.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/3663638>
- Lochner, L., & Moretti, E. (2004). The Effect of Education on Crime: Evidence from Prison Inmates, Arrests, and Self-Reports. *The American Economic Review*, 94(1), 155–189. <https://doi.org/www.jstor.org/stable/3592774>
- Mamba, M. M. (2020). *Do tuition elimination policies in Sub-Saharan Africa matter? Evidence from the Universal Secondary Education Policy in Uganda* (Doctoral Dissertation, Columbia University). Columbia University. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.7916/d8-bdwt-zz78>
- Mohammed, A. K., & Kuyini, A. B. (2021). An evaluation of the Free Senior High School Policy in Ghana. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 51(2), 143–172. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0305764X.2020.1789066>
- Morgan, C., Petrosino, A., & Fronius, T. (2014). Eliminating School Fees in Low Income Countries: A Systematic Review. *Journal of MultiDisciplinary Evaluation*, 10(23), 26–43.
http://journals.sfu.ca/jmde/index.php/jmde_1/article/view/384
- Muchwanju, C., Chelule, J. C., & Mung'atu, J. (2015). Modelling Crime Rate Using a Mixed Effects Regression Model. *American Journal of Theoretical and Applied Statistics*, 4(6), 496–503.
<https://doi.org/10.11648/j.ajtas.20150406.20>
- Ponce, J., & Loayza, Y. (2012). Elimination of User-fees in Tertiary Education: A Distributive Analysis for Ecuador. *International Journal of Higher Education*, 1(1), 138–147. <https://doi.org/10.5430/ijhe.v1n1p138>
- Porta, D. della. (2008). Comparative analysis: Case-oriented versus variable-oriented research. In D. Della Porta & M. Keating (Eds.), *Approaches and Methodologies in the Social Sciences* (pp. 198–222). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511801938.012>
- Psacharopoulos, G., & Arriagada, A. M. (1987). *School Participation, Grade Attainment and Literacy in Brazil: A 1980 Census Analysis* (Discussion Paper No. EDT86). The World Bank. Retrieved from The World Bank website:
<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/974921468770405586/pdf/multi-page.pdf>

- Quetelet, A. (1984). *Adolphe Quetelet's Research on the propensity for crime at different ages*. Cincinnati, Ohio: Anderson Publishing Co.
- Ragin, C. C. (2008). *Redesigning Social Inquiry: Fuzzy Sets and Beyond*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Republic of Ghana. (2017, September 12). President Akufo-Addo Launches Free SHS Policy. Retrieved 14 February 2020, from The Presidency: Republic of Ghana website: <https://presidency.gov.gh/index.php/briefing-room/news-style-2/364-president-akufo-addo-launches-free-shs-policy>
- Republic of Namibia. (2015). *Introduction of Secondary School Grant in 2016 Academic Year*. Ministry of Education, Arts and Culture, Namibia. Retrieved from http://www.moe.gov.na/files/downloads/194_Circular%20on%20the%20implementation%20of%20free%20secondary%20education.pdf
- Republic of Sierra Leone. (2018, August 20). President Bio Launches Free Education, Calls on Parents and Teachers to Support the Initiative. Retrieved 20 April 2021, from Sierra Leone State House – The Republic of Sierra Leone State House website: <https://statehouse.gov.sl/president-bio-launches-free-education-calls-on-parents-and-teachers-to-support-the-initiative/>
- Sabates, R., Akyeampong, K., Westbrook, J., & Hunt, F. (2010). *School Drop out: Patterns, Causes, Changes and Policies* (Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2011 No. 2011/ED/EFA/MRT/PI/08). University of Sussex: Centre for International Education.
- Sen, A. (1976). Real National Income. *Review of Economics Studies*, 43(1), 19–39. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2296597>
- Stasavage, D. (2005). Democracy and Education Spending in Africa. *American Journal of Political Science*, 49(2), 343–358. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0092-5853.2005.00127.x>
- Stromquist, N. P. (2012). The Gender Dimension in the World Bank's Education Strategy: Assertions in Need of Theory. In S. J. Klees, J. Samoff, & N. P. Stromquist (Eds.), *World Bank and Education: Critiques and Alternatives*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Sutherland, E. H., & Cressey, D. R. (1966). *Principles of Criminology* (7th ed.). Philadelphia: Lippincott.
- Tavits, M., & Letki, N. (2009). When Left Is Right: Party Ideology and Policy in Post-Communist Europe. *American Political Science Review*, 103(4), 555–569. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055409990220>
- UNESCO. (2009). *The Basic Education in Africa Programme (BEAP): A policy paper responding to demands for access, quality, relevance and equity*. BRED A / IBE-UNESCO / GTZ. Retrieved from BRED A / IBE-UNESCO / GTZ website: <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000183492>
- Ward, D., Kim, J. H., Graham, M., & Tavits, M. (2015). How Economic Integration Affects Party Issue Emphases. *Comparative Political Studies*, 48(10), 1227–1259. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414015576745>

- Wooldridge, J. M. (2016). *Introductory econometrics: A modern approach* (6th ed.). Boston, MA: Cengage Learning.
- World Bank. (2018). *World Development Report 2018: Learning to Realise Education's Promise*. Washington, DC: World Bank Group. Retrieved from 10.1596/978-1-4648-1096-1
- World Bank, & UNICEF. (2009). *Abolishing school fees in Africa: Lessons from Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, and Mozambique*. Washington, DC: World Bank. Retrieved from <https://documents.worldbank.org/en/publication/documents-reports/documentdetail/780521468250868445/abolishing-school-fees-in-africa-lessons-from-ethiopia-ghana-kenya-malawi-and-mozambique>

6. AUTHOR'S PUBLICATION LIST

Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles

- Asante, G. (2022). The effects of cost elimination on secondary school enrolment in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Educational Review, Epub* (Ahead of print).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2022.2028732>
- Asante, G., & Bartha, A. (2022). The positive externality of education on crime: Insights from Sub-Saharan Africa. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 8(1), 1–24.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2022.2038850>
- Asante, G., Nkansah, G. B., & Agbee, D. (2022). (De)centralisation in fee-free policymaking process: Comparative review of Progressive Free Senior High and Free Senior High School policies in Ghana. *Policy Futures in Education, Epub*(Ahead of print), 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14782103221135919>
- Asante, G. (2023). The politics of social policy in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Configurational Approach to Fee-Free Policies at the High School level. *SAGE Open*,
- Asante, G., Gajduschek, G., and Bartha, A. “A social problem or a “Sacred Promise”? Explaining the mechanisms driving fee-free policy change in Sub-Saharan Africa” Under Review at *Journal Policy Studies*

Preprints

- Asante, G., & Agbee, D. (2021). Responding to access and beyond in Fee-free policies: Comparative Review of Progressive Free Senior High and Free Senior High School policies in Ghana. *ScienceOpen Preprints*. (ScienceOpenVid:612c5b12-8151-454b-a68f-5420a19ec722).
<https://doi.org/10.14293/S2199-1006.1.SOR-.PPIEK9M.v1>
- Asante, G. (2016). *The Effects of Human Rights Management Practices in Correctional Facilities on Inmates and Ex-Inmates in Ghana: The Case of Kumasi Central and Female Prisons* (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology). Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi. Retrieved from <https://www.academia.edu/36367724>

Opinion articles related to the topic

Asante, G. (12-2022): “A review of the Free SHS policy – Where can we focus?”. My Joy Online, *Peace FM Online, Daily Statesman Newspaper*.
<https://www.myjoyonline.com/gabriel-asante-a-review-of-the-free-shs-policy-where-can-we-focus/>

Asante, G. (01-2023). “Why a review of Free SHS should focus on protecting the poor”. *My Joy Online, Peace FM Online*.
<https://www.myjoyonline.com/gabriel-asante-why-a-review-of-free-shs-should-focus-on-protecting-the-poor/>

Conference papers

Asante, G. (2020): “Poverty versus Cost Elimination: Examining the Determinants of Upper Secondary School Enrolment in Sub-Saharan Africa”, *Corvinus University of Budapest*, Virtual Conference, December 11

Asante, G. (2020): Education-induced Crime Reduction? Understanding the Determinants and Policy Change to increase Upper Secondary in Sub-Saharan Africa”, *European Group for Public Administration (EGPA)*, Virtual Conference, September 01.

Asante, G. (2021): “The Positive Externality of Education on Crime: Insights from Sub-Saharan Africa through macro-level panel analysis”, *Corvinus University of Budapest, Institute of Economic and Public Policy*, Virtual Conference, March 29.

Asante, G. (2021): “Configuration of Fee-free policies at the High School level: A cross-national qualitative comparative analysis of Sub-Saharan Africa”, *Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) and the University of South Africa (UNISA): 2021 Social Policy in Africa Conference*, Virtual Conference, November 22-24.

Asante, G. (2022): “The pedagogical perspective of Free Secondary Education policies: Comparative Review of Progressive Free Senior High and Free Senior High School policies in Ghana”, *1st DOSZ-GASH Students Scientific Conference*, Virtual Conference, June 03.

Asante, G., Gajduschek, G., and Bartha, A. (2023): “Agenda to adoption: understanding the mechanisms driving fee-free policy development in Sub-Saharan Africa through policy change frameworks” *Conference on Policy Process Research*, University of Colorado Denver, January 11-15.