

Samuel Agyei-Mensah
Joseph Atsu Ayee
Abena D. Oduro *Editors*

Changing Perspectives on the Social Sciences in Ghana

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Editors

Samuel Agyei-Mensah
Department of Geography and Resource
Development
University of Ghana
Legon
Ghana

Abena D. Oduro
Department of Economics
University of Ghana
Legon
Ghana

Joseph Atsu Ayee
MountCrest University College
Accra
Ghana

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Foreword

Even though Africa remains the poorest region of the world, there is every indication that the last three decades have seen tremendous change in societal development. The change is reflected in how African societies are governed and how economic activities are organised. It is now a lot more difficult to talk about ‘traditional African societies’ even if large parts of behaviour and lifestyle cannot always be described as modern. A number of key attributes of traditional societies, including chieftaincy, extended family relationships, land tenure arrangements and the organisation of markets, are generally seen differently. It was always inevitable that there would be tensions between the traditional and the modern. Ghana has a unique history. Most of the changes that have occurred in Africa, such as the attainment of independence in the region, the pursuit of comprehensive socio-economic reforms in the 1980s and finally, the trailblazer role in democratic reforms and political transitions in the last two decades, can be observed in Ghana more than anywhere else. It is therefore appropriate that Ghanaian social scientists should be interested in how the changes have been studied and document these.

The changes in the behaviour of society in Ghana and in Africa have been fuelled by both internal dynamics, including population growth and education, and also by external influences, including globalisation. While there have been many studies of these dynamics and how they have shaped African societies in the last three decades, there has been relatively little documentation of how the studies were motivated, and also how ideas for those studies were shaped and influenced by the internal and external dynamics. This book is intended to fill that gap.

There is a lot more information today about African societies, as a result of the fact that it is a lot easier to conduct large household and community studies. It is also more common for different social scientists to use the same research instruments in the same community for different purposes. For instance, surveys are conducted by university-based researchers, students, non-governmental organisations and several other institutions on a regular basis, thus generating data that could be used for a variety of research purposes. This leads to many more solid analytical works that could lead to generalizable conclusions for policy and other purposes. That is what makes a number of the disciplines represented in this book suggest that their relevance to policy is growing.

One of the most remarkable revolutions in the social sciences around the world has been in the development of analytical tools, largely aided by new technologies that allow researchers to do a lot more with data and other information. The use of quantitative methods in different social sciences has grown astronomically, even if this has not always been properly done. The search for ways in which researchers can combine qualitative and quantitative methods proceeds unabated. In the search for improved analytical methods one obvious observation is that many social science disciplines are borrowing from one another. The more dynamic disciplines have been those willing to borrow and adapt tools from other disciplines in order to advance their own discipline. The result is greater inter-disciplinarity and transdisciplinarity in social science research. This is a growing phenomenon around the world and often the outcome of clear thought within the disciplines as presented at conferences. However, inter- and trans- disciplinary borrowing has been less coordinated and organised in Africa. There is therefore room for more effective coordination of research tool development and research analyses to take place among African social science researchers, especially at universities. This book is clear evidence of Ghanaian social scientists wanting to share ideas on how they have done their work over the years. The next stage is to document how they work together.

This book is a bold initiative to show advances in the social sciences in Ghana, especially at the University of Ghana. It represents a new spirit of trying to change the discourse on social science teaching and research in the country by documenting themes that dominate discussions, teaching and research. Questions about the relevance of particular disciplines and how they impact Ghanaian society are discussed. The historical development of the disciplines clearly dominates the presentations. This is a significant first step in having a solid discussion on the approaches and processes that would enable the social sciences in Ghana to become a significant part of the global discourse on the evolution of the social sciences.

Ernest Aryeetey
Vice Chancellor, University of Ghana
Board Chair, Partnership for African Social
and Governance Research

Acknowledgement

We began this book a couple of years ago motivated by our shared commitment to assemble a volume that would provide a chronological narrative of the scholarship on the Social Sciences in Ghana. The actual write up of the chapters began in 2010. Like all edited volumes, there were some challenges. However, they did not affect our determination and commitment to come out with the book. We would like to thank the authors for the wonderful support and cooperation in making the book a reality. We also would like to acknowledge the helpful comments from the anonymous reviewers at both the proposal and manuscript writing stages.

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Samuel Agyei-Mensah
Joseph Atsu Ayee
Abena D. Oduro

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Contributors

Akosua Adomako Ampofo Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

Samuel Agyei-Mensah Department of Geography and Resource Development, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

Ama de-Graft Aikins Regional Institute for Population Studies (RIPS), University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

H. Akussah Department of Information Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

A. A. Alemna Department of Information Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

Cyrelene Amoah-Boampong Department of History, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

Abena Animwaa Yeboah Department of Communications Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

James Anquandah Department of Archaeology, University of Ghana, Legon, Accra, Ghana

Kwasi Ansu-Kyeremeh School of Communication Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

Adote Anum Department of Psychology, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

Max Assimeng Department of Sociology, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

Philip Attuquayefio Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

Joseph R. A. Ayee MountCrest University College, Accra, Ghana

William Baah-Boateng Department of Economics, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

Samuel Kofi Badu-Nyarko Institute of Continuing and Distance Education, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

Michael Baffoe Faculty of Social Work, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Canada

Daniel E.K. Baku Department of History, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

L. Boakye-Yiadom Department of Economics, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

Mavis Dako-Gyeke Department of Social Work, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

Linda Darkwa Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

Akosua Darkwah Department of Sociology, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

Vivian A. Dzokoto Virginia Commonwealth University, Virginia, USA

Maame A. A. Gyekye-Jandoh Department of Political Science, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

Olivia Adwoa Tiwaah Frimpong Kwapong Institute of Continuing and Distance Education, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

Maame Kyerewaa Brobbey Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

Joseph Mensah Department of Geography, York University, Toronto, Canada

Abena D. Oduro Department of Economics, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

Angela L. Ofori-Atta Department of Psychiatry, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

Yaw Oheneba-Sakyi Institute of Continuing and Distance Education, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

Philip Duku Osei Institute of Social and Economic Studies, University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica

Brigid M. Sackey Formerly of the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

Nana Yaw B. Sapong Department of History, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

Michael Ayithey Tagoe Institute of Continuing and Distance Education, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

Steve Tonah Department of Sociology, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

Joseph A. Yaro Department of Geography and Resource Development, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

Chapter 1

Introduction

Joseph R. A. Ayee, Samuel Agyei-Mensah and Abena D. Oduro

The social sciences are disciplines, which have been taught in most universities and colleges across the world. They mainly deal with society, aspects of the group life of human beings and their relationships. In other words, the social sciences may be regarded as the scientific study of social, cultural, psychological, economic, and geo-political forces that guide individuals in their actions (Kuper and Kuper 1985; Hunt and Colander 2004). Even though they are closely related to the humanities in that both deal with human beings and their culture, they are, at the same time, different. While the social sciences are mostly concerned with those basic elements of culture that determine the general patterns of human behaviour, the humanities deal with special aspects of human culture and are primarily concerned with attempts to express spiritual and esthetic values and to discover the meaning of life. In addition, whereas the social sciences study issues in a systematic, scientific way, the focus of the humanities is more on emotions and feelings (Hunt and Colander 2010).

The social sciences have been the subject of debate on three grounds. First, some scholars have argued that there is nothing like the social sciences. In other words, the scientific rigour of the social sciences has been questioned. It is therefore argued that it is a misnomer to call them sciences. In the United Kingdom, for instance, the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) had to change its name to the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), in part because of a belief of Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Party in the early 1980s that the social sciences were not sciences (Smith 2000).

J. R. A. Ayee (✉)
MountCrest University College, Accra, Ghana
e-mail: jraayee@yahoo.com

S. Agyei-Mensah
Department of Geography and Resource Development
University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana
e-mail: samensah@ug.edu.gh

A. D. Oduro
Department of Economics and Faculty of Social Sciences,
University of Ghana, Legon, Accra, Ghana
e-mail: aoduro@ug.edu.gh

Arguing against the social sciences being regarded as sciences in his book, *The Idea of a Social Science and Its Relation to Philosophy*, Winch (1958) sought to direct attention of “social studies” from their obsession with methodology to what makes their investigation significant: meaningful human actions. He therefore admonished scholars in “social studies” to see themselves as much more akin to a branch of philosophy than to the “experimental sciences”. Similarly, Hutchinson et al. (2008), in their book with an intriguing title, *There is No Such Thing as Social Science: In Defense of Peter Winch*, referred to the “myth” of the social sciences and pointed out that what meaning one attaches to the term, “social science” may be expressed in the form of three questions, namely:

1. Is one talking of social science as scientific in terms of it being conducted in the scientific spirit: its practitioners acting in accordance with certain intellectual virtues?
2. Is one talking of social science being scientific in its method being one that is shared with the (or some of the) natural sciences, reducible in terms of methods employed?
3. Is one talking of social science as scientific in terms of its being reducible to one or other of the natural sciences, reducible in terms of the substance of their claims? (Hutchinson et al. 2008, p. 3).

Based on these questions, they concluded that “there is no such thing as a social science on the model of methodological or substantive reductionism because to be committed to methodological or substantive reductionism is to be committed to a priorism: it is to be committed to something methodological or the relevant explanatory factors in one’s explanation of social action—prior to one’s investigation. The correct method is to read off the nature of the phenomena. To embrace a particular method from another domain of inquiry owing to its success in that domain is ... ironically contrary to the scientific spirit: it is to fail to act in accordance with the intellectual virtues” (Hutchinson et al. 2008, pp. 3–4).

In a rebuttal to the claim that there is no such thing as social science, McIntyre (1996) upholds the prospect of the nomological explanation of human behavior against those who maintain that this approach is impossible, impractical, or irrelevant. By pursuing an analogy with the natural sciences, McIntyre shows that the barriers to nomological inquiry within the social sciences are not generated by factors unique to social inquiry, but arise from a largely common set of problems that face any scientific endeavour. All of the most widely supported arguments against social scientific laws have failed, largely due to adherence to a highly idealized conception of nomologicality (allegedly drawn from the natural sciences themselves) and the limited doctrine of “descriptivism.” Basing his arguments upon a more realistic view of scientific theorizing that emphasizes the pivotal role of “redescription” in aiding the search for scientific laws, McIntyre is optimistic about attaining useful law-like explanations of human behaviour. In his second publication, *Dark Ages: The Case for a Science of Human Behaviour*, McIntyre (2006) argues that the social sciences today are in the same state in which the natural sciences were in the Dark Ages. In the same way that religion inhibited the progress of science and the growth

of knowledge in the Dark Ages, so is political correctness inhibiting progress in the social sciences and the growth of knowledge today. This is why the social sciences do not follow the scientific method like the natural sciences do, and are hence incapable of offering effective solutions to pressing social problems such as crime, famine, and war. The reason why political correctness is able to affect science in this way is our fear of knowledge. Human beings are simply too terrified to discover unpleasant truths about themselves, so they prevent certain hypotheses from being seriously tested in social science research. Rather, they prefer to indulge in comforting pseudo-scientific ideology.

Another defender of social science as science is the British philosopher, Roy Bhaskar (1987, 1997, 1998), whose philosophies of science and social science resulted in the development of what is referred to as “critical realism.” He emphasized that the conceptions of science do not necessarily demand that the conducting of experiments are essential to a science. This is because the unavailability of conditions under which experiments can be reproduced in some of the natural sciences like geology and astronomy is similar to a sense in which reproducible experiments are often unavailable to the social scientist. To him, therefore, the status of “facts,” “evidence” and “theories” are issues which confront all researchers.

Of course, it is instructive to note and to remind ourselves that Max Weber, arguably regarded as the father of the social sciences as far back as the 1940s, did make the point that the social sciences exist. In his “Natural Science, Social Science and Value Relevance” (cited in Coser 1977, pp. 219–222), Weber did not see the difference in the methodology of the natural sciences and social sciences, nor the superiority of one methodology over another. According to him, differences between the natural sciences and the social sciences arise from differences in the cognitive intentions of the investigator, not from the alleged inapplicability of scientific and generalizing methods to the subject-matter of human action. In the view of Weber, “Both types of science involve abstraction. The richness of the world of facts, both in nature and in history, is such that a total explanation in either realm is doomed to fail. Both the natural and the social sciences must abstract from the manifold aspects of reality; they always involve selection” (Weber cited in Coser 1977, p. 220). In addition, Weber emphasized the value-bound problem choices of the investigator and the value-neutral methods of social science research (Weber 2011).

As editors, we concede that the methodologies of the natural sciences and the social sciences may be different, but they do not in any way erode the scientific project or endeavour of the social sciences in investigating endemic issues and challenges in African societies and coming out with findings which in most cases are relevant, enduring and often can be generalized, especially if they are from a comparative perspective. In addition, it is widely known that the methods of social science research may be divided into two broad categories:

- Quantitative designs approach social phenomena through quantifiable evidence, and often rely on statistical analysis of many cases (or across intentionally designed treatments in an experiment) to create valid and reliable general claims.

Table 1.1 Some of the key social science disciplines

Anthropology	Industrial relations
Archaeology	Information science
Area studies	International studies
Business studies	Law
Communication studies	Library science
Criminology	Linguistics
Demography	Media studies
Development studies	Political science
Economics	Psychology
Education	Public Administration
Geography	Sociology
History	

- Qualitative designs emphasize understanding of ten social phenomena through direct observation, communication with participants, or analysis of texts, and may stress contextual and subjective accuracy over generality (Kuper and Kuper 1985; Hunt and Colander 2004).

Social scientists have commonly combined quantitative and qualitative approaches as part of a multi-strategy or triangulation design. Questionnaires, field-based data collection, archival database information and laboratory-based data collections are some of the sources often used. In addition, social scientists use different methods. These include the historical method, the case method, and the comparative and cross-cultural methods. (National Focus Group 2006). Some of these approaches and methods have informed the chapters contained in this volume.

The second debate relates to the scope, diversity and complexity of the social sciences. The social sciences encompass several disciplines, as can be seen in Table 1.1,¹ even though this is not an exhaustive list. There is no agreement over which disciplines should constitute the social sciences. For instance, in some universities History and Linguistics are not social sciences but are rather considered as humanities or arts disciplines. The same applies to Geography, which some universities either place under the natural sciences or under both natural and social sciences because of its two sub-fields of Physical and Human Geography. In putting together this book, the editors were also confronted with this familiar age-old challenge of which disciplines actually constitute the social sciences. In this book, we have included some of the disciplines which may be regarded as eclectic, such as African Studies, Development Studies, Women and Gender Studies and Adult and Continuing Education (see Table 1.2).

The list of social science disciplines is sometimes considered both too broad and too narrow. It is too broad because parts of the fields of history, geography, and psychology should not be included as social sciences. For instance, parts of history and geography belong in the humanities, and parts of psychology belong in the natural

¹ Compiled from Encyclopedia Britannica “The Social Sciences” available at www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/551385/social-science (accessed 2 July 2013); Ross (2008).

Table 1.2 Social science disciplines covered in this book

Archaeology and heritage studies	International affairs
History	Information studies
Geography and resource development	Communication studies
Psychology	African studies
Sociology	Development studies
Social work	Adult and continuing education
Economics	Women and gender studies
Political science	

sciences. The list is too narrow because new social sciences are emerging, such as cognitive science and socio–biology that incorporate new findings and new ways of looking at reality (Hargittai 2009).

A complexity of the social sciences is that because all knowledge is interrelated, there are inevitable problems in defining and cataloguing the disciplines. Often, it is difficult to know where one social science ends and where another begins. Not only are the individual social sciences interrelated, but also the social sciences as a whole are also related to the natural sciences and the humanities. To understand history, it is helpful, even necessary, to understand geography; to understand economics, it is necessary to understand psychology. Similar arguments can be made for all of the social sciences. Indeed, part of the problem facing the social sciences comes from the wide-ranging nature of the disciplines, subject-matter and problem domains. Social science can encompass everything from psychology to international relations, from social theory to well-being. But while the methods of study used and subjects vary, there is also a strong common thread: explaining our social world (Hunt and Colander 2004; Backhouse and Fontaine 2010).

Notwithstanding the diversity and complexity, the social sciences are interrelated, inter-disciplinary and trans-disciplinary. These have added new dimensions and nuances to conducting research in the social sciences, thereby making it intriguing. For instance, a study in HIV/AIDS is not only a medical and public health issue but also involves disciplines in the social sciences such as social work, sociology, economics and demography (Sulkunen 2007).

The third debate revolves around the prevailing perceptions that the social sciences, are irrelevant. Their non-utility may be traced from the initial stages of schooling, during which it is often suggested to students that the natural sciences are superior to the social sciences, and are the domain of “bright” students (Trigg 2001)—a perception common in Ghana as well.

There is the widespread belief that the social sciences merely transmit information and are too centered, on the texts, which students are required to memorize for examinations. The content of textbooks in the social sciences is considered to be unconnected to daily realities. Examination papers are perceived as rewarding the memorization of the superfluous “facts,” with the students’ conceptual understanding being largely ignored (Business/Higher Education Roundtable 2002).

A key challenge faced by students of the social sciences is the perception that not many desirable job options are open to them. In addition, it is felt that the social sciences are bereft of the “skills” required to function in the real world. This produces the impression that the disciplines are redundant (Hunt and Colander 2004).

Some scholars have pointed out that no field of study is more important to human beings than the social sciences (Berard 2009; Hunt and Colander 2010). To understand society is to learn not only the conditions that limit the lives of human beings but also the opportunities open to them to improve their conditions. Increasing knowledge of human society is as important as learning more about mathematics, physics, chemistry, or engineering, for unless one can develop societies in which human beings can live happy, meaningful, and satisfying lives, one cannot reap the benefits from learning how to make better automobiles and skyscrapers, travelling in space, or constructing faster computers. In the words of Albert Einstein: “Politics is more difficult than physics and the world is more likely to die from bad politics than from bad physics” (cited in Hunt and Colander 2004, p. 4). Indeed, so important are the social sciences to state and society that the tragic events of September 11, 2001 in the United States may be explained from a social science perspective. For instance, answers to the following questions fall under the purview of the social sciences: (i) What forces drove the hijackers to undertake such actions? (ii) What forces led the passengers to organize together to thwart them? and (iii) What might have prevented the hijackings? (Frieden and Lake 2005).

It is widely recognized that the social sciences have an important track record in the transformation of Western European countries from labour intensive agricultural economies to modern urban high-tech societies. European welfare states have particularly required a substantial input from social research. What is less well understood is that the conceptual structure, methodology, and research practice of the social sciences themselves have reflected their relevance, and that all this is rapidly changing as a consequence of the changing forms of governance (Sulkunen 2007).

The relevance of the social sciences to some professions such as law (Berard 2009) and medicine (Eisberg and Kleinman 1981) has been underscored. For instance, for legal education:

The interaction of law and social science is something with which the law student will want more than a passing familiarity. Ideally, this would include exposure to the methodology of the social sciences, including some statistics; the student should be equipped to exercise some critical judgment upon claims advanced by social scientists whether in economics, political science, sociology, psychology, or anthropology. Law is a social science. The other social sciences are vital to law, since law is preoccupied with human behavior and its implications (American Bar Association 1980, p. 118).

Similarly in medicine, even though physicians believe that biomedical sciences have made and will continue to make important contributions to better health, they are “no less firmly persuaded that a comprehensive understanding of health and illness, an understanding of the social sciences is equally important” (Eisberg and Kleinman 1981, p. ix). In addition, the social sciences provide physicians with “empirically verifiable knowledge that serves as a foundation for understanding and influencing individual, group and societal actions relevant to improving and maintaining health” (National Academy of Sciences 2004, p. 5). The relevance of

the social sciences to medicine has led to the introduction of some subjects such as medical sociology, medical geography, health economics and history of medicine in some universities across the world.

In addition to what has been said so far about the relevance of the social sciences, it is also important to emphasize their normative concerns. They are indispensable in laying the foundations of analytical and creative minds, which are required to adjust to an increasingly interdependent world, and to deal with political and economic realities as well as create and widen the popular base for human values, namely, freedom, justice, trust, mutual respect, and respect for diversity (Smith 2000).

Even though the relevance of the social sciences for the job market may be seen as limited in some ways, given the competencies that their students gain, they are able to perform better in employments which demand retraining and adaptation of knowledge and skills than their science counterparts (Hunt and Colander 2010).

A more nuanced part of the debate is over the policy relevance or irrelevance of the social sciences. According to those who consider the social sciences irrelevant, relevance requires better theory and better-designed tests to fulfil the expectations and needs of those who make policy, or simply those who want to understand better our complex world—theory and tests which the social sciences do not have. In short, social science practitioners have failed to use their detailed empirical knowledge to offer opinions and identify with some confidence the forces that have driven issues and interactions in the state and society (Tsebelis 2002; Trachtenberg 1991; Hutchinson et al. 2008). Two cases highlight the perceived policy irrelevance. In May 2012, Jeff Flake, a member of the US House of Representatives, managed to persuade a House majority (218–208) to vote to block the National Science Foundation (NSF) from funding political science research. Flake argued that the NSF would no longer “waste taxpayer dollars on a meritless programme.” Similarly, in the *New York Times*, the philosopher Gary Gutting advised policy makers to ignore the social sciences on the grounds of unreliability (Marar 2012).

On the other hand, proponents of the policy relevance of the social sciences have pointed out that the real test of relevance is what the discipline provides in the form of approaches, theories, and analytical tools that can be marshalled to explain why events happen and what can be done to alter the course of future events. In addition, the social sciences have been involved in academic and practitioners’ debates which have resulted in several academic publications, conferences and workshops and have reached broad audiences, while some professors of the social sciences have engaged in public or government service (Frieden and Lake 2005).

Furthermore, according to the Business/Higher Education Roundtable (2002) the social sciences and policies are important in ensuring the maintenance and functioning of a stable society by attempting to provide a more equitable distribution of wealth and income as well as ensuring an understanding of governance and institutions of civil society. Universities have played a key role in providing social science courses which educate graduates in the philosophy, knowledge and the new developments of the social sciences. This enables government agencies to access skilled social scientists who are capable of developing and implementing new and appropriate social science policies to meet the needs of an ever changing world.

The importance of the social sciences in Ghana cannot be underestimated. They constitute about 70% of the student population in both public and private universities in Ghana and therefore contribute to revenue-generation in these institutions. Moreover, social science students and lecturers have served in past and present governments, thus contributing to policy relevance. In terms of scholarship, there has been an avalanche of publications (either theoretical, empirical and comparative or a combination of these) from the social sciences in universities in Ghana and the diaspora on virtually all aspects of the Ghanaian state and society. This contribution of the social scientists must be viewed against the backdrop of the fact that Ghana is not only the “paradigmatic African country” (Ayee et al. 1999) but also “a microcosm of social, political and economic processes in Africa. The Ghanaian proclivity for experimentation has made Ghana into a veritable laboratory for the investigation of different approaches to endemic African problems” (Pellow and Chazan 1986, pp. 209–210). This volume, therefore, brings together under “one roof” the scholarship of most of the key social scientists in Ghana and their contributions to their disciplines.

It is against this backdrop that the contribution of this book should be viewed. First, the book contributes to the ongoing debate over not only the “scientific” nature of the social sciences but also their diversity, complexity and policy relevance. Second, it is most likely the first compilation of its kind in Ghana that brings together discussions of the evolution of scholarship in different branches of the social sciences. The volume has a two-fold aim, namely, to: (i) present in one volume a comprehensive multi-disciplinary collection of papers on the changing dynamics of the social sciences in Ghana; and (ii) provide a broader perspective from which to view the evolution, theory, methods, substance and policy relevance over time of each of the social science disciplines and their multiple interfaces. This ensures, first, a historical perspective, and second attention to specific issues (evolution, theory, methods, substance and policy relevance) in each of the disciplines covered. The ultimate goal of the book is to enable readers to compare and appreciate the synergies, differences, trends and nuances between the social science disciplines in a holistic and scholarly manner. Thus, regardless of the audience, the chapters have been set up to facilitate meaningful comparisons, with as few gaps as possible. The book, therefore, is for academics, students, practitioners and the general reader who are interested in promoting the contours and boundaries of the social sciences.

The book has 17 chapters, 15 of them devoted to some of the disciplines of the social sciences while Chaps. 1 and 17 cover the introduction and conclusion, respectively. The disciplines are arranged in clusters based on their cognate nature and interrelatedness, even though in one or two cases, such relationships may be disputed (for instance, Geography and Archaeology or Heritage Studies and History). Chapters 2, 3 and 4 are covered by Archaeology and Heritage Studies, History and Geography and Resource Development, respectively. Psychology, Sociology and Social Work are contained in Chaps. 5, 6 and 7 respectively. Economics is in Chap. 8, Political Science in Chap. 9 and International Relations in Chap. 10. Information Studies and Communication Studies occupy Chaps. 11 and 12, respectively. Chapters 13, 14, 15 and 16 are devoted to what may be referred to as the

eclectic disciplines of African Studies, Development Studies, Women and Gender Studies and Adult and Continuing Education respectively. The analytical framework for most of the 15 chapters is based on the evolution, growth, theories, methods, substance and their policy relevance. The richness of the chapters lies in the different evolution and growth of the disciplines, the challenges that faced them and how they were addressed, the scholarship built around them, especially from the Ghanaian perspective, curricular transformation and in some cases the change in nomenclature of the departments in which they were taught; for instance, from Archaeology to Archaeology and Heritage Studies and from Library and Archival Studies to Information Studies. The influence of globalization on the disciplines has been underscored even if not directly. Chapter 17, the Conclusion, is devoted to the implications of the chapters for the theoretical, comparative and empirical literature and the future of the social sciences.

As we close this introduction to the book, it is instructive to emphasize that the chapters were written mostly by scholars at the University of Ghana (UG) from the perspective and trajectory of the disciplines at the university. The book therefore does not cover some the disciplines as they evolve in the other public universities in Ghana such as the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST), University of Cape Coast (UCC), University of Education, Winneba (UEW) and the University of Development Studies (UDS). This could be a strength or weakness depending on how one looks at the contribution of the book. However, as editors, it is our view that the issue of a more comprehensive book on social sciences in Ghanaian universities should be an agenda for future research and therefore a different academic pursuit.

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Chapter 2

Trends in the Development of Archaeology and Heritage Studies in Ghana

James Anquandah

This chapter presents a summary of the inception and growth of the discipline over the past 80 years or so:

- Its importation from Europe.
- Its adaptation to the local environment by the adoption of eclectic and multi-sourced methodology.
- The indigenization of the body of archaeological practitioners.
- The gradual and continuing transformation from an ivory-tower type academic discipline inherited from Europe to a down-to-earth relevant “applied” heritage-oriented Ghanaian discipline.

Introduction—Why Study the Past?

Among new nations of the world, such as Ghana, there is continual struggle for survival in highly competitive global setting. As such, priorities are put on the development of key areas and essentials of society—food, shelter, health, security, social welfare, communication, governance, education. Even in the sphere of education and the quest for knowledge, subject areas are mentally prioritized. Politics, economics, medicine, the natural sciences, engineering, law, information technology are accorded precedence and pride of place. On the other hand, histories and heritage studies are invariably ranked lowly in the hierarchy of disciplines.

It is no wonder, therefore, that taking all levels of public and private instructions of education into consideration, the University of Ghana, Legon, is today almost the only place where archaeology and heritage studies is seriously pursued as an academic discipline.

This chapter, among other things, seeks to take issue with the current mind-set prevalent in certain quarters of the globe and also Ghana that the twenty-first

J. Anquandah (✉)

Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, University of Ghana,

P. O. Box LG. 3. Legon, Accra, Ghana

e-mail: Jamesanquandah@yahoo.com

century A. D should be a purely forward-looking computer-cum-space age unhampered by irrelevant backward-looking historical concerns and that “the past” should be jettisoned, baby, bath-tub, water and all.

In every sphere of life, including the production and dissemination of knowledge, present and future developments are invariably founded on what existed before. As they say, today is the tomorrow of yesterday!

All over the world, there is an unwritten phenomenon known to scholars of historical demography as the “genealogical imperative.” This means that in all human societies, individuals, families, clans, ethnic groups, social classes and nations, feel obliged to memorialize and keep track of their ancestry, lineages, land and property titles, heraldic totems, notable events, heroes, achievements, knowledge systems, folklore, historic sites, monuments, etc.

In nearly all African societies, there are informal custodians of traditional histories and cultural heritage. In Ghana, various ethnic groups have proverbs that underscore the vital role of indigenous heritage as a major factor in societal development. The Akan have a saying—“*Tete ara ne nne*”

(“The present is part and parcel of, and coterminous with, the past.”) Another Akan proverb states:

Tetewo bi ka, tetewo bi kyere. Duakontonkye a no so ne neaetenegyina.

(“The past has a lot to say and much to teach us. Though an aged tree may look bent, rugged, uninspiring, yet still it provides the setting for engraftment of a new steady fruitful plant.”)

In a paper presented at the UNESCO international conference held at Accra in 2002 on the theme “Enhancing Cultural Co-operation on the African continent,” Prof J.H.K Nketia observed:

In Ghanaian traditional society, there is constant historical awareness which is reflected in material culture. In my native town of Asante Mampong, once every 40 days, Adaye is celebrated, a festival which links history to material culture heritage. Various items of state property are regarded, not as mere artefacts, but as inculcating cultural values. These are brought out from the royal court museum. They are exhibited and accounted for. Their ancestral authors are named and eulogized. Every royal is obliged in his lifetime to ensure that something new is created for posterity- some cultural object or art work. He knows that failure to do this may result in his subjects bringing charges of dethronement against him! (Anquandah 2002)

So vital to humanity worldwide is the innate responsibility of “tracking down” the past to build the present and future, that at the formal level in academia, it has given rise, over the past century, to a bewildering multiplicity of disciplines and sub-disciplines, each specializing in a particular aspect of study on the past-palaeontology, geology, prehistory, archaeology, palaeohistorical demography, oral tradition/oral history written history, art history, historical geography, historical linguistics, economic prehistory and history; political history, social history, onomastics, epigraphics etc.

Studies on historical linguistics have shown that past ethnic groups of Ghana spoke numerous languages and dialects which evolved over the centuries and most

are extant today. For some reason, these languages were not developed into written or scripted forms even though many of their concepts were expressed in the form of artistic symbolism. It was only with the introduction of Arabic and Western-type alphabet, that Ghanaian languages began to be scripted. As a result, history information has been transmitted down the generations by indigenes, chiefly through oral traditions which are, however, often marked by distortions and myths. Also oral traditions lacked time depth and were difficult to fit into exact chronological sequence.

From the 1500s, the introduction of Western-type writing made it possible to give some permanence to the recording of information on indigenous histories and tangible and intangible heritage. However, the pioneering written documentalists, including nineteenth century Basel missionaries tended to interpret the heritage information with a Western colonial bias.

What was needed to overcome these problems related to heritage documentation was a source, method, or tool of study that would minimize information distortion and also project heritage studies upstream into the distant past.

It was with this in mind that in the late 1940s the designers of the curricula of the University College of the Gold Coast deemed it prudent to include the subject of archaeology in the first batch of academic disciplines earmarked for research and teaching as well as learning at the new College.

Archaeology came to Ghana as part of the baggage and legacy of Western acculturation and system of education. As will be seen in later sections of this chapter, it has its own limitations and drawbacks, especially as regards the extent of data preservation and also the personal bias of the archaeologist's mindset and beliefs that creep into the record in the process of interpretation of the data. However, it seemed to the pioneers of tertiary education in the then Gold Coast that here was the precise "tool" of scholarship that could be adopted for verifiable scientific documentation of heritage, especially since it exhibited capacity for long range exploration into the very distant past.

Archaeology—Its Identity and Purpose

Archaeology has to do with the study of the past, including the distant and relatively "recent" past. Its principal source of data comprises tangible material residues related in some way to human life. Archaeology entails the process of uncovering, examining, recording and analyzing the contents of an ancient site, its artefacts, technofacts, ecofacts and features. The archaeologist seeks to ascertain what light such residues can shed on vicissitudes of behaviour and experience over time and space.

In the course of time the discipline of archaeology has developed linkages to several other disciplines in the humanities and natural sciences to such an extent that the same modern scholars have wondered whether it has a distinct identity or whether it is but an amorphous hybrid of multiple academic investigative techniques and methods and intellectual approaches which knit together in some apparent cohesive manner.

Some scholars view archaeology as the backward projection in time, or “the past tense,” of history, anthropology, geography, sociology and contemporary culture. Indeed, archaeology shares with various social science subjects the common goal of developing scholarly endeavours that would facilitate understanding and enrichment of human experience, and also stimulate consciousness of the brotherhood of peoples throughout history.

Like history, archaeology has a time dimension although its chronological range goes well beyond history’s boundaries and extends to over 1 million years.

Archaeology is also viewed as being amenable to the pursuit of “human ecology,” that is concerned with discovering how humans have been interacting with, and transforming the environment, including physical, biological and cultural aspects of the environment.

Over the past century, archaeology has been known to employ concepts and models from anthropology, including the use of ethnographic analogy. Hence archaeology is regarded by some as a behavioural cultural “science.”

The question has been posed as to whether archaeology is a science. Archaeology adopts scientific attitudes and its practitioners seek to collaborate with scholars of the natural sciences to obtain assistance in dating by scientific methods and also for identification of discoveries emanating from sites. This, however, hardly warrants identifying archaeology as a natural science discipline because the replicative character of the methods and results of scientific experiments is indeed a far cry from that of archaeology.

There is no doubt at all that archaeology has a unique identity that makes it totally different from all other disciplines. This is evident from the major canons of archaeological practice:

- Archaeology employs peculiar methods and equipment for surveys and excavations for data retrieval from ancient sites.
- Archaeology entails description, analysis, dating, as well as interpretation or explanation of retrieved material data based on some forms of logic acceptable to a wide spectrum of schools of thought.
- Except in areas such as Pharaonic Egypt where archaeological remains are often elucidated by means of paintings, engravings, datings and hieroglyphic writings, in most African sites the archaeological data *per se* does not contain built-in meaning. Thus for the task of formulating valid conclusions from archaeological record, there is the need to source other data by engaging in some non-archaeological research in areas such as ethnography, ethnohistory, ethno linguistics, art studies, written history, etc.
- At nearly every stage of archaeological practice, before, during and after excavations, there is some form of theorizing. This constitutes the conceptual basis that underpins interpretation and the logical framework employed to make sense of material data that is retrieved. Modern archaeology has witnessed the emergence of many theoretical movements such as:
 - Cultural history school
 - New Archaeology/Processual school,

- Post-Processual school,
- Marxist school and
- Post-modernist school.

What is the *raison d'être* or justification for archaeological practice? Why do some people choose to take up this peculiar profession which, to others, seems to involve risks, hardships, apparent boredom, inconveniences etc.? However, archaeologists regard their profession as a fascinating and exciting “calling” and full of passion that drives them to discover more and more about past events. The questions that constantly engage their minds are: What happened in the past? When, where, why, how (or by what process)? And who were involved?

Ivor Noel Hume, eminent pioneer of the historical archaeology of early European colonial sites in North America underscored archaeology's unique place in the development of historiology and cultural heritage scholarship when he wrote:

Archaeology gives a people sense of roots. This is undisputably true. It is why in Europe, thousands of people from every walk of life spend their vacations working on their countries' archaeological sites. They do it in the United States of America too, from the White House downward, and the shades of countless of Indians must scratch their heads in wonder as they watch their trash and bones being treated with a respect that their living descendants are denied. Expeditions are sponsored by Universities. Sites are protected by Federal and State agencies. And across the land, societies of amateur archaeologists devote themselves to the study of the American Indian. (Noel-Hume 1968, p. 8)

For Archaeologists in Ghana, the discipline provides opportunity to employ unique research designing to decode from data buried in the earth the cryptic unwritten past of societies that lacked writing until the introduction of foreign alphabets.

Above all, for Ghanaian archaeologists, philosophically, the discipline signals African consciousness. Black Africa's greatest wealth and most important “export” are seen in culture, past and present. In charting the vicissitudes of prehistory and history, not so much from books and ideas imported from external sources but by direct excavation from Ghana's native virgin earth, Ghana's archaeologists seem to be saying: “We prefer to put premium on our own home-grown paradigms, independent thinking, creativity and inventiveness. This way we expect to infuse the richness of the past as a manure or fertilizer into our future lifestyle.”

Archaeology and Heritage Studies in Ghana, Yesterday and Today—A Historical Outline

The narrative of the inception and evolution of the discipline in Ghana may be viewed, as it were, through the “windows” of four arbitrary time periods as follows:

- Era of amateur explorers (1820s–1930s)
- Era of the foundations of scientific archaeology (1930s–1960s)
- Era of the expansion of the academic discipline (1970s–1980s)
- Era of Applied Developmental archaeology (1990s–2010s)

Era of amateur explorers (1820s–1930s)

Modern scholars of the discipline trace the origins of African archaeology to Europe and North America which are regarded as the “cradle” or “core” area where archaeological practice was initiated and whence it was diffused to so-called “peripheral” areas in Africa (Robertshaw 1990, p. 3). It is, however, very interesting to note the shortness of the time-gap between the initial stirring and foundation of the concept of archaeology in the “metropolitan” region and its transfer to the “peripheral” zone of the so-called “Third World,” with particular reference to Ghana.

One of the earliest recorded references to prehistoric studies in the Gold Coast (Ghana) is that of the Danish missionary called Monrad. In 1822, he unearthed ground stone axes from a prehistoric site at Osu, Accra, not far from Christiansborg Castle location. Monrad sent the axes for study and exhibition at the Copenhagen Royal Ethnographic Museum. This was very timely, as the Danish pioneers of European archaeology, namely, Christian Thomsen and J. J. Worssae, Curators at the Danish National Museum were engaged in formulating the archaeological concept of the “Three Age System.” This refers to the hypothesis that all the scattered and hitherto incoherent cultural heritage remains found worldwide could be conveniently classified by the adoption of a progressive technology-cum-chronology model designated as stone age, copper/bronze age, and iron age. Ground stone axes akin to those collected by Monrad were unearthed by the Basel missionary, Johannes Zimmermann at Odumase-Krobo and were mentioned in a publication in 1874 by Winwood Reade, a journalist of the *London Times* who visited Ghana to cover the Anglo-Ashanti war at that time.

In 1916, A. E. Kitson, Director of Gold Coast Geology Survey wrote in an article in the *Gold Coast Geological Journal* that it was evident from ethnohistories of indigenes that the stone axe was only one item of a prehistoric material culture context that included ancient pottery and cylindrical hatched stone rubbers (“Cigars”/“rasps”). Kitson called the makers of the stone axe tradition, the “Nyame Akuma People.” This “emic” term was not adopted by later professional archaeologists who preferred an “etic” term, “Kintampo Tradition” based on the name of the location where a major settlement of the tradition had been excavated. (Several sites containing remains of this tradition, which initiated prehistoric farming and village life, were later excavated by twentieth century archaeologists in all ecozones of Ghana and dated scientifically to around 2000–500 BC.)

A host of amateur documentalists of prehistoric data in Ghana followed in the trail of Monrad, Zimmermann and Reade, including antiquarians such as Burton 1883; Robert Rattray 1923; Junner 1931, Wild 1934 and Braunholtz 1936. It was, thanks to them, that samples of numerous cultural collections sourced from cuttings in road and railway construction, building works, mining and dredging and farming enterprises were deposited at the British Museum and also at the Gold Coast Geological survey centre in Cornwall Gardens, London. H. J. Braunholtz published data on these collections in the British journal, *Antiquity*, and Captain R. P. Wild, Inspector of Mines published similar articles in the local journals, *Gold Coast Rev-*

iew and *Gold Coast Teachers' Journal*, (Wild 1934/35), all of which facilitated dissemination in Europe and Ghana related to the earliest archaeological discoveries, from Ghana.

In 1936, Brauholtz published an article in *Antiquity* that sounded almost like a “prophecy.” He wrote: “It is clear that there is here a large interesting and almost untouched field awaiting the spade of the trained archaeologist.” For, the very next year, Thurstan Shaw, a trained archaeologist from the University of Cambridge was appointed to be lecturer at Achimota College and later became curator of Ghana’s first museum of anthropology and archaeology at Achimota College Campus.

The Era of Foundations of “Scientific Archaeology (1930s–1960s)

From his pioneering work, one may, with some justification, refer to Thurstan Shaw as “the father of Ghanaian Archaeology.” He noted in his memoirs (1990) that he was guided by two principal objectives, each of which contributed to the realization of the other. Firstly, he sought to gather all available archaeological evidence and secondly, to create and increase as widely as possible an awareness of the archaeological dimension for engaging in research on Ghana’s past. He argued that the more archaeological evidence there was to present, and disseminate, the greater there was of the possibility of increasing awareness among people throughout the country and, as a result, there would be a greater inflow of information from the public related to finds and sites.

In 1940, Shaw carried out scientific excavation in the prehistoric Bosumpra rock-shelter at Kwahu Abetifi and unearthed an assemblage of microliths, ground stone axes, pottery and faunal remains of unknown age. (Later when radiocarbon dating method was invented, archaeologist Andrew Smith was able to obtain dates of 4th millennium B. C for the oldest materials at Bosumpra (Shaw 1944; Smith 1975).

In 1942, Shaw conducted another major excavation at an ancient rubbish mound at Dawu Akuapem, a site which was similarly dated by radiocarbon after the war to the fifteenth century A. D.

Shaw’s works included systematic collection, cataloguing and display of heritage materials at the Achimota Museum. In addition, he promoted archaeology through lectures at colleges and schools, publication of articles in the print media and lecture series on Accra Radio. His publications on the excavations he conducted with very limited resources are a marvel even to present-day archaeologists as they were highly detailed and of high quality and so have served as models for up-and-coming archaeologists.

He wrote in his memoirs (1990): “In the 1930s and 1940s, it was not a matter of urging the importance of archaeology in what it could contribute to a sense of *identity* in an emerging nation, and the way it assists in giving a people a sense of its roots—all that came later. Rather, it was simply a matter of demonstrating that the Archaeology was there and that it was a form of study which could throw light on the unwritten past. Once these things had been appreciated, the importance

of archaeology in the process of nation-building became much more readily self-evident” (Shaw 1990, p. 209).

The decades immediately before and after Ghana’s independence witnessed major developments as much in educational and cultural sectors as in politics and economics. Thus the period attracted to Ghana archaeologists trained in Western universities or related Antiquities Services, whose work contributed significantly to the process of laying strong “infrastructure” for archaeology in Ghana. Among these were A. W. Lawrence (1951–1956), Davies (1952–1966), Shinnie (1957–1966), Ozanne (1962–1966), R. N. York, D. Mathewson and C. Flight (1960s). All these were Researchers/Lecturers at the Department established since 1951 at Legon. Their principal objectives were to extend the frontiers of knowledge on Ghana’s past by engaging in “pure/basic” archaeological research and the dissemination of their findings through publications, museum displays, conference presentations and training and teaching of prospective, local archaeologists. Thanks to these scholars, several hundred ancient sites were surveyed and a number were selected for limited excavations. Sites investigated include the following:

Prehistoric Sites Legon Botanical Gardens, Kintampo Chukoto, Ntereso, Christian’s Village (Achimota).

Later Sites Ahinsan, Ayawaso, Buipe, Ladoku, Jakpawuase, Nyanaoase, Mampongtn.

In 1951, A. W. Lawrence, a Professor of Classical Archaeology at Cambridge University was appointed as Professor of the Archaeology Department at the University of Ghana, Legon and also as Curator and Director of Ghana’s National Museum. Lawrence used his immense fund of knowledge and experience in architectural history to document the extant European forts and castles located along Ghana’s coastline. His book entitled, *Trade Castles and Forts of West Africa* (1963) is a rich information repository derived from European archival sources as well as on-the-spot careful examination, measurement and documentation (in writing, photography and drawing of the historic buildings. From the 1990s when the subject of the international slave route became the vogue of historical scholarship, Lawrence’s book has served as a major standard reference source.

In 1952 Oliver Davies brought to Legon experience from archaeological work in Ireland and South Africa. For 14 years he traversed Ghana surveying and documenting archaeological findings in hundreds of sites. His most important contribution to Ghana’s archaeology comprises his research and publication on “Stone Age” archaeology, especially his documentations on raised beaches, river terraces and lake sediments. Data from various key sites which he investigated, for instance, Asokrochona, Hohoe, Legon Botanical Gardens, Kintampo, Limbisi, Ntereso etc., served as a point of reference for later archaeologists. His books, *Quaternary in the Coastlands of Guinea* (1964) and *West Africa Before the Europeans* (1967) are very useful in terms of subject matter, even though the style of writing makes heavy reading and some of his prehistoric terminology is outdated. Allsworth-Jones, an authority on “Stone Age” Archaeology of West Africa paid tribute to Davies when he wrote of him: “Nobody can fail to admire the tremendous energy and devotion

which Davies brought to his work. Without that there should be no great corpus Ghanaian material such as is available for study today and West African Archaeology needs such qualities if it is to get anywhere at all” (Allsworth-Jones 1981)

In 1957, a new National Museum was opened at Accra using half of the collections deposited at Legon from the Achimota College Museum of anthropology.

P. L. Shinnie became Professor of the Department of Archaeology, University of Ghana, Legon, bringing to his task immense know-how from Oxford University, Sir Mortimer Wheeler’s expeditions and many years’ rich experience of Nile Valley archaeology. His 9 years stint at Legon was marked by significant academic developments:

- A period of teaching of an archaeology course at the History Department.
- The introduction of a 2-year professional post-graduate diploma course in archaeology as a result of which a number of facilities were set up that have survived till today, namely, a library, scientific laboratory, photographic studio, and museum teaching collection.
- A major archaeological salvage scheme was mounted in 1963–1970 as part of the university’s Volta Basin multi-disciplinary research programme. The Department’s new appointees, R. N. York, D. Mathewson and Colin Flight led by O. Davies carried out significant scientific excavations at some 48 sites located in the Volta and Northern Regions of Ghana that were to be inundated by the creation of the Volta Lake through the Akosombo Dam construction. The total findings published in a booklet (Davies 1971 *Archaeology of the Flooded Volta Basin*) promoted the Department’s mission of “extending the frontiers of Archaeological knowledge” in Ghana.
- The University, in collaboration with the Ghana Government, financed a 3-year archaeological research expedition to Debeira West in Nubia as part of the UNESCO international scheme to save African heritage sites due to be inundated by the Nile floods created by the construction of the Aswan high dam. The Debeira expedition led by P. L. Shinnie not only provided archaeological training for three Ghanaian up-and-coming academics, but it also brought to Ghana 50% of the total archaeological findings as a donation from the Sudan Government. These provided a boost to the University of Ghana’s Department’s Museum artifact teaching collections and also the National Museum collections in Accra. The publication of the expedition’s result in Shinnie and Shinnie’s book (1978) certainly constituted a major contribution of the University of Ghana to world heritage scholarship.

Era of Expansion of the Academic Discipline (1970s–1980s)

Both from the standpoint of research and knowledge dissemination, the 1970s and 1980s constituted a critical phase in the development of heritage studies. Thanks to the bold initiative of Professor Merrick Posnansky in 1968/1969, the Department embarked upon a Bachelor of Arts degree programme. Henceforth, a student

could register for a course in archaeology combined with other humanities subjects. This was indeed, a major landmark in the fortunes of archaeology. Moreover, in 1971/1972, academic year, a Master's degree programme in archaeology took off at Legon and then to crown it all, in 1979/1980, the University of Ghana awarded a PhD degree in archaeology for the first time to a Ghanaian. The curriculum for the BA degree programme featured among others, courses on:

1. African prehistory
2. Archaeology of West Africa
3. General (World) Prehistory
4. Human culture and Environment
5. Practical/Field archaeology
6. Regional archaeology (Nile Valley/Indian Ocean/Southern Africa)
7. Independent Field work dissertation and
8. Historical archaeology of Africa

The post-graduate degree programme focused on:

1. The Archaeology of Ghana
2. Sub-Saharan African "Iron Age" Studies
3. Advanced Method and Theory and Practical Field Work
4. Nile Valley Archaeology and
5. MA/MPhil Thesis

In the late 1980s, the B. A. degree programme was restructured to include a number of courses that equipped and "groomed" students upon graduation to take on jobs related to heritage pursuits, teaching history in schools and museum work. The new courses included:

1. Cultural Resource Management
2. Art History of Ghana
3. Palaeohistorical Demography
4. Museum Conservation
5. Monuments Conservation

As practical field work is key component in the training of archaeologists, the establishment of B. A and MA degree programme in the 1970s and 1980s led to significant expansion and diversification of research activities of the Department of Archaeology. Lecturers and Research Fellows were obliged to mount "field schools" for students during vacation periods to provide training in field and laboratory work, and students were examined on the lessons taught.

Quite apart from the researches mounted to train students, academic staff engaged in individual research work for the advancement of scholarship. Unlike the period before the 1970s when field research was often on an *ad hoc* basis, research in the 1970s and 1980s became more systematic and purposeful, and was geared to specific objectives and research designing. It was also based on thematic patterns such as Pleistocene technology and subsistence, metallurgy, agricultural origins, ekistics and urbanism, long-distance trade patterns, art history, ethnoarchaeology, etc.

The major field researches undertaken in the two decades belong to two principal categories. The first category comprised field investigations carried out by staff of the Department of Archaeology, including the following:

- *Prehistory sites*: Asokrochona, Boyase Hill, Bonoase, Gao Lagoon, Hohoe, Kwahu Scarp-rock shelters, Mumute, Tema west.
- *Historic/Recent sites*: Akwapem settlement sites, Ahwene KoKo/Bonoso, Bono Manso, Begho, Komaland, Ladoku, Fort Ruychaver, Shai Hills, Wodoku, Elmina Bantama, Elmina Old Town.

The second category comprised research carried out by (i) visiting Foreign Professors and (ii) visiting post-graduate students researching for their PhD theses. The sites investigated by researchers under this category are: Asokrochona (Allsworth Jones), Asantemanso (P. L. Shinnie) Daboya (P. L. Shinnie and F. Kense), Kintampo (A. B. Stahl), Begho (M. Posnansky), Twifo Hemang (J. O. Bellis), Hohoe (B. K. Swartz) Birim Valley earthworks (D. Kiyaga-Mulindwa).

The impact of research expansionism is reflected in the record of publications in journals and books (local and foreign). The notable publications include those by Anquandah (1982, 1986) Effah-Gyamfi (1985), Boachie-Ansah (1986), Crossland (1989), Shinnie and Kense (1989) Stahl (1985), Decorse (1989), Bellis (1972), Garrard (1980), Bredwa-Mensah (1990), Posnansky (1984, 1987).

Academic linkages with overseas institutions served as an avenue for the exchange of academic staff who brought new ideas, technologies and skills through lectures and “field schools” organized in collaboration with the Legon Department of Archaeology. Among the outstanding “field schools” were those organized by M. Posnansky at Begho in the late 1970s and 1980s following his departure from Legon to U. C. L. A. California.

Another such avenue was the exchange programme of the British Inter-university Council through which various eminent academics from British Universities were appointed as visiting scholars to the Department of Archaeology, among them, Professor John Evans (1974/1975), and Professor Ian Glover (1979/1980). The Department’s library was a great beneficiary of these visiting programmes as each visitor brought a consignment of current archaeological book publications and journals.

Above all, the two decades constituted a critical transition era in terms of the Department’s staff development and deployment. The period witnessed the exit of some six expatriate lecturers and their replacement by four Ghanaian lecturers, one of whom was James Anquandah, who became the first Ghanaian substantive Head of Department of Archaeology in the mid-1980s.

Era of Applied/Developmental Archaeology (1990s–2010s)

In the early 1990s, a major target of the Ghana Government’s “economic recovery programme” was the nurturing and development of Tourism as a national “product” or “industry” that would rank third after cocoa and gold production as a source of

revenue. It was precisely at this time that the Central Region administration at Cape Coast conceptualized and initiated a pilot programme geared to poverty alleviation and vigorous income generation. Although fish and salt production constitute the mainstay of the Central Region subsistence economy, the planned economic recovery scheme was to be erected on what appeared at the time to be somewhat ephemeral “pillars” of the natural and cultural heritage resources of the region. The scheme and “mission” entailed:

- The conservation and rehabilitation of the dilapidated structures of the Cape Coast Castle, Elmina Castle and Fort Coenraadsburg (St. Jago).
- The financing of multi-disciplinary research programmes including archaeology, history, ethnography, and art studies so as to collect and collate data and artefacts.
- The creation of a Heritage Museum in the two castles featuring exhibition on the materials derived from the researches.
- The conservation of flora, fauna and other biota in nearby Kakum National Wild Life Park and the establishment of a Natural History Museum at the Park.

The expectation was that the packaging of natural-cum-cultural heritage resource and its presentation to the public would serve as a powerful magnet that would draw droves of visiting tourists, both foreign and local to the Central Region. The scheme was funded jointly by the Ghana Government and the United States of America. The Central Region Development Commission (CEDECOM) and its overseas partner, the Midwest Universities Consortium for International Activities (MUCIA) commissioned, among others, the Scottish Kirkdale Archaeological Centre and the Legon Department of Archaeology to carry out archaeological investigations to collect data from the two castles and Fort Coenraadsburgh (Anquandah 1992, 1997). In 1993–1995, the Department of Archaeology at Legon played a major role in the development of the Cultural Museum of Cape Coast Castle themed, “cross-roads of trade, crossroads of people,” as well as the Museum of Elmina Castle themed, “Images of Elmina across the centuries.”

The CEDECOM heritage development experiment turned out to be a success, and other Regional administrations in Ghana sought to replicate the Central Region model. In 1999, UNESCO (Paris and Accra) in conjunction with the Ghana Government set up the “National Slave Route Project” based at the Ministry of Tourism, Accra. The project committee which included researchers and documentalists from the Legon Department of Archaeology and History Department was mandated:

1. to carry out heritage research countrywide so as to reveal the hitherto concealed data related to the historic slave traffic; and
2. to disseminate the findings through book publications, museums exhibits, internet and electronic and printed media, and conferences.

From the outcomes, it was envisaged that such blatant, horrific human right violations that occurred in the historic slave trade would not be repeated in future (Anquandah 2007).

The impetus on heritage pursuits that resulted from the CEDECOM and UNESCO initiatives diffused among Ghana's intellectual circles. At Legon, the sub-discipline of "Historical Archaeology" whose canons had held sway in the Central Region researches became the vogue after the year 2000. There was, thereafter, both in staff and post-graduate student researches, a shift in emphasis from "pure" research to "applied/developmental" research. The focus of "applied" research has been on historic and heritage sites and is geared to producing results that can be readily "injected" into the development of educational, cultural heritage and economic-oriented programmes that would interest and attract tourists and allied clientele. A series of "applied" research projects undertaken by Ghanaian staff and graduate students of archaeology since year 2000 include those conducted at Fort Crevecoeur/Ussher (2000), Fort Elize Carthago (2001), Frederiksgave Plantation, Abokobi (2002), Krobo Hills settlement (2004–2006), Jenini slave market, Brong (2004), Fort Amsterdam (2006), Fort St. Anthony, Axim (2008), Fort William, Anomabu (2009) Fort Fredensburg, Ningo (2010), Basel Mission Sanatorium, Aburi (2011), Fort Ruychaver and Fort Ankobra/Elize Carthago (2011–2012), Koma/Bulsa sites (2007–2012) and Fort Metal Cross(2010).

Archaeology investigations in the 1990s–2010s, especially regarding the application of scientific methods, have benefited immensely through linkages with Western academic institutions as they provided facilities for scientific analyses related to:

- Chronometric dating.
- Identification of trace element in artifacts by means of "neutron activation."
- Identification of ancient biological remains by phytolith method.
- Identification of subterranean materials through magneto-meter/electrical resistivity surveys.

A striking example of such benefit is the fact that until a decade or so ago, the precise dating of prehistoric foragers' occupation of Ghana could not be placed earlier than a few thousand years ago. However, the recent application of the scientific method of "optical luminescence" in analysis of Pleistocene river sediments has made it possible to obtain chronometric age of 40,000–50,000 years before present for "Middle Stone Age" tools made by foragers who occupied the White Volta/Birimi River Basin in Upper East Region of Ghana. Quikert et al. (2003).

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, the Department was redesignated as "the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies." The objective for the change was to broaden the scope and base of the discipline and to make it more down-to-earth and more meaningful to the lay public. Also the curriculum for the degree programmes was restructured and diversified to include "student friendly" courses such as social, cultural, visual and economic anthropology. The emphasis given to heritage studies and the increasing use of multi-disciplinary approach in both teaching and research have had a salutary impact on the "marketing" of the subject. The number of students registering for first year archaeology courses has increased exponentially, sometimes reaching the 500s, a staggering figure compared to that of the 1970s and 1980s!

In Search of Appropriate Epistemology/Paradigm

At the centre of scholarship on archaeology and heritage studies in Africa is an ongoing debate on the issue of the character, authenticity and relevance of the epistemology and paradigm that should undergird and guide the pursuit of the discipline. “Epistemology” relates to thinking on the theory of knowledge—that is, how knowledge is formulated or “grown.” It refers to the subject-matter of a particular subject and the process entailed in creating that corpus of knowledge. Various factors influence knowledge creation, among them (i) beliefs and views of people, socio-political and economic conditions in which knowledge is formulated, (ii) the empirical data sourced through research and interpretation of that data (iii) subsequent new research and reinterpretation of *status quo* facts.

“Paradigm” refers to the conceptual frame or corpus of accepted ideas regarding the *modus operandi* of particular matters in the world. Archaeological discipline and its “baggage” of epistemology and paradigm originated in the Western world whence it was transmitted to Africa. The nature of the epistemology has been outlined in an earlier section of this chapter. On the basis of findings from both ethnological and archaeological researches carried out in Europe, the Near and Middle East and North America, a paradigmatic scheme was formulated on world prehistoric and cultural heritage. The scheme postulated human development in terms of technological and socio-cultural progression from savagery and barbarism through simple rudimentary lifestyle to complex urban civilized societies. In this paradigm, the Western world and the Middle/Near East were “*ex occidente/oriente lux*”—the source of world civilization and enlightenment while cultural traditions in Africa (except perhaps Pharaonic Egypt) were relegated to the status of “backward,” “unprogressive,” “underdeveloped,” and “non-innovative” entities.

Cultural heritage is holistic and comprises both tangible and non-tangible aspects, the latter including “dynamic” manifestations. However, the data retrieved from archaeological context is “static” fragmentary and made up of material residues, especially technological data. It is not surprising, therefore that the cultural scheme formulated by the western pioneers of archaeology was expressed in terms of technological-cum-chronological developmental progression featuring (i) “Palaeolithic Age” (Lower, Middle, and Upper, (ii) “Neolithic Age,” (iii) “Copper/Bronze Age” and (iv) Iron Age.”

European scholars who pioneered archaeological research in Africa initially invoked their familiar Western heritage scheme as basis for documentation and interpretation of the African cultural data. However, the nature of the African data was found to be highly variable spatially (from region to region) and also over time, such that it was mind-boggling to formulate a uniform sequence for the entire continent. In Africa, it made better sense apparently to work out a separate cultural sequence for each region. For instance, the archaeological sequence for Ancient Egypt and Kush/Nubia would legitimately comprise “Early/Middle/Late Stone Age to Copper/Bronze Age to Iron Age.” The available evidence indicates that parts of the West African Sahara/Sahel/Sudan experienced a period of copper technological

development preceding that of iron technology. However, for most of Sub-Saharan Africa, the available evidence argues progression from Early to Later Stone Age, thence direct to Iron Age.

On the basis of archaeological data accruing from African sites over the past 60 years, it is argued that for a substantial part of human development in the foraging lithic technological period of the Pleistocene, Africa held cultural leadership in the world but that Europe and Western Asia have, in turn, exercised technological leadership since the onset of the Holocene if not earlier. Hence, it has often been generalized that Africa's societies lagged behind the Western World during the past 12,000 years when major innovations took place, especially in the areas of sedentism, agriculture, metallurgy, urban and state development, fine arts, large-scale trade networking.

With this built-in prejudice in mind, wherever evidence was found in Africa, that was indicative of technological or cultural creativity and innovation, for instance, in Ancient Egypt, Kush Ethiopia, Nok, Ife, Zimbabwe, Benin, Asante etc. Western scholars and African scholars of like mind, readily attributed such developments to "diffusionism" of ideas from more enlightened external sources or even to "civilized colonizers" who migrated into those areas. It was such mindset that led Hugh Trevor-Roper, History Professor at Oxford University to state:

Perhaps in the future, there will be some African history to teach. But at present, there is none: there is only the history of the Europeans in Africa. The rest is darkness... and darkness is not a subject of history. We cannot afford to amuse ourselves with the unrewarding gyrations of barbarous tribes in picturesque but irrelevant corners of the globe. (Trevor-Roper 1965, p. 9)

Other scholars with richer experience based on extensive fieldwork provide arguments that run counter to Trevor-Roper's. For instance, Jan Vansina in his *magnum opus*, *Oral Traditions History* has demonstrated that Africa ethnohistories, if judiciously handled, can serve as highly illuminating histories, especially because they are based on internally derived data (Vansina 1985).

As early as the 1920s, Franz Boas made the highly revealing statement that art production can serve as a non-racist, non-prejudicial source for historical reconstruction globally, including Africa. Boas insisted on:

"The fundamental sameness of mental processes in all races and all cultural forms so that what is important is the specific context—geographical and historical in which ART develops" (Boas 1927, p. 1).

Indeed direct field studies on African art history/prehistory have shed interesting light on the work of African indigenes who pioneered rock art. Examples include-Blombos rock shelter dated by thermo luminescence to 77,000 years ago (Henshilwood 2002; Lewis-Williams and Pearce 2004); Apolo, xi rock shelter, Namibia dated to 27,500 years ago (Phillip's 1995, p. 11; Davison 1995, p. 181, 187); and Tassili/Iheren rock art sites dated to 4,500–2,500 B.C. (Holl 2004). Archaeologist Flight, former lecturer at the Department of Archaeology, Legon and the University of Birmingham, U. K. raised the issue of "diffusionist" paradigm at the 7th Pan African congress on prehistory:

The conventional approach to African Prehistory is indeed diffusionist. Diffusionism involves a reliance on null hypothesis in favour of diffusion. It is an approach and an interpretation that allows diffusion the benefit of the doubt. A diffusionist will not admit independent invention, unless he is compelled by conclusive evidence to the contrary to abandon his preferred hypothesis. Conversely, the same is true of an independent inventionist. Instances of diffusionist thinking are easy enough to find in the literature of the past ten years... Unintentionally, but inevitably, the diffusionist approach has tended to create the notion of Africa as a cultural backwater. Second, it has had the effect of making African prehistory look easy. To suppose that later African Prehistory is really rather marginal and really rather simple can hardly be to our advantage. (Flight 1971, pp. 321–323)

Since the 1960s, systematic and sustained field studies on archaeology, anthropology and history and resultant publications have gone a long way to demonstrate that in the past, African societies in many places did succeed in creating viable complex innovative systems that contributed actively to the history of human development. American Professor, B. G. Trigger, belongs to the school of thought that positively acknowledges the African achievement, as shown here in his statement that:

Archaeology has played a significant role in refuting colonial mythology about Africans and their past... Empirical studies of chronology, subsistence patterns, technology, exchange and socio-political organization, have provided evidence of cultural change and creativity that has consistently dispelled the view that in pre-colonial times Africa was culturally stagnant and retarded. Both in early history and in later times, Africa has been shown to have been as culturally dynamic as any other major region of the world. (Trigger 1990, p. 318)

Professor A. B. Stahl is a protagonist of a second school of thought. In her view, the tree of Western anti-African paradigm and prejudice is still extant with its stem and roots intact. All that 60 years of Africanist research has achieved is to lop off the branches. She wrote recently: “The efforts to counter negative images of Africa through the production of new histories questioned the details of the narrative, but not its underlying assumptions. The new histories sought to demonstrate that Africa’s past was continuous with the standard of world prehistory. But by failing to question the presumptions of this narrative (that is, the teleology of progressive development models... archaeologists, like historians, fell into what Fuglestad (1992) termed the ‘Trevor-Roper trap’. The epistemological framework and narrative conventions of earliest approaches remained intact, and in the case of archaeology, were reinvigorated in the 1960s through American New Archaeology which reinforced evolutionary ideas into archaeology” (Stahl 2005, pp. 11–12)

How can this issue of epistemology paradigm be resolved, one may ask? It is evident that Africa outside the Nile Valley cannot do without archaeology, especially since written sources do not have chronological depth and oral traditions may often be undateable and characterized by distortion. It is evident that, broadly speaking, the corpus of archaeological methods as currently practiced in Africa is useful, robust, acceptable. Theory is bedfellow of method as there is usually some theoretical thinking accompanying nearly every stage of archaeological investigation. It is evident that African archaeology will be greatly improved if the necessary academic linkages and also funding can be accessed to support the discipline with needed scientific facilities available elsewhere in the world. It is also evident that when it comes to the crucial aspect of interpretation of the material data retrieved

and ascertaining meaning and applicability for it, some home-grown socio-cultural ethnohistoric and natural environmental background know-how is a *sine qua non* factor that must come into play. It is evident that trained indigenous scholars are best qualified to handle this.

For the future, it seems inappropriate for expatriates to continue to serve as substantive researchers on heritage and histories in Africa as they will continue to apply foreign ideas and analogies with which they are familiar to explain African data and phenomena. After all it is for similar reasons that African academic scholars are prohibited from serving as principal directors of archaeological researches at Western and Near/Middle Eastern sites. Why should Africa then continue to endure scientific and cultural imperialism from non-African scholars?

There is also the issue of the “Three-Age System” devised in Europe and prescribed for documentation, analysis and classification of data from African sites. The eminent British archaeologist, Glyn Daniel predicted several decades ago that it would become an “albatross” hanging round the neck of archaeologists. The prediction has materialized!

As a model, the system came in “handy” at a time in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century when many modern scientific dating methods were unknown. Today it is considered not only obsolete but also the cause of utter confusion when applied over a vast area such as the African continent. It is also time that other models such as the ecological or socio-economic should be increasingly applied in Africa in place of the purely technological progressive model, as argued recently by Karl Butzer, Professor of anthropology and geography at Chicago University:

I am arguing for contextual archaeology for deliberate exploration and development of an approach that will transcend the traditional pre-occupation with artefacts and with sites in isolation, to arrive at a realistic appreciation of the environmental matrix and of its potential spatial economic and social interactions with the subsistence settlement system. This contextual approach is heavily dependent on archaeology, zooarchaeology, geoarchaeology and spatial archaeology. (Butzer 1982, pp. 11–12)

It is also evident that the old explanatory concepts of “diffusionism,” “inventionism,” “migrationism,” etc are *per se* not necessarily irrelevant. Indeed, in certain contexts they may well prove to be the *deus ex machina* for providing answers posed by the archaeological record. However, their indiscriminate and simplistic usage without supporting concrete verifiable evidence can only be deemed as unscientific.

Future Trends in Archaeological Studies

In 2007–2008, the Department of Archaeology, Legon, organized internal anonymous interviews among its academic staff on the subject of the “state of art” of the discipline in Ghana. The exercise constituted a sort of “referendum” and an institutional introspection and self-assessment among academic practitioners of the discipline. The survey employed a specially designed questionnaire research

instrument for enquiring into the development of the discipline from its inception in early twentieth century to present, to discover its strengths and weaknesses and vicissitudes over the decades and to ascertain how it can rediscover itself and play an effective role in Ghana.

Coincidentally, the survey generated some answers to the very questions posed by this chapter regarding trends in the development of archaeology and heritage studies in Ghana. Findings from the survey included the following points:

Regarding Identity

That archaeology is a vital academic discipline of utmost importance because it entails creation of knowledge on Ghana's past by resort to the unique method of unearthing and examining material residues of past populations so as to document and preserve information on Ghana's history and heritage.

Each individual ethnic or social group in the world, irrespective of its physical, economic, cultural or demographic character is entitled to have its peculiar lifestyle and history documented as a contribution to the story of the wider global human experience. If so, Ghana's own contribution to that experience can hardly be ignored or slighted.

Regarding Role/Function in National Setting

That practitioners of archaeology have a responsibility of seeing to the dissemination of knowledge on the subject through education, as broadly as possible. In this respect, it seems that the community of archaeologists stands indicted that after 60 years of operation, it has not been possible to arouse interest of youths and adults of schools and colleges in the subject and mobilize them to engage in archaeological field trips seasonally as occurs in Western nations.

Indeed, one of the recommendations of the survey is that the Ghana State/Government should seriously consider introducing the subject into the curricula at the basic and secondary levels and expand its current scope at the tertiary level:

- That in view of the high levels of cultural "illiteracy" in Ghana, the archaeology community needs to take up the task of promoting education on the positive aspects of Ghanaian cultural traditions country-wide.
- That by dint of its academic productivity in the area of historicity and heritage, archaeology helps the nation to define its identity, fosters a sense of national consciousness and thus promotes nation-building.
- That archaeological practitioners as a body have responsibility of bringing together different social-political groups and stake-holders who share common interest in cultural heritage protection and conservation so that together they can engage in such heritage interventions as would reflect in large-scale tourism developments.

- That there is need for the association of heritage scholars and archaeologists to petition Ghana's State/Government regarding the following:
 1. To review existing laws and regulations regarding protection and management of national heritage and properties.
 2. To motivate Regional/Districts Assemblies and Traditional Rulers to generate resources for the development of heritage museums in Regions and Districts, at Royal Courts, and in Wild Life Parks.
 3. To institute a programme for documenting and reviving moribund indigenous knowledge systems such as potting, traditional medicine, iron technology, gold smithing, and ancient Guan food-types.
 4. That the use of the multi-disciplinary research strategy for promotion of "applied archaeology" is in the right direction as it will help democratize, practicalize and monetize the discipline.

The survey Director concluded "In order for archaeology to flourish further in Ghana, it has to be applied to national development needs as well as local community-based requirements, otherwise it will become peripheral and superfluous" (Insoll 2008, p. 11). In the view of the writer, the answer to many of the mind-boggling issues related to archaeological research and promotion of heritage developmental agenda is simply to put the total management of the discipline squarely in the hands of competently trained indigenes of Africa. For, they, and they alone can research, interpret and authenticate the African data Africanly. Ghana's archaeology and heritage studies must of necessity be for Ghana, of Ghana and by Ghanaians.

Jan Vansina, the eminent Historian put his thumb on the crux of the matter: "Where there is no shared common culture between author, historical actors and audience, a somewhat artificial history results. In African history, the most common situations are *either* that author and audience share a common culture which is not African *or* that the model audience that African authors have in mind is foreign rather than the actual audience who reads their work and for whom they intend to write. Such a situation adds the risk of cultural distortion to any historical reconstruction" (Vansina 1994, p. 240).

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Chapter 3

Bridging the Ivory Tower Professional History, Scholarship, and Public Engagement in Ghana

Daniel E.K. Baku, Nana Yaw B. Sapong and Cyrelene Amoah-Boampong

Introduction

The postcolonial university in Africa is the most fundamental institution in the development of rational thinking, knowledge creation and application, and dissemination. This is where human resources for national development are cultivated and nurtured. It is also a place for developing and fine-tuning political and cultural ethos of people as members of a body politic and associational life (Altbach 2005). The University of Ghana and the Department of History has been playing this role since its founding. In the latter part of the 1940s, a succession of fortuitous events laid the foundation for the growth of higher education in British Africa. These included series of reports from the British government as well as a push from British academia. It should, however, be pointed out that these initiatives from the colonial government were partly as a result of decades of agitation for educational reform in British West Africa, beginning in the Gold Coast in 1920 with the National Congress of British West Africa.¹ The reports included the Asquith and Elliot Reports of 1945, and the Scarbrough Report of 1947. The Asquith Report was the general policy regarding the development of higher education across all British territories while the Elliot Report was specific to expanding tertiary education in West Africa.²

¹ The National Congress of British West Africa was founded in 1920 by J. E. Casely Hayford and other young educated Africans who wanted a strong African legislative representation as well as reforms in various areas, including education.

² In 1943, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Oliver Stanley appointed Sir Cyril Asquith to chair a Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies. The Commission proposed an Inter-University Council which will represent all British universities, and also invited the University of London to join the Council. One of the purposes was to do the groundwork for the establishment of tertiary institutions in the colonies. The Majority Report of the Elliot Commission (1945) was more specific by recommending the establishment of tertiary institutions in Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and Nigeria.

N. Y. B. Sapong (✉) · D. E. K. Baku · C. Amoah-Boampong
Department of History, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana
e-mail: nybsapong@gmail.com

Additionally, European academic agitation for increased recognition of the study of Africa and its history coincided with the founding of the University College of the Gold Coast. In the 1940s, the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) impressed on the British government to apportion more funds for research into Oriental and African studies. Subsequently, a commission was set up under Lord Scarbrough in 1945 regarding this matter. The Scarbrough Report was important in the creation and recognition of African History as a field in the United Kingdom. It had recommended that the Universities of London, Oxford and Cambridge build on their expertise in “Colonial Studies” to aid the training of civil servants who seek careers in Africa (Watterson 2008). Consequently, John D. Fage and Roland Oliver, two of the leading pioneers in professionalizing African History, were beneficiaries of funding made available as a result of the Scarbrough Report. Roland Oliver was appointed as a lecturer at SOAS in 1948 while John Fage took up a lectureship at the University College of the Gold Coast in 1949. Indeed, Oliver spent 2 years researching in East Africa after his appointment at SOAS (Oliver 1997; Fage 2000). In the Gold Coast, John Fage was determined to continue the work of W. E. F. Ward and the history teachers at Achimota as well as the Anthropological Department of the Gold Coast Civil Service, which was devoted to collecting the oral traditions of the peoples and societies of the Gold Coast.

The foundation of African History as a legitimate field was further given impetus in the 1960s and 1970s. John D. Fage and Roland Oliver, with the assistance of Cambridge University Press, launched the *Journal of African History* in 1960. This journal became an important outlet for disseminating knowledge on African societies and history. Coincidentally, during the Cold War, the United States government realized the importance of having specific and sometimes intimate knowledge of regions and societies around the globe. Consequently, United States universities invested in and became leaders in Area Studies programme, including African History and/or African Studies. Scholars who studied Africa’s histories, societies and cultures highlighted African agency in the various strands of narratives which captured the continent. Thus, a combination of good circumstances for the study and teaching of African history placed the University College of the Gold Coast in a propitious position at its inception.

The fortunes of Africa’s institutions of higher education may be gauged by the various phases they have gone through. According to Paul T. Zeleza (2009), the development of African universities, like the University of Ghana, has gone through three eras: a golden era, a crisis era and a recovery era. The golden era which spanned the 1950s to the late 1970s, was a period of nationalist euphoria and an introduction of African agency in knowledge production. The late 1970s to late 1990s saw a period of crisis due to widespread and cataclysmic economic decline, followed by austere economic measures. Higher education suffered severe reduction in subvention during this period, leading to the mass migration of academics to North America, Europe and other African countries. The period of recovery began in the late 1990s alongside economic and political liberalization. Zeleza’s periodization aptly describes the fortunes of the Department of History at the University of Ghana. It is our hope to explore the three eras under the themes of professional history, scholarship, teaching, and public engagement.

In the present, professional historians and their discipline elicit two kinds of reaction in Ghana. The first reaction is that of awe and admiration for historians who spend their working years combing through manuscripts, oral histories and statistical data, and in a Rankean way, to show how the past really was. The second reaction, which is not as charitable, regard historians as academics and scholars who have long outlived their usefulness to society. Those who hold this view often cite the lack of continuous scholarly engagement by historians in Ghana, their unwillingness to revise teaching methods, and their show of apathy to “mundane” issues outside academia. This perception places historians practising their craft in Ghana and the discipline in the cross-hairs, and does great injustice to the advances made in the discipline through teaching, scholarship and public engagement. The outreach activities of the Historical Society of Ghana, as well as individual members of the Department of History, to engage the public on national issues have been commendable. The professional lives of A. A. Boahen and I. Odotei, for instance, illustrate historians who ably handled teaching, scholarship, and public engagement very well.

Finally, it is our aim to point out that the relevance of history as a discipline in the social sciences, the historical profession, and the Department depends on two stakeholders: the university as an institution and professional historians in the Department. The relevance of history as a discipline lies in the ability of professional historians to effectively communicate through conscientious research and publication, teaching and continuously engaging the public. Secondly, this ability may be enhanced by the University through university-funded faculty development programmes.

Professional History, Scholarship, and the Classroom

The recognition of Africa and its cultures as a legitimate area of study was not without its lows. The most cited and infamous example was a comment made by Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford, Hugh Trevor-Roper (1965), while delivering lectures aired by the BBC at the University of Sussex. According to him, the African past is the study of “unrewarding gyrations of barbarous tribes in picturesque but irrelevant parts of the globe.” In his view, available history of the continent is a narrative of European presence and activities in Africa. The rest is darkness, and “darkness is not a subject of history.” In defence of Trevor-Roper, he was a product of his time and was only expressing a general and insidious view held by many about the African continent. Eventually, the growth and acceptance of studies on Africa in universities on the British Isle and North America in the 1960s and 1970s had a rippling effect on the newly established history departments in universities across Africa. Similarly, on the continent, the new nationalist African governments charged African universities with training personnel for the Africanization of the civil service. For instance, in Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah’s government particularly took pride in the universities, seeing them as places to lead the rediscovery of the

African personality (Manuh et.al. 2007). Thus, study areas like the Asante, Akyem Abuakwa, Akuapem, Akwamu, Fante, Dagomba, Konkomba and Gonja which were primarily the preserve of anthropologists, ethnographers and archaeologists, began attracting keen historical inquiry by the 1960s.

As indicated earlier, the historical discipline in the Gold Coast benefited from a string of propitious events as well as from the dedicated energies of individuals who fell in love with the cultures and histories of this British colony. For the purposes of this chapter, we have divided these individuals into two groups—native Gold Coasters' and expatriates from the various parts of the Empire. This corpus of colonial historical writing included the works of native and nonprofessional historians such as J. E. Casely Hayford, Nana Agyeman Prempeh I, J. M. Sarbah, Attoh Ahuma, Kobina Sekyi, and J. B. Danquah.³ Casely Hayford's *Gold Coast Native Institutions* (1903) shed light on the workings of native institutions and argued for greater autonomy for them. Of equal importance is Asantehene Agyeman Prempe I's impressive *The History of the Ashanti Kings and the Whole Country Itself* (2003), a culmination of Asante royal oral tradition and the fear of obscurity, if not written down. In the eye of the professional historian, Casely Hayford's work was compromised by the colonial intellectual milieu within which it was produced, while Asantehene Prempe I's work was tainted by his "Oyoko bias," as J. K. Adjaye puts it.

On the other hand, the works of the expatriates also featured prominently, especially that of W. W. Claridge, W. E. F. Ward, R. S. Rattray and E. Meyerowitz. According to Ward, everyone "who writes on Gold Coast history should begin, after the fashion of the country, by pouring a libation and sacrificing a sheep in honour of Dr. Claridge" (Ward 1967). Indeed, W. W. Claridge, a medical officer in the Gold Coast Colonial Service, wrote the colossal *History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti* (1915), a second attempt at a comprehensive history of the Gold Coast. Although impressive in volume, this work was tainted by the colonial enterprise and his close affinity to the colonial government in the Gold Coast. In a Whiggish manner, Claridge, although full of praises for the Asante, saw British colonial rule as a teleological step towards progress, and one not to be resisted (Wilks 1996). A third attempt at a history of Ghana was made by Ward's *A History of Ghana* (1948) but this was only a mini version of Claridge's work. The works of Rattray and Meyerowitz, although important, had more anthropological relevance than historical substance.⁴

The new drive in historical inquiry from the 1960s was spearheaded by the Department of History, University of Ghana, as well as those based in other departments and universities, but allied to the Department. There was A. A. Boahen, K. Y. Daaku, J. K. Fynn, R. Addo-Fening, A. van Dantzig, J. Hunwick, A. A. Illiasu, and J. K. Adjaye from the Department, D. Kimble of the Institute of Adult Education, T. McCaskie of the Centre for West African Studies, Birmingham, and R. Rathbone of the School of Oriental and African Studies. In September 1953, Ivor

³ It is worth mentioning that one of the earliest attempts at writing a comprehensive history of the Gold Coast by a native was the work of C. C. Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast* (1895).

⁴ See R. S. Rattray's *Ashanti* (1923), *Religion and Art in Ashanti* (1927), *Ashanti Law and Constitution* (1929), and Eva Meyerowitz's *The Sacred State of the Akan* (1951).

Wilks arrived in the Gold Coast to teach philosophy at the Achimota campus of the University College of the Gold Coast. By 1960, he had become enamored by the various histories of the Gold Coast and this led to a study of the Akwamu, Akwapem, Asante, Gonja and other ethnic groupings. He went on to become one of the foremost experts on Asante history, priding himself on people referring to him as an Asante nationalist. As a break from the corpus of colonial historiography built by Claridge, Ward, Casely Hayford and others, the nationalist historiography of independent Ghana sought to re-calibrate agency in the Ghanaian historical process.

Adu Boahen (Boahen 1964, 1986) led the way among Ghanaians in the Department by authoring *Britain, the Sahara and the Western Sudan 1788–1861* and *Topics in West African History*. These works sought to challenge and overturn the “Hegelian and Trevor-Roperian fallacy” that pre-colonial Africa has no history (Adjaye 2008). In *Topics in West African History*, Boahen retold African history by interweaving narratives of African heroes and heroines as tireless and crafty warriors, diplomats, empire builders and pioneers. Later, Adu Boahen was to expand on some of these themes in *African Perspectives on Colonialism*, where he “paints a picture of Africans strongly defending their sovereignty, using wars and diplomacy where necessary” (Falola 2003). In addition to Boahen’s works, there was an emergence of local histories, including K. Y. Daaku’s (1970) study on the coastal states, J. K. Fynn’s (1971) one on the Fante and Asante, and M. A. Kwamena-Poh’s (1973) study on the Akwapem.

The quality of teaching in the golden era was comparable to any first class university, and this explains why many foreign students interested in the African past made Legon their first choice. The list includes R. Rathbone, an exchange student from SOAS, and T. McCaskie (1995), who earned his MA at Legon. Additionally, as part of Ghana’s agenda to provide excellent human resource for its universities, the Department of History at Legon developed a programme which sent out brilliant and promising individuals to study the histories of other regions, societies and nations. This training program for prospective faculty was to create a community of historians with diverse expertise. For instance K. Darkwa studied East Africa and Ethiopia, I. Odotei studied Danish and European history, R. Addo-Fening studied Australia and Asia, E. Ofori Adu studied Japan; James Tingay studied US history, and K. Baku studied European Intellectual history.

The golden era, unfortunately, came to an end due to economic stagnation, political instability and their attendant social problems. This period witnessed serious disruptions in the academic calendars due to student unrests and an exodus of teaching and administrative staff to other countries. For instance, Nigeria’s strong economy made it an attractive destination for Ghana’s academics, while some of the expatriates left for positions in the United States and the United Kingdom. In the historical profession, J. K. Adjaye (2008) notes that problems which haunted the advancement of historical scholarship during the era of crisis were carried over into the era of recovery. Problems such as the loss of trained historians to countries in North America and Europe, and the lack of resources and infrastructure to support scholarship and teaching at home still persist. The same trend may be noticed in institutions of higher education in Nigeria, especially the University of Ibadan.

A. Olukoju (2002) summarizes it eloquently by pointing out that academics “were distracted from their primary assignments of teaching, research and supervision of students’ research, and were made to dissipate energy confronting official neglect and wrong-headed policies.” This situation also severely incapacitated the quality and even quantity of publication output of academics in Nigeria. A more debilitating instance occurred in Ghana in the 1980s. The Ghanaian state’s attempt to recover from sharp economic decline gravely affected scholarship and teaching at the University of Ghana.

In the last decade of the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first century, significant progress has been made in sustaining professional history, scholarship, and teaching in the Department. Recent Ghanaian historiography has been able to exhibit the various lenses through which the Ghanaian experience may be viewed. This has accounted for the increased interest in social and environmental history, led by scholars such as Emmanuel Akyeampong (2002, 2003), J. K. Adjaye (2004), and Akosua Perbi (2004). There have also been important local and political histories from Robert Addo-Fening (1997), D. E. K. Amenumey (1989), N. J. K. Brukum (2005), K. Baku (2005), Jean Allman (2000), Sandra Greene (1996) and Richard Rathbone (2000). Equally important is the birth of a new corps of historians in the Department who were molded in the years of recovery, and who have had both in-house as well as external training.⁵ The works of N. Y. B. Spong and C. Amoah-Boampong emphasize the importance of interdisciplinary approach to historical inquiry, which borrows freely from history, anthropology, political science, economics, geography, literature and archaeology. Spong (2009), in his study of social movements in Ghana, argues that they formed the linchpin in Ghana’s successful transition to democracy and the Fourth Republic. He traces the trajectory of successive social movements from the protest against Acheampong’s UNIGOV idea to the late PNDC era, outlining their importance to political consciousness and the crafting of the 1992 Constitution. Amoah-Boampong (2011), on the other hand, examines the complex and sometimes contentious relations between the state and agricultural producers in Ghana. Using the case of Kuapa Kokoo Farmers’ Union as an example, she contends that although the state wins most of the encounters, it is unable to suppress the ability of agricultural producers to be meaningful actors in the marketplace.

Additionally, in an interesting and much needed work, Emmanuel Akyeampong (2003) interrogates the “interaction of environmental folk wisdom and scientific knowledge in the explanation of coastal erosion and environmental decline along the Anlo coast.” He argues that “the dearth in knowledge and the absence of a coherent official policy on coastal wetlands and fisheries in colonial and independent Ghana lent Anlo knowledge of their environment official audience if not credence.” It is quite intriguing to consider the Anlo interpretation of the ecological disaster waiting to happen if nothing is done to remedy the environmental decline in Keta

⁵ N. Y. B. Spong and C. Amoah-Boampong studied under J. K. Fynn, R. Addo-Fening, A. A. Perbi, N. J. K. Brukum and K. Baku before leaving for graduate training in the United States of America.

and other areas. This interpretation blames the colonial and postcolonial state for embarking on projects such as the Takoradi and Tema harbors, and the Akosombo hydroelectric dam, while neglecting the Keta area. In the following year, Akosua Perbi (2004) revisited the ubiquitous issue of slavery and published her seminal work on the history of indigenous slavery in Ghana. This monograph began as an MPhil thesis, and later as a Ph. D. dissertation. Through an extensive use of sources, including oral histories and archival materials, she examines the political economy of Ghanaian slavery and points out that chattel slavery was alien to slaves in pre-colonial Ghana. All these works emphasized the dominance of Ghanaian agency in the historical narrative, and also pointed to the value of oral sources in historical scholarship.

In terms of our work as historians in the classroom, there is a world of difference between field or archival research and teaching in the classroom. What is rewarding is when one strikes a balance between research and teaching, and makes research have teachable moments in the classroom. A student taking a survey course on Africa asked the lecturer the proverbial question during a lecture on state formation in Oyo: “What is the relevance of studying the kingdom of Oyo in the nineteenth century?” We could think of the trite response, “So that we do not repeat their mistakes,” but there are broader and more salient issues to take into consideration. The Department of History has been fortunate through the generations to have a corps of teachers who value an understanding of the continuities and changes in evolving human societies.

The history of Asante, Dahomey or Oyo in the nineteenth century is to be analyzed in the context of the local, West African, and Atlantic world. Our approach to teaching history moves beyond dates, events, and fact checks. We are interested in explaining and analyzing the complex web of interactions which developed in the nineteenth century, for instance, between local societies, kingdoms and Europeans. Within these interactions, we explore issues like industrialization, the nature of the Atlantic economy, urbanization and African agency in the historical process.⁶ Again, to break away from the stereotypical “history is the study of the past” or “history is a record of one damn thing after another,” faculty members believe that historical awareness and understanding is crucial to the process of becoming a responsible citizen. We strongly believe that historical knowledge is a necessary ingredient in nation-building. Thus, students are encouraged to acquire skills such as critical thinking, analysis, verbal expression, and effective writing.⁷

As a teacher, Adu Boahen deemed it important for both the teacher and the student of history to be also critics of society. With this conviction, he was a constant critic of Ghana’s military juntas, especially Acheampong’s Supreme Military Council (SMC I) and Rawlings’ Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC). In 1976,

⁶ This was a “Question and Answer” time during a lecture delivered by N. Y. B. Spong on “State Formation in West Africa,” as part of the course HIST 213: Africa and the Wider World in the Nineteenth Century.

⁷ Mission Statement from a brochure published by the Department of History to commemorate the University of Ghana’s Home Coming and Educational Fair in 2011.

the Supreme Military Council under Acheampong lobbied to promote the idea of Union Government (UNIGOV), a tripartite system of government to be composed of the military, the police and civilians. The politically aware Ghanaian public saw this arrangement as a ruse to keep the military in politics, and therefore rejected the idea of UNIGOV. Several movements and political parties rose to oppose UNIGOV. One of the most notable was the People's Movement for Freedom and Justice, which was formed in 1978. The founders of this movement included General Akwasi A. Afrifa, William Ofori Atta, Komla Gbedemah and Adu Boahen. Additionally, in the 1980s, Adu Boahen often criticized the PNDC government for initiating a "culture of silence" and fear in Ghana. Similarly, he delivered a series of lectures which were published under the title, *The Ghanaian Sphinx*. In this book, Adu Boahen analyzes Ghana's successive governments since independence, and was particularly critical of the various military juntas that overthrew the elected governments of the First Republic to the Third Republic. It did not come as a surprise when he took the bold and daring step of helping to build a political party—the New Patriotic Party (NPP). He went on to become the presidential candidate for the NPP but he lost in the 1992 presidential elections to the incumbent Jerry Rawlings of the National Democratic Congress (NDC).

The Department of History, Scholarship and Public Engagement

The Department's engagement with the wider Ghanaian, African and international community over the decades has been spearheaded by individual professional historians as well as the Historical Society of Ghana. The Historical Society of Ghana (HSG) was founded in 1951 as a not-for-profit organization of professional and nonprofessional historians practising their craft in Ghana and/or interested in research and propagation of the history of Ghana and Africa. It is significant that by 1960, when a company's code was proposed for Ghana, the HSG was the only not-for-profit professional association in existence. As such its constitution was adopted as the template regulations for not-for-profit companies in Ghana, and published in the Companies Code 1963, Act 179. The HSG is headquartered in the Department of History at Legon. It also served as the main avenue for the Department of History to fulfill its social responsibility of connecting its research with society. This outreach activity was under the auspices of leading scholars and nationalists such as J. D. Fage, A. A. Boahen, J. B. Danquah, K. Sekyi and N. K. Nketia. In order to achieve its aims, membership of the society was broad and open to amateur and professional historians, ancillary disciplines and the general public who have a passion for history. Kwame Gyebi Ababio, Essumjahene of Bekwai was one of the foundational members on 1st November 1952. He was later followed by members such as Akhter Khalid Ahmad of the Ahmadiyya Mission in Kumasi, Vincent Isaac Adjakwa, an Akwapim poultry farmer, the Honorable Mr. Acolatse, Supreme Court judge, Mrs Jacqueline Honesh, a housewife, Mr. Stewart Jamieson, of the

Australian High Commission and a clergyman, Revered Isaac Sackey of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Mission.⁸

The first two decades of the existence of the Historical Society of Ghana was during the heydays of African universities when they were filled with the excitement of independence and the triumph of African nationalism. It was also the period when government generously funded research in the universities of Ghana and provided subvention for the running of subject associations. The Society ran a journal called *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* (THSG), which was the leading journal on Ghanaian and African history. It also served as the model for publication outlet for the Historical Society of Nigeria. So successful was the publication of the THSG that in 1960 it commenced publishing *Ghana Notes and Queries* annually which served as a “clearing house” for the ideas and comments of historians both professional and amateur.

At its Annual General Meeting in 1972, the HSG voted to commence publishing the West African Journal for History Teachers (WAJHT) to provide a forum for discussing general and specific problems and aspects of the history syllabus at secondary schools and teacher training colleagues. Additionally, it was resolved the WAJHT would publish articles covering three broad areas, namely methods and problems of history teaching, specific topics of the history syllabus of schools and colleges and the results of research into oral traditions by both staff and students of schools, colleges and universities.

Publication was a crucial niche to make the work of the most prominent historians such as Wilks, Boahen, Hill and Rodney more accessible to non-specialists and general readers. These scholars published ground breaking researches and re-oriented the historical discipline from its Eurocentric and Trevor-Roperian ideas of history to “promote the study of the history of Ghana, and the adjacent territories in West Africa and of their peoples...”⁹ Soon it became the publication avenue of choice by all seeking to promote scholarship in Ghanaian and African history. Indeed the THSG commanded such deep respect in the first two decades of existence that one could not properly stake a claim to historical scholarship on Ghana and Africa if one was not published in the *Transactions*.

Polly Hill’s (1963) seminal work on migrant cocoa farmers in southern Ghana, which investigated the historical movements that informed the genesis and development of cocoa farming and the role of capital in this process was presented initially in “The History of the Migration of Ghana Cocoa Farmers,” an article in the 1959 edition of THSG. In this article, Hill debunks the conception of a homogenous peasantry and shows that investments in cocoa farming were made by a class of capitalistic farmers who invested in land with the profits they accrued from the oil palm industry in the nineteenth century. Hill’s study also challenged the conventional notions that West Africans began to engage in large-scale economic enterprises due to the opportunities created by the imposition of colonial rule. Indeed, the economic

⁸ Gold Coast and Togoland Historical Society, Membership Register, 1951.

⁹ Historical Society of Ghana, “Memorandum and Articles of Association of the Historical Society of Ghana,” 23rd June 1957.

framework commonly associated with cocoa production was rooted in institutions that predated colonialism.

A decade later, postcolonial historian of Africa and the Caribbean, Rodney utilized fruits of his research for his university of London PhD and his extensively meticulously research in West Africa to rewrite the history of regions affected by the Atlantic slave trade from the perspective of the marginalized and muted in the historical record. His publications: “Portuguese Attempts at Monopoly on the Upper Guinea Coast 1580–1650,” “African Slavery and Other Forms of Social Oppression on the Upper Guinea Coast in the Context of the Atlantic Slave Trade,” and “Reconsideration of the Mane Invasions of Sierra Leone” in *The Journal of African History* and “Gold and Slaves on the Gold Coast” in *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* considerably changed accepted views on Africans and the Atlantic slave trade and opened new vistas for studying slavery in Africa. Rodney’s reputation as a scholar of African history started with these works which launched his professional career. Writing in the decade after the birth of independent African states, Rodney interpreted the ways in which the Atlantic slave trade drew Africa into the international capitalist order and how Africans facilitated that process. Using empirical studies from West Africa, Rodney analyzed the place of Africa in contemporary history during the initial period of the slave trade. In “Gold and Slaves on the Gold Coast,” he examined how certain West African states like Asante survived and prospered in spite of the tendency towards disintegration attendant upon their participation in the Atlantic slave trade. He contended that the Asante polity was able to neutralize the threat of internal disintegration for two reasons: first it participated in and controlled an intricate and extensive network of gold trade. Second, it did not resort to obtaining slaves from within its own state as Akwamu, for example, did. This “achievements of Akan states between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries sprang essentially from their African past” and enabled states such as Asante to absorb the debilitating effects of the Atlantic slave trade (1969). Rodney further asserted that “states such as Futa Djalon, Ashante, Dahomey and Benin participated extensively in the Atlantic slave trade and were undoubtedly still powerful at the end of the experience, for considerable European military forces were required before they succumbed to colonial rule” (Rodney 1969).

Finally, Rodney’s publications during this period established the outline for a much larger discussion of broader issues concerning the devastating impact of the European slave trade on Africa and the role of Africans in this process. These themes were later developed with greater polemical verve in his well-known study, *How Europe Undeveloped Africa* which applied Latin American dependency theory to African history and set the agenda for some of the fundamental issues in African history and development (Rodney 1973). Additionally, during the glorious period of the HSG and the *Transactions* pioneering, illuminating researches were published on some still understudied areas in Ghanaian history such as biographical and family history; history of disease, ecology and environment as well as medicine and civil society organizations in Ghana.

From this vibrant period of academic scholarship, the HSG became defunct in 1983 in the general decline of scholarship which saw the fortunes of African

universities diminish as they experienced disruption in their academic programmes due to declining economic, social and political conditions in Ghana plus the attendant drastic reduction in public funding of universities in Ghana. During this period of economic depression, the HSG was unable to fulfill its mandate in the midst of a mass exodus of academics practicing their craft in Ghana. This situation led to the deterioration of research, teaching and infrastructure and the social neglect of the value of the scholarly enterprise as the imperative of daily survival weighed heavily on the minds of Ghanaians and academics in Ghana.

After an 18 year hiatus, the HSG was rejuvenated in 2001 with financial support from the Norwegian University Committee for Development Research and Education (NUFU) to the Department of History at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology and the University of Ghana for the joint project on Tradition and Modernity in Ghanaian history and development. Its Council members have since then been Professor Irene Odotei, Professor R. Addo-Fening, Professor (Mrs). A. A. Perbi, Dr. D. E. K. Baku, Dr. W. Donkoh and Per Herneas. Under new management, and in a stable economic climate, the HSG has risen like the phoenix and taken its place in national development by informing the Ghanaian public and making the work of higher education more accessible. HSG worked in tandem with the public through collaborative research projects to resolve issues of conflict, chieftaincy and governance using the medium of roundtable conferences.

Since its rebirth in 2001, the HSG has organized annual roundtable conferences not just as academic exercise but also to elicit public participation and engagement because “it was the people who had played key roles in the history of this country. They have letters that we don’t have access to, they have files that we don’t have, they were there when decisions were taken, when the constitutions were being written, they know the philosophies, the rationale behind the decisions. All of these are hidden from the historian and we believe that if we get these eminent citizens to come and sit with us, then when we say something about the colonial period they will own up to being eyewitnesses to the event” stated Professor Odotei.¹⁰ These roundtable conferences touched on diverse themes such as the abolition of slavery, tradition and modernity in Ghanaian urbanization, heritage and national development and reflections on 50 years of Ghana’s independence.

One of the most successful roundtable conferences took place in 2003 on Chieftaincy in Africa. This conference led to the publication of *Chieftaincy in Ghana: Culture, Governance and Development* in 2006. The choice of chieftaincy was germane to Ghanaian society because traditional polity remains an important institution of governance in contemporary Ghana. In rural communities, poverty, lack of access to national agencies, and inadequate infrastructure cause rural societies to rely on traditional authorities for security, adjudication of disputes, wellbeing and finance. The Conference and the resultant publication revealed that the relationship between traditional rulers and their subjects was a crucial focal point of grassroots loyalty and an effective mechanism for rural transformation. Nevertheless, tradi-

¹⁰ Professor Irene Odotei made this comment at the Historical Society of Ghana’s annual roundtable conference in 2006 as part of the programme for the celebration of Ghana’s Golden Jubilee.

tional rulers faced numerous challenges from the pre-colonial through the postcolonial era. During pre-colonial times, traditional authorities were partners with Europeans in the lucrative commercial trade in gold and slaves from the late fifteenth through the nineteenth century. The British pronouncement of the Gold Coast as a crown colony in 1901 saw traditional rulers as the vanguard of agitations against British imperialism. However, when the British realized that they were unable to administer the Gold Coast territory on their own, traditional rulers figured prominently in the system of indirect rule adopted by British authorities to administer their colonies in Africa (Lugard 1922).

In the postcolonial era, traditional states have been re-defined and operate within the modern state and conform to an increasingly globalized world characterized by emphasis on human rights, regional integration and good governance. How successfully traditional rulers are able to adapt, accommodate and adjust to these new issues was at the heart of the roundtable conference on Chieftaincy in Africa that sought to examine the continued importance of the institution of chieftaincy to Ghana's long term development.

The voices that resonated at the conference tell the story of traditional rulers from multidisciplinary perspectives and ranged from prominent personalities such as the former Chief Justice of the Republic of Ghana, Mr. Justice E. K. Wiredu and Odeno Gyapong Ababio, the former president of the National House of Chiefs of Ghana to ordinary men and women in the Ghanaian society. This partnership between academics, the chieftaincy institution and civil society for effective sustainability and growth has enabled the HSG to bring to the fore the issue of the nomenclature of traditional rulers. Disputes about whether a paramount ruler is "king" or "chief" was laid to rest as participants and discussants came to the conclusion that the dynamic nature of traditional institutions had no precise English word.¹¹ The solution was to "apply terms that Ghanaian communities employ to designate those traditional leaders that are generally described in English translation as "chief" and to respect their designations and distinctions" (Odotei and Awedoba 2006). At the opening of the 2004 annual conference, the Minister of Tourism and Modernization of the Capital City, Jake Obetsebi Lamptey encouraged the Society to lend its expertise to the development of a vibrant and viable tourist industry in Ghana. Heeding this call, and as part of its History and Heritage Month celebrations, aimed at sensitizing the public on the importance of history, the HSG organized several visits to historical and heritage sites at Christiansborg Castle, Kwame Nkrumah Mausoleum, James Fort, all in Accra and Frederikgave slave plantation in Sesemi, Ghana. The target group of these excursions was the general Ghanaian public of all ages and social classes. The aim of these activities was to promote the development of the various historical sites for national and international tourism.

Again, at the Society's 2005 annual conference, the Honorable Minister in Charge of Tertiary Education, Miss Elizabeth Ohene, challenged the HSG to play a more active role in documenting, preserving and interpreting the history of Ghana

¹¹ Michael Crowder and Obaro Ikeme grappled with this difficulty of definition decades ago. See Michael Crowder and Obaro Ikeme, *West African Chiefs* (Ile-Ife: University of Ife Press, 1970).

and Africa for future generations. This call emphasized the relevance of HSG's Asafo project already underway between the Departments of History at the University of Ghana and the Norwegian University of Science and Technology. Under the Asafo Project, HSG supervised the retrieval and copying of engendered documents on traditional leadership in Ghana located at the Public Records and Archives Administration Department in Accra. The HSG's Digitization of Endangered Books and Archival Materials Project has made available multiple copies of digitized copies of rare works to Departments of History in public universities in Ghana.

Beyond reproduction and digitization, the HSG tracked and reproduced pre-colonial and colonial publications which expressed the views of European traders, travellers, colonial officials, Christian missionaries and early educated Africans published from the seventeenth century to the early twentieth century. These publications are vital to the HSG because they serve as firsthand accounts of everyday life, culture and institutions of the societies that inhabited the area of present-day Ghana, irrespective of the author's biases and skewed perceptions of Africa. In a bid to continue the reconstruction of the pre-colonial and colonial history of Ghana, the HSG faced a stumbling block as many of their rare, indispensable sources were out of print and located in repositories outside Ghana. The HSG initiated contact for collaboration and partnership with *Union Academique Internationale*, which managed the *Fontes Historiae Africanae* and *Kurztitelaufnahme der Deutschen Bibliothek*, managers of *Studien Zur Kulturkunde* for the retrieval and publication of old and rare texts.

Currently, despite the vital role that history plays in the development of a society, the HSG is confronted with numerous challenges such as poor record keeping of historical documents by individuals, private and public establishments as well as the low interest in the subject of history among Ghanaians. To exacerbate this situation, Ghana's educational reforms since the mid-1980s placed history as a component of social studies. Accordingly, the study of history has ceased to receive adequate attention in pre-university education.

The HSG, which plays a national advocacy role for the discipline of history, has been deeply concerned with the status of history as a relevant discipline in national development. As such, HSG has brought to the fore, the need for appropriate interventions to address the low level of attention given to history as a discipline. Key interventions include the establishment of history clubs in schools, making accessible well researched and documented history textbooks for teachers and students, the creation of regional centres for collecting and collating local history as well as upgrading research methodology and the provision of a computer software to manage historical data. The ultimate goal of these interventions was to enhance the way history is received, recorded, taught and disseminated.

In line with the above objectives, and with funding from the Ghana Education Trust Fund (GETFund), the Historical Society of Ghana and the Institute of Research, Advocacy and Training (INSRAT) organized a series of four-day training workshops for 245 history teachers from 125 Senior High Schools across the country. These training programmes upgraded the teaching skills of teachers and introduced them to new trends in the historiography and philosophy of history, emerging

themes and research methodology in the discipline and best practices in the teaching of history in high school classrooms. Participants were introduced to the steps in research, record management and records preservation in order to equip history teachers with the ability to easily access archival records and use the said records in teaching history. High school history teachers were also exposed to the ever changing face of technology and the effects it can have in the classroom. The increased use of computers to collect and evaluate data has done much to change the direction and subjects of historical study, and history teachers must be kept abreast of such changes. Above all, these teacher training workshops enabled the HSG to fulfill its core mission of public engagement and arrest the rapidly eroding image of history in schools and the Ghanaian society as a whole. The dissemination of accurate and relevant knowledge of history has led to greater appreciation of the value of the discipline of history as a critical instrument in shaping a high sense of national consciousness and pride in Ghana.

Six decades after its foundation, the HSG happily still continues to carry out one of its core mandates: engaging the Ghanaian public about the Ghanaian past. In a bid to deepen and extend its *conversations* further, the Society is planning to launch a programme “History for Everyone,” which aims to bring history to the doorsteps of every Ghanaian using community radio stations, television and the print media to promote history and motivate students to offer history at the Senior High Schools and tertiary institutions. Furthermore, the Society intends to create a national biography project by constructing national history through the lives, work and experiences of its individual citizens. This long-term research project would gather materials on the lives of past and present, prominent Ghanaians at the local and national levels who made or are making significant contributions to national development. The creation of a database of national biographies enables posterity to explore historical events through the lives of the men and women who shaped all aspects of Ghana’s past and solidifies HSG’s continued commitment to public engagement.

Conclusion

The University of Ghana and its Department of History, from their founding in 1948 have always been centres where rational thought, careful planning and deep thinking have been and continue to be encouraged. They have at one point or another been home to some of the greatest social scientists and humanists of our time. Names such as J. D. Fage, G. Irwin, I. Wilks, D. Birmingham, A. A. Boahen readily come to mind. History and the other social science disciplines would survive the twenty-first Century because of their relevance to the individual, society, the state and the international community. However, the meaningfulness of the discipline of history, for instance, will depend on how ably the practitioners of the craft of history, communicate its relevance. Also, this may depend on the extent to which the university encourages and supports professional historians and their research.

The twenty-first Century posits very challenging problems for higher education. Recent periods of uncertainty due to external pressures of globalization, accountability, and technology gap has taken their toll on scholarship and scholarly delivery in Ghana. Universities in Africa and Latin America are experiencing disparities in resources, science and technology, and human capital in this age of globalized education (Arocena and Sutz 2005). The challenges facing higher education in Africa in the twenty-first century is really daunting. These challenges include funding, autonomy, gender imbalance, technology gap, and brain drain. Discussion of these problems is salient in view of the notion that higher education is a crucial factor in the modernization and developmental needs of Africa (Teferra and Altbach 2004). To compound the situation, the policy attitude of external donor agencies to funding higher education in Sub-Saharan Africa has been nonchalant. The effects of reduction in international trade, huge budget deficits and reduction in development assistance has made the World Bank question high government subvention of higher education in Africa. Due to policy oscillations of external donors, African universities need to find alternate sources of funding to be able to function (Banya and Elu 2001).

One area of higher education in Africa where dwindling resources are taking a drastic toll is faculty research programmes. According to Teferra and Altbach (2004), higher education institutions in Africa have practically no funds allocated to research in their operating budgets. In Ghana, funds for research and development keep dwindling. In 2000, the University of Ghana received a meager USD 1.4 million to operate its research institutes such as ISSER (Effah 2003). Regrettably, none of this money was made available to teaching departments. A study conducted during the University of Cincinnati sponsored Faculty Development Programme has revealed that the lack of resources seriously impedes the initiation of faculty development programmes. Research has shown that faculty development programmes help to prevent faculty from being outdated. Such programmes evolved around competitive proposals and university institutes. It targeted individual faculty, groups of faculty, departments, and institutes where faculty carry out collaborative work. Notable improvements in faculty developmental needs and goals after the program included increased use of technology and interdisciplinary cooperation (Camblin Jr and Steger 2000). The Social Science disciplines such as History, Sociology, Economics, Political Science and Geography will greatly benefit from the above initiatives, and perhaps help the University of Ghana recapture its former glory and attain the often vaunted world class status.

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Chapter 4

Change and Continuity in the Practice and Development of Geography in Ghana

Samuel Agyei-Mensah, Joseph A. Yaro and Joseph Mensah

Introduction

Societal change and the conceptualization of knowledge production are key instruments in defining the trajectory of academic disciplines. This chapter profiles the evolution and growth of geography as an academic discipline in Ghana, with important insights into the character, substance, and development of geography. Understanding the changes that have occurred within geography requires an appreciation of the philosophical and institutional context within which geography has evolved. Unlike most academic fields, geography is an inherently inter-, trans-, and multi-disciplinary subject, cutting across both the social and physical sciences as well as the arts. Additionally, even though most of the public and private universities in Ghana have geography or some geography-related programmes, the focus here are the three oldest and fully autonomous public universities—i.e., the University of Ghana (UG), the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST), and the University of Cape Coast (UCC), with some emphasis on the University of Ghana.

The chapter is divided into six parts. First, we conceptualize the discipline of geography in the light of its multidimensional nature. Next, we examine the philosophical and institutional context within which the discipline has evolved, and focus, in the fourth section, on how academic geography is taught and researched in Ghana. The fifth section reviews various areas in the Ghanaian public policy

S. Agyei-Mensah (✉)
Department of Geography and Resource Development,
University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana
e-mail: samensah@ug.edu.gh

J. A. Yaro
Department of Geography and Resource Development,
University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

J. Mensah
Department of Geography, York University, Toronto, Canada

domain where, as a result of this transformation, geography and geographers have contributed significantly to national development. We conclude the chapter with a plea for the strengthening of the physical branch of geography.

Conceptualizing Geography

The term, “Geography” was coined by the Greek scholar Eratosthenes (*circa* 273-*circa* 192 BC) from two Greek words, *geo* and *graphein*, which translate into “the earth” and “to write about” or “to describe,” respectively (James and Martin 1981). Thus, the literal meaning of geography is to describe the earth, by describing human and physical features. Unsurprisingly, many still consider geography to be nothing more than a curiosity about the earth. However, as an academic discipline, modern geography goes well beyond mere description; rather, it provides theoretical analysis, empirically grounded explanation, and logical interpretation of the complex relationships between humans and the environments. As the renowned American Geographer Richard Hartshorne (1959): succinctly puts it in his book, *Perspective on the Nature of Geography* “geography is concerned to provide accurate, orderly, and rational description and interpretation of the variable character of the earth’s surface.” As such geography is naturally multifaceted and draws its facts, theories, techniques and methods from a wide range of academic disciplines.

Notwithstanding this multifariousness, two major perspectives guide the spirit and purpose of geographic analysis: the *ecological* and the *spatial*. The former relates to an emphasis on human-environment relationships, while the latter deals with a concern with spatial variation of phenomena—i.e., why things are where they are, and why and how they differ from place to place. Additionally, as can be discerned from Hartshorne’s definition, geographic studies entail both description and explanation. Indeed, as the main “science of place” (Hartshorne 1959), geography highlights one aspect of reality frequently overlooked by other academic disciplines, namely, the *spatial perspective*. Thus, geography serves to remind other social and natural scientists that they cannot completely understand reality if they ignore the spatial or locational dimensions of the phenomena they investigate. The notion of space in geography has evolved to embrace not only physical, absolute, or mappable space, but also relative or socially produced space. This broader conception of space has reduced the erstwhile tendency to treat spatial processes and patterns as separable from social ones. As a corollary, geographic thought has shifted towards what has been called *the socio-spatial dialectic* by some human geographers, including Edward Soja (1989) and Doreen Massey (1984). In simple terms, this dialectic refers to the recognition that spatial and social phenomena and processes are inherently interdependent, and that any attempt to divorce one from the other amounts to what Massey (1984) explains as the “separation of the inseparable.”

Geography has customarily been organized into two main sub-fields: physical geography and human geography. The former deals primarily with natural

processes such as glaciation, precipitation, and earth movements which shape the physical landscape, while the latter focuses on humans and how they interact with their environment. It is important to note from the outset that this dichotomy is only academic, or abstract, for reality neither recognizes nor sustains any such division between human and physical phenomena. Indeed, a wholly physical-minus-human phenomenon, or *vice versa*, does not exist in reality. Arguably, only the necessity of academic institutionalization and the tremendous scope covered by geographers can justify this paradoxical schism. In reality, most geographers integrate approaches from both physical and human geography in their work.

The two main divisions of geography are further divided into several specialties. It is important to note that various specialties of geography have symbiotic relationships with their cognate disciplines (e.g., economic geography with economics; social geography with sociology etc.), and serve as an effective bridge between these cognate disciplines and other physical and social sciences. The intricate interaction between geography and these cognate disciplines puts geography in a rather puzzling position in the academy. In effect, geography is neither a purely physical science nor a purely social science—there lies geography's unique character in relation to the other sciences. In addition to the two broad subfields, are intervening geographic techniques, such as cartography, geographic information systems (GIS) and remote sensing which cut across all aspects of the discipline.

While the basic division of geography into physical and human geographies (and the techniques of geography) remains the most predominant in the discipline, some prefer to divide geography into *topical* or *thematic* and *regional* or *area* components (see for instance Dickson and Benneh 1977). With this taxonomy, one would then study the subject-matter in physical or human geography by either topics or themes (such as land or lithosphere, hydrosphere in physical geography; and population, urbanization and economic development in human geography) or by regions or areas. The concept of a region has a technical meaning in geography, where it connotes a dynamic mental construct used to identify spatial units based on selected criteria. With such diversity and versatility, it is not surprising that geography continues to contribute so much to society. In addition to broadening our understanding of the earth/world as the only known home for humankind, geographic thought has enhanced our symbiotic interdependence with the environment. Not only that: with geographic knowledge and tools such as geographic information systems, remote sensing, aerial photography, and locational analysis, we are able to navigate our way through the world, and know various places and environments in much more detail. This has improved our decision-making capabilities in many instances.

The Philosophical Context: Paradigm Shifts

Understanding the nature of changes in the discipline of Geography requires an appreciation of the philosophical context within which geography has evolved. For most of the early 1950s the emphasis was on the study of regions, identifying,

describing, and, to some extent, accounting for areal differentiation or the varying characteristics of the earth's surface. At the turn of the 1960s a new development ensued under the guise of the quantitative revolution. This was driven by positivist philosophical tradition. Geographers worldwide began adopting a more scientific approach that relied on quantitative techniques. The quantitative revolution was also associated with a change in the way in which geographers studied the earth and its phenomena. Researchers began to investigate and explain various geographic processes rather than merely describing them (Johnston 2010). Invariably geographers drew inspiration from the works of other social scientists such as Alfred Weber and von Thünen, and those of earlier geographers, such as Torsten Hägerstrand, Walter Christaller and later economist August Lösch. The drive towards quantification was also enhanced with the publication of David Harvey's (1969) *Explanations in Geography* which introduced geographers to the philosophy of the social sciences and became a standard text for many geography departments.

Developments in the 1960s were followed in the 1970s with the emergence of Marxist geography. A prominent figure here was David Harvey, whose analysis of social unrest in affluent western countries made him a popular figure within this new terrain (see Harvey 1973). This was followed years later with the publication of Derek Gregory's (1978) *Ideology, Science and Human Geography*. This book opened the way for many human geographers to engage in discussions on the philosophy of science, social sciences and humanities culminating in Anthony Giddens book, *the constitution of society, outline of the theory of structuration* (Giddens 1984). Years later Andrew Sayer was able to broaden the scope of political analysis in the field with his inclusion of what he called the realist philosophy of science (Sayer 1984). The early 1980s also saw the emergence of the feminist movement. The work of Susan Hanson, Doreen Massey, Geraldine Pratt, Janet Momsen, Linda McDonnell and others shaped the larger feminist agenda in geographic thought. These changes were later followed by the "cultural turn" in the 1990s (Mitchell 2001). Alongside these developments were the emergence of post-structuralism and post-modernism, which drew on a wide range of scholars, including Michel Foucault and Jean-Francois Lyotard. Clearly, contemporary geography is characterized by a plurality of paradigms which represent important pathways towards a more theoretical and nuanced geographical analysis.

Institutional Context

The colonial period predated the development of academic geography in Ghana, but the developments and debates of that era are foundational. Geography was first introduced as an academic discipline in Ghana in 1948 in the then University College of the Gold Coast and subsequently followed by three other disciplines (i.e., history, sociology, and economics) that same year. The establishment of the University College of the Gold Coast in 1948 was the product of the same British colonial policy that gave rise to Makerere College in Kampala, Uganda, and the University College

of Ibadan in Nigeria (Mabogunje 2004). The British tradition had a major impact on teaching and research by faculty members at the University of Ghana. Indeed, many of the geography lecturers, including K. B. Dickson, E.A. Boateng, George Benneh, and R. B. Bening were trained in British universities.

The first Head of the Department of Geography was W. J. Varley who headed the department from 1948 to 1957. When Ghana became a republic in 1960, the institution's name was changed to the University of Ghana (Agbodeka 1998). The university of Cape Coast was founded in October 1962 as a college, and was constituted into a full University in October 1971. The teaching of geography in University of Cape Coast began in 1972. As with the University of Ghana, most of the early faculty members were trained in the United Kingdom. A major transformation took place in the period 1960–1979, as a result of the post-independence opening of the University of Ghana to the influence of American academic traditions. The American tradition had a strong element of the quantitative revolution and led to the introduction of both theory and analytical methods in both teaching and research in a number of Geography departments including Legon. Classic books such as *Models in Geography* by Chorley and Haggett (1967), and David Harvey's (1969), *Explanation in Geography*, became standard texts in Geography.

These were followed by the German and Scandinavian turns in the 1980s and 1990s. Scandinavia, the UK, the Netherlands, and Germany led the crusade to increase the stock of PhD and Masters degree holders in Africa. The 1980s was characterized by the economic difficulties in Ghana resulting in emigration of many lecturers searching for greener pastures elsewhere. This affected the country's intellectual development. In response to the crisis of the 1980s, and to give some market orientation to the faces of the departments of geography, some geography departments changed their names. This transformation first occurred at the University of Ghana, with the change of its name from the "Department of Geography" to the "Department of Geography and Resource Development" in 1988 under the leadership of George Benneh. At the KNUST, it became the "Department of Geography and Rural Development." The corresponding department at the UCC is still going through some identity crisis, oscillating between a focus on "Geography and Regional Planning" and "Geography and Tourism." Currently the University of Cape Coast has Departments of Population and Health, Tourism and Hospitality Studies and Geography, and Regional Planning.

Improvement in the economy of Ghana and increases in student enrolment in Ghanaian universities have necessitated the recruitment of new staff most of whom hold PhDs mainly through European universities granting scholarships to African students; this has shaped teaching and research in geography in many Ghanaian universities. Available statistics from the Planning Unit of the University of Ghana show that enrolment figures for geography students at Level 100 have increased from 198 in 1999 to 539 in 2011. Library resources and literature for geographic studies have also expanded due to collaboration with universities abroad in the form of books, journal articles and compendia donated to Ghanaian universities by their partners. Currently, the granting of free access to journal portals such as JSTOR and Wiley Blackwell, and the general reduction in the prices of articles and books

downloaded or sold in African countries have made more resources available for both teaching and research.

Recent institutional reforms in Ghanaian universities, especially in the University of Ghana have impacted academic geography. The new 4-year degree programme introduced in 2010 has led to a new grading system for undergraduate students. Under this new regimen, all academic work will count towards the degree and produce a cumulative grade point average (CGPA) for all 4 years (see Agyei-Mensah and French 2010). For students offering Geography therefore, grades obtained in the first year will be taken into consideration in the calculation of their CGPA.

The University has established the office of research, innovation and development (ORID) which manages research grants across the university. The university has also set aside part of its internally generated funds for research within the university, and faculty members compete for these grants: geography research has benefitted. The University of Ghana has started a new PhD programme with effect from August 2013, and this has led to a design of a new PhD programme in the Department of Geography and Resource Development. Some of the features of this new programme include compulsory course work, comprehensive examination, and practical training during the second year. New courses such as geography of energy as well as feminist geography have been introduced. Doctoral students in geography also undertake a newly developed course on the philosophy of the social sciences, a requirement for all doctoral students reading the social sciences.

Through the Carnegie Foundation's Next Generation of Academics in Africa project, grants have been awarded for diasporan fellowship as well as for the training of PhD and MPhil students. Library facilities at the University of Ghana have also improved largely due to support from the Carnegie Foundation. All these reforms have enhanced the quality of academic life in Geography. Recent years have also witnessed a significant increase in the number of international students within Ghanaian universities, especially the University of Ghana. The International Programmes Office of the University of Ghana has been more proactive in this endeavour, even undertaking educational outreach in neighbouring West African countries. Some of the undergraduate courses, such as geography of tourism, medical geography, and the geography of gender are highly patronized by international students.

Academic Geography in Ghana: Dominant Sub-Fields, and Courses

Human Geography

Human geography courses have historically been offered in all the leading tertiary institutions of Ghana. In fact, because of the relatively higher level of expertise in human geography (notably at the University of Ghana), courses in this sub-field have been more innovative than those in physical geography. The general approach entails introduction to human geography, basic geographic thought, and some re-

gional geographies at the lower levels (i.e., first and second years), before moving on to the specialized fields, or the systematic geographies in the third and fourth years. Students are typically exposed to the specialized fields (e.g., urban geography, medical geography, population geography) through the introductory human geography courses at the lower levels, but learn about the origins and evolution of geography and its key concepts during introductions to geographic thought and human geography. Key topics and scholars covered include the well-known contributions of Greek scholars in the classical era through those of the Chinese and Islamic scholars, especially during the Dark Ages in Europe and the explorations of the renaissance era, to the development of modern analytic geography via the writings of Alexander von Humbolt, Carl Ritter, and Immanuel Kant. Equally important is the introduction of key concepts of geography including space, place, location, region, and the enduring debates such as those between the environmental determinists (e.g., Ellen Semple, Griffith Taylor, Friedrich Ratzel) and the possibilists like Paul Vidal de la Blache are covered. Students are also exposed to some of the rudiments of regional planning in the final year core course on *regional development*. Final year students are also taken through a core course on *spatial organization of human society*. Despite some effort to articulate the more contemporary developments in geographic thought, they are generally covered in graduate level courses. With the introduction of the new PhD programme, doctoral students in Geography have also been exposed to the key philosophical debates underlying the social sciences.

The main specialties in human geography in the three leading universities include urban geography, population geography, transportation geography, medical geography, resources development, industrial geography, rural development, economic geography, geography of development, geography of tourism, and agricultural land use. These specialties are taught as elective courses in the final year. Again, to enhance the local relevance of courses, none of the programmes offer any regional or historical courses on places outside of Africa, with the exception of a course on the Historical Geography of North-Western Europe at the University of Ghana. All geography majors in these institutions are expected to write long essays or dissertations in their final year. At the University of Ghana, a new course; *Policies and Strategies for Integrated Disaster Risk Reduction* has been introduced at the undergraduate level as has a graduate course on *Disaster Risk Reduction*. A proposal has also been submitted for the introduction of a new graduate course in *Sustainable Rural Integrated Development*.

Physical Geography

The focus of Physical Geography at UG, UCC and KNUST has generally been on the study of geomorphological processes, landforms, hydrology, oceanography, weather and climate, biogeography, and the study of soils or pedology. Most undergraduate geography programmes in Ghana offer broad introductory courses in geomorphology and climatology in the first- and second-years, with the option of getting specialized training in these and other areas of physical geography

(e.g., biogeography) at the higher levels. The number and variety of mandatory, specialized, and elective courses in physical geography, especially at the higher levels, invariably depend on the strength and availability of faculty. Over the years, the faculty strength in physical geography (as well as students' interest in the sub-field), has so lagged behind human geography that only a handful of postgraduate students of geography in Ghana (notably at the University of Ghana) specialize in Physical Geography. Notwithstanding this drawback, higher level courses in areas such as soil geography, tropical biogeography, geography of arid lands, environmental hydrology, and applied geomorphology are often available in various permutations to students at the University of Ghana, with a lesser range of courses also offered at the KNUST and the University of Cape Coast.

Within physical geography, expertise in climatology is also lacking in Ghana. Only one faculty member at UG has expertise in this area, and the same applies to UCC. Moreover, unlike the situation in most advanced countries, where physical geography students have access to high-tech computerized laboratories, none of the universities in Ghana have facilities comparable to these standards. However, the University of Ghana has an ecological laboratory established since the 1990s and provides facilities for the analysis of soil, water and other environmental issues. Dwindling resources have undermined the ability of various geography departments to conduct field trips. Thus, geomorphological processes and landforms, which are best studied in the field, are almost taught exclusively in the classroom. With small faculty strength, coupled with the acute dearth of laboratory resources, comes a limited potential for training new postgraduate students, which, in turn, feeds into new runs of faculty shortage and curtailed students' interest.

A significant development in most academic geography programmes in Ghana over the years has been a gradual shift from the pure physical geographic areas of geomorphology and climatology to resource and environmental themes. This shift is hardly fortuitous; it came out of a tacit realization that matters of resource development and environmental sustainability are far more pertinent to the immediate development needs of Ghana (a nation blessed with natural resources, yet lagging behind in socioeconomic development) than some of the non-tropical topics in geomorphology, for instance. Students are now taught courses such as environmental ecology, arid land formations and desertification, pedology, and climatology that have discernible direct applicability to the development needs of Ghana. It was against the background of this shift that the geography programmes in the three leading universities underwent name changes and re-organization. This development certainly has its benefits and demerits. Among other things, it has helped bridge the schism between the physical and human geographies in the various tertiary institutions, as topics of resource development and environmental sustainability are characteristically situated at the confluence of the *physical* environment and *human* needs and ingenuity. Also, this shift bodes well for the immediate bread-and-butter or development needs of the country, as the themes covered are "nation-centric" or nationalistic in a way. At the same time, this development has made topics concerning human-environment relationships (e.g., global warming, climate change, urban sanitation etc.) increasingly more popular among our human geographers than

the social and cultural issues concerning the geographies of identity, citizenship, race and ethnicity, and religion. A new inter-faculty masters programme in *Climate Change and Sustainable Development* has been introduced at the University of Ghana since 2013, with the Department of Geography and Resource Development playing a lead role in the running of the programme.

Techniques of Geography

To the extent that the available resources permit, nearly all the major geographic techniques are taught in all the leading universities in Ghana. For the most part, students are introduced to some level of quantitative geography, cartography, map interpretation, and surveying at the first- and second-year levels. In the case of KNUST, geography students are also offered an introductory course in computing. It is in the third and final years that the more advanced techniques of GIS, advanced statistics, research methods, and remote sensing are made available to students. At UG a core course on techniques of regional science is offered in the final year where students are introduced to techniques of regional science. Some of the topics treated include, regional spatial analysis techniques; regional economic analysis, measurement of spatial disparity in development and regional modelling. Lack of equipment and laboratories have in the past hindered the effective teaching of GIS and remote sensing at the University of Ghana. However, conditions have improved in recent times. In 2007 the Remote Sensing Applications Unit (RSAU) of the Department was re-furnished with support from the Teaching and Learning Innovation Fund of the World Bank administered by the National Council for Tertiary Education (TALIF/NCTE). With the recent acquisition of the Skills Development Fund under the auspices of the Council for Vocational Education and Training (COVET)/World Bank assistance in 2012, the Department of Geography and Resource Development at the University of Ghana has been able to establish a modern GIS laboratory for teaching and research. The Department has also submitted a proposal for the introduction of a Masters Programme in GIS and Remote Sensing.

Academic Geography in Ghana: Research Interface

Geographic research by Ghanaian scholars has covered all the major fields in both human and physical geography. Funding for research activities has largely been drawn from both national and international sources. Indeed, the Geography Department at UG has an enviable track record of attracting research grants that have impacted on teaching and research. Recently funded projects include the Norwegian Council of Universities Committee for Development Research and Education (NUFU) project on the New Faces of Poverty in Ghana; the US National Science Foundation Support for Air Pollution Monitoring in Accra in collaboration with

Harvard University; International Development Research Centre (IDRC) of Canada project on Urban Poverty and Crime in collaboration with the Institute of Statistical Social and Economic Research (ISSER); the Youth and Employment: the Role of Entrepreneurship in African Economies funded by Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA); the UK Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) funded project under the “Rising Power Funding Scheme” to understand ways in which Chinese actors engage in overseas dam-building (Bui Dam in Ghana). In what follows, we profile some of the research scholarship on the geographies of Ghana in the various sub-fields of the discipline.

Human Geography

Historical Geography and Geography of Gender

The UK’s strong tradition of historical geography was embodied in many of the works of Ghanaian scholars during the formative years of their careers. The first Head of the Department of Geography at the University College of the Gold Coast, W. J. Varley was a historical geographer. His article “The Castles and Forts of the Gold Coast” published in the *Transactions* of the Gold Coast and Togoland Historical Society, is quite illuminating (Varley 1952). The same applies to his co-authored book on the *Geography of Ghana* with H. P. White (Varley and White 1958). However, it was K. B. Dickson whose background as a historical geographer helped push the historical geography agenda at UG. Dickson’s intellectual development was largely based on his training as a historical geographer at the University College in London under Clifford Darby, his PhD supervisor. Dickson has published a number of works on the historical geography of Ghana, including his book, *A Historical Geography of Ghana* (Dickson 1969) and his articles on the *Evolution of Seaports in Ghana* published in the *Annals of Association of American Geographers* (Dickson 1965) and *Historical Geography of Ghana, some problems of Presentation and Interpretation*, in the *Bulletin of the Ghana Geographical Association* (Dickson 1966). Other scholarly works on the historical geography of Ghana include Elizabeth Ardayfio’s (1977) article on the evolution of trade patterns in the Shai Area, and her work on spatial interactions of markets also in the Shai area (Ardayfio 1980). Other contributions to the scholarship on historical geography of Ghana have come from Frank Amoah formerly of the UCC (see Amoah 1972).

A logical move into gender and feminist geography started in the 1980s with pioneering works by Elizabeth Ardayfio-Schandorf, who drew attention to the environmental crisis as it relates to forests and renewable energy resources, and its effect on the work and lives of women (see Ardayfio-Schandorf 1986, 1993). Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf (2008) have examined the livelihood strategies of female migrants who migrate from Northern Ghana to Southern Ghana to escape poverty and other socio-cultural pressures (Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf 2008). Mar-

iana Awumbila has provided a review of the nexus between gender and geography in Africa (see Awumbila 2007). Gender issues on Ghana have also been the pre-occupation of Ragnhild Overa for many years. In her study on *changing gender relations in the informal economy of Accra*, Overa notes that gender ideologies regarding appropriate occupations for women and men in Accra are being transformed in response to changing political economy. More men are now taking up vocations formally seen as the preserve of women (Overa 2007). More recently, Charlotte Wrigley-Asante has pushed forward research on gender issues in Ghana by focusing on the socio-spatial and economic dynamics of gender, poverty and female empowerment. Her research not only makes an important contribution to the domains of gender and development, but also to debates within the field of feminist political economy (see Wrigley-Asante 2012, 2013).

Agricultural Geography and Rural Development

The euphoria of independence produced an enthusiasm for a rural focus in geography in the immediate post-colonial era. Important themes included farming systems, spatial organization of rural land use, migration, and land tenure systems. Behind this focus was the urgent need to increase agricultural productivity to feed the rising population and to earn foreign exchange via exports. Two competing frameworks were used in these analyses. The first, couched in Marxist geography analyzed production systems in terms of their linkage with the worldwide capitalist system. This framework highlights the negative aspects of the nature of the relationships, and calls for national food self-sufficiency through a restructuring of the spatial patterns of food production. The second, which was informed mainly by the modernization theory of development, was quite optimistic about the process of modernizing agriculture through land tenure reform, yielding varieties of crops in both food and export sectors, and the organization of rural space to accommodate larger farms. Both camps, however, continued to give primacy to old geographical thoughts for understanding the organization of space, (e.g., Von Thunen theory, the diffusion theory, and the central place theory). Invariably, they differed on the importance of class relations in their respective theoretical grounding, yet they both paid only peripheral attention to issues of gender and the empowerment of women.

Rural development was conceived by the Marxist camp merely as agricultural development with a call for basic needs. Agriculture was identified to be the engine of growth of both the rural areas and the national economies; agriculture was seen as the fulcrum upon which the achievement of independence goals swung. Geographers provided intellectual impetus to the cooperative system of farming, large-scale state farms, and the peasant farming systems. There was a consensus that African farming systems, such as the bush-fallow and shifting cultivation system, were inimical to the environment and provided less productivity than modern agriculture. This argument was premised on the Malthusian understanding of the relationship between population growth and resource scarcity.

The towering figure on rural development and agricultural geography at UG is, of course, George Benneh who became a Lecturer at UG in 1964. Benneh's work has covered areas such as the environment, farming systems, land tenure and land use (see Benneh 1970, 1972, 1973). Benneh recently published *Technology Should Seek Tradition: Studies on Traditional Land Tenure and Small Holder Farming Systems in Ghana* (Benneh 2011), which covers farming techniques and traditional land tenure arrangements in all ecological zones in Ghana—from Anloga on the south-east coast to Lambusie on the north-western border.

Other scholars in this area include Edwin Gyasi, Joseph Yaro and Sosthenes Kufogbe. Edwin Gyasi's research initially focused on land tenure issues (see Gyasi 1994), and has over the years built a solid reputation through two major research projects: "People Land Management and Environmental Change" (PLEC) and "Sustainable Land Management for Mitigating Land Degradation" (SLAM). PLEC involved studies on environmental change with a special focus on farmers' roles and adaptive strategies in Ghana. The goal of SLAM was to heal degraded lands to improve agricultural production, food security, and rural livelihoods in Ghana (see Brookfield and Gyasi 2009). Joseph Yaro's research activity addresses rural development broadly (Yaro 2013a), while focusing on the specific aspects of land tenure (Yaro 2012), traditional indigenous governance regimes (Yaro 2013b), rural adaptation to climate change, transnational investments in agricultural land and food security in Ghana (Yaro and Tsikata 2013). Sosthenes Kufogbe has over the years investigated land degradation and explored various methods of mapping rural resources and processes using GIS approaches (see Kufogbe 1999).

Population and Medical Geography

Ghana has been well served in the scholarly analysis of its population geography. Definitive work on the population geography of Ghana started with T. E. Hilton's *Population Atlas* (Hilton 1960), as well as other collections including the article, *Depopulation and Population Movement in the Upper Region of Ghana*, published in the Bulletin of the Ghana Geographical Association (Hilton 1966). These were followed by E. V. T. Engmann's *Population of Ghana, 1850–1960*, (Engmann 1986). Engmann's book is the first comprehensive study of the population of Ghana and discusses such characteristics as numbers and growth trends, fertility and mortality rates, internal and international migration. There are also other interesting collections and papers on major topical areas of Ghanaian population geography. For example, post-independence scholarship on migration owes its roots to John Nabila's PhD dissertation on "cyclical migration of the Frafra of Northern Eastern Ghana" (see Nabila 1974) submitted to Michigan State University. This work helped to place him at the forefront of African scholars in migration analysis. Other scholarly works on migration have come from Stephen Kwankye on, *north-south independent child migration flows in Ghana*, a topic of increasing political and research interest (see Kwankye 2012).

Samuel Agyei-Mensah's doctoral dissertation on fertility change in Ghana and his subsequent works have revealed that the timing and pace of the Ghanaian fertility transition has been spatially and temporally uneven because of the very different social and economic contexts that have shaped reproductive behaviour (Agyei-Mensah and Aase 1998; Agyei-Mensah 2006, Weeks et al. 2010). Eva Tagoe of KNUST has also conducted research on fertility that provides insights into the links between urbanization, migration and fertility along the southern coast of Ghana (see White et al. 2008). There has also been a recent study on ethnic residential segregation in Accra which builds on earlier studies conducted in the city in the 1970s (see Brand 1972). The findings of this study show that economic segregation is the organizing force underlying residential segregation in Accra, and this operates through several social markers, one of which remains the ethnic history of migration to Accra (see Agyei-Mensah and Owusu 2010).

Medical geography has been a popular research activity among faculty and graduate students at UG, KNUST and UCC. Medical geography has two main research traditions: disease ecology and health service provision. More recently a third tradition has been added: the geographies of health. In Ghana, research has mainly been undertaken within the disease ecology tradition. John Hunter pioneered research on disease ecology in Ghana. He has conducted research on a number of diseases including river blindness (Hunter 1967); schistosomiasis (Hunter 1981), elephantiasis/lymphatic filariasis (Hunter 1992) and guinea worm (Hunter 1996). During the late 1990s attention shifted to the geography of HIV/AIDS. This was a new but entirely logical theme for medical geographers from Africa. Oppong (1998) and Agyei-Mensah (2001) provided interesting spatial perspectives on the diffusion of the disease. Oppong (1998) observed that there was a strong relationship between the settlement hierarchy and spatial and temporal patterns of HIV diffusion. Agyei-Mensah (2001) provided fresh historical perspectives on the links between migration and HIV/AIDS in Ghana.

Kofi Awusabo-Asare of the University of Cape Coast and his collaborators were at the forefront of studies that sought to unravel the perceptions and treatment trajectories of HIV/AIDS patients in Ghana (see Awusabo-Asare 1995; Awusabo-Asare and Anarfi 1997). Geographers have also been interested in other diseases such as buruli ulcer (see Kofie et al. 2008). Samuel Agyei-Mensah and his collaborators recently undertook a major study on air pollution and its health implications in Accra (see Dionisio et al. 2010; Zhou et al. 2013). Medical geographers are also contributing to our knowledge of the shifts in disease and mortality accompanying the epidemiological transition. A case in point is the recent study of Accra which shows a protracted polarized model with the co-existence of infectious and non communicable diseases amongst segments of the population (Agyei-Mensah and de-Graft Aikins 2010).

Within the health service tradition of medical geography, Daniel Buor, formerly of KNUST and now at of Valley View University, has carried out a number of studies on accessibility and utilization of health services in Ghana with a focus on utilization patterns of women mainly in the Ashanti region of Ghana (see Buor 2002, 2004). Scholarship on health service provision has also come from geog-

raphers utilizing location-allocation models in understanding spatial accessibility to health care facilities within different contexts of the country (see Oppong and Hodgson 1994; Moller-Jensen and Kofie 2001). Additionally, Joseph Mensah and his colleagues have evaluated the Ghana National Health Insurance scheme, drawing out its challenges and prospects for policy formulation (Mensah et al. 2010; Mensah 2010). Diverse theoretical traditions inform historical and contemporary scholarship on medical geography of Ghana. For example, most of the disease ecology studies including the works of John Hunter as well as the HIV/AIDS studies by Oppong (1998) and Agyei-Mensah (2001) have had a positivist, spatial diffusion and political ecology approaches. An exception is Awusabo-Asare's (1995, 1997) works on HIV/AIDS which draws on qualitative and humanistic methodologies.

Urban Geography and Geography of Tourism

Core research in urban geography at UG has mainly been undertaken by Jacob Songsore and Paul Yankson, and more recently by Martin Oteng-Ababio. Although urban geography was Jacob Songsore's launching pad, he has broadened his study of cities to include the environment, health, regional development. His book *Regional Development: The Theory and the Reality*, published by Woeli Publishing Services in 2011 (Songsore 2011), has become a standard text on regional development in Ghana and provides a rich and historical perspective on regional development trajectories in the country over time. Also, Songsore's long collaboration with Gordon McGranahan has brought visibility and international recognition to research on urban environmental health management in the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA) (see Songsore and McGranahan 1993, 1998). Songsore and his collaborators have also been able to develop guidelines for the application of proxy indicators for rapid assessment of environmental health status of residential areas in GAMA (Songsore et al. 1998). Urban issues have also been the pre-occupation of Paul Yankson for several years. He has conducted research on urban housing (see Gough and Yankson 2011), street trading and environmental management (see Yankson 2007), land markets (Gough and Yankson 2000) and environmental impact of rapid urbanization in peri-urban areas (Yankson and Gough 1999) among many others. Urban land issues have also been studied by Ian Yeboah within the context of the disenfranchisement of the lands of the Ga, the indigenes of Accra (see Yeboah 2008). Martin Oteng Ababio and his collaborators have also conducted recent research on e-waste management in Ghanaian cities (see Oteng Ababio 2010; Grant and Oteng-Ababio 2010).

While studies in urban geography have largely focused on large Ghanaian towns and cities, George Owusu's recent works on small towns and decentralization (Owusu 2008, 2009) remind us of the need to look at centres in the lower levels of the urban hierarchy. These works have renewed interest in the role of small and medium-sized towns in rural and regional development, driven by recent socio-economic changes at the national and international levels involving democratization

and local government reforms, economic reforms and globalization, and a general trend favouring participatory development.

Ghanaian geographers have also contributed to the scholarship on tourism geographies of the country. This has mainly been undertaken by Alex B. Asiedu, Oheneba Akyeampong, Laud Dei and Konadu Agyemang. Alex Asiedu's work illuminates some of the benefits associated with expatriates' temporary return visits including donations, expenditures, and investments made in Ghana (Asiedu 2005). Asiedu has also provided an interesting review of participants characteristics and economic benefits of visiting friends and relatives tourism and its implications for Ghana (see Asiedu 2008). Oheneba Akyeampong has recently collaborated with Yankholmes to examine the tourist perceptions at Danish, Osu, within the dark tourism or slavery heritage contexts. They differentiate between tourist knowledge of a heritage site and socio-demographic indices. The results indicate that tourists' perception of Danish, Osu, reflect their knowledge of the site in relation to its cultural heritage attributes. In addition, it was found that tourists have dual experiences of the site: those that relate to recreational pursuits of heritage sites and those that ascribe meanings (Yankholmes and Oheneba-Akyeampong 2010). Other works have come from Amuquandoh and Dei on tourism development preferences among residents of lake Bosomtwe in Ghana (see Amuquandoh and Dei 2007) and the socio-spatial implications of structural adjustment on international tourism trade in Ghana (Konadu Agyemang 2001).

Political and Transport Geography

Political geography in Ghana was pioneered by E. A. Boateng who was trained at the University of Oxford. His book, *Political Geography of Africa* was published by Cambridge University Press in 1978 (Boateng 1978). Following from the works of Boateng, Raymond Bagulo Bening did his doctoral work in the field of political geography at the London School of Economics and Political Science under the supervision of R. J. Harrison-Church. Most of Bening's works have been on boundaries and the location of administrative capitals. He has done work on the Ghana-Togo boundary (Bening 1983); the international boundaries of Northern Ghana (Bening 1975); pertinent issues surrounding the creation of districts and constituencies in Ghana (Bening 2012); and a book on boundaries in Ghana (see Bening 1999). More recently, Linn Axelsson of the University of Stockholm has provided a detailed political geography of how borders operate to reconcile the often conflicting demands of open markets and security with a focus on the threat of Chinese textiles in Ghana (Axelsson 2012).

Transportation geography has also received attention by many scholars working on Ghana. Research in this area can be traced to the work of Gould (1960) and Taaffe et al. (1963) who provided a classic model on the development of transportation in Ghana as far back as in the 1960s. Other studies on transport geography in Ghana have come from Samuel Tetteh Addo, Albert Abane and Konadu Agyemang. Samuel Tetteh Addo's articles on transport geography published in the early 1970s

and 1980s has contributed to our understanding of the role of transport, markets and market hierarchies in national development (Addo 1977, 1979, 1988). Albert Abane has contributed to research on mode of choice for the journey to work among formal sector employees in Accra (Abane 1993a), tackling traffic congestion in Accra: a road user's perspective (Abane 1993b), as well as travel behavior in four metropolitan areas (Abane 2011). More recently Albert Abane has collaborated with a team of researchers in exploring the issue of child portage and Africa's transport gap drawing on empirical data from Ghana, Malawi and South Africa (see Porter et al. 2012). Recent times have also witnessed the revision of Taafe et al.'s (1963) model on transport development in Ghana with an explanation as to why transport development has been inhibited in the country (see Konadu Agyemang et al. 2006).

Physical Geography and Human Environment Impacts

Physical geography research in Ghanaian universities has covered areas such as climatology, geomorphology, hydrology, and pedology. Edward Ofori-Sarpong, formerly of UG has been the dominant figure in climatology with his studies on historical rainfall patterns in Ghana (see Ofori-Sarpong and Annor 2001; Ofori Sarpong 1986). Other studies on rainfall patterns in Ghana especially during the anomalies of early 1980s has come from Kwabena Acheampong of the UCC (see Acheampong 1999, 1982). More recently, Kwadwo Owusu of the UG has also enhanced our knowledge of rainfall variability in the country by studying the historic shifts in daily rainfall regime and the changing rainy season climatology of mid-Ghana (Owusu and Waylen 2012). Geomorphologists at Legon include John Kusimi and Awere-Gyekye. They are also contributing to knowledge in fluvial and coastal geomorphology (see Kusimi 2008a, 2008b). In Cape Coast, Alfred Laud Dei has contributed to the scholarship on geomorphology in Ghana. Work on pedology has mainly been carried out by T. W. Awadzi, formerly of UG on harmatan dust deposition and particle size in Ghana (see Breuning-Madsen and Awadzi 2005). In the area of human environmental relationships, William Osei has provided evidence on the extent of forest loss in rural agro-ecosystems of Ghana against the backdrop of weak economic growth and population demands (Osei 1996). Emmanuel Morgan Attua and his collaborators have also provided insights into historical and future land cover dynamics in parts of Ghana (see Attua and Fisher 2011) as well as studies on rehabilitation of forest savannah's (see Awanyo et al. 2011). Alex Owusu Barimah and his collaborators have recently undertaken an analysis of desertification in the Upper East Region of Ghana, using remote sensing, field study and local knowledge (see Owusu et al. 2013). Similarly, Gerald Yiran, John Kusimi and S. Kufogbe have studied land degradation in the upper east region of Ghana utilizing remote sensing and local knowledge approaches (see Yiran et al. 2012). Joseph Teye provides expertise in forest management and policy issues with a research agenda encompassing policy networks, corruption, decentralization and deforestation (see Teye 2011, 2012). Stephen Kendie has raised the issue as to whether attitudes matter

when it comes to issues of waste disposal and wetland pollution in the Municipality of Cape Coast (Kendie 1998). Samuel Nii Ardey Codjoe and his collaborators have added new perspectives into the perception, experience and indigenous knowledge of climate variability in Accra (Codjoe et al. 2013) and contributed to our understanding of agricultural extensification and intensification in a variety of Ghanaian ecological settings (Codjoe and Bilsborrow 2012).

Geographers in the Public Policy Domain

It has often been argued that social scientists, including geographers, have a moral obligation to engage with public policy issues and debate. Ron Martin (2001) puts it succinctly when he notes that:

What is the point of continually seeking to expand and deepen our knowledge and understanding of society, the economy and the environment if this knowledge and understanding is not used to help improve social, economic and environmental conditions?

Geographers make contributions to public policy in Ghana in a variety of areas. Some have undertaken policy consultancy and evaluations for government departments and public and private sector agencies. For example, the Population Impact Project (PIP), located at the Department of Geography at UG, was a major conduit for engaging the public on population issues. The political geographer, Raymond Bagulo Bening was involved in the demarcation of district boundaries in response to issues relating to the 2010 population and housing census of Ghana. Elizabeth Ardayfio-Schandorf was part of the team that prepared the report on gender mainstreaming in forestry in Africa for the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations. Joseph Yaro and Kwadwo Owusu drafted the National Climate Change Adaptation Strategy together with the environmental protection agency for the Ministry of Science and Technology. This document forms the foundation for programming on adaptation strategies by various ministries and district assemblies in Ghana. It also constitutes an important condition by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) in accessing funds from the various adaptation funds internationally. Paul Yankson and George Owusu have recently completed the national urban policy in consultation with a broad section of the Ghanaian populace.

Jacob Songsore has played significant role in shaping spatial planning and environmental health issues for a number of organizations, whereas Edwin Gyasi has played key advocacy roles in matters relating to food security. Mariama Awumbila was part of the team that provided the draft migration policy of Ghana. Charlotte Wrigley-Asante was involved in drafting the gender component of the Ghana Millennium Challenge Compact II Programme. Kofi Awusabo-Asare has served as consultant for the Ghana Statistical Service and the Ghana AIDS Commission. John Nabila and Samuel Agyei-Mensah have served on the National Population Council, the highest organ in charge of population policy and programmes in the country. Edwin Gyasi serves on the Board of the National Meteorological Service.

Jacob Songsore is a Commissioner of the National Development Planning Commission (NDPC). Geographers have also served in various capacities in national governance. George Benneh was at one time the Commissioner for Lands, Natural Resources, Fuel and Power, and at another, the Finance and Economic Planning Minister. John Nabila served as Minister for Presidential Affairs during the Government of President Limann.

Even though geographers are making important contributions to public policy, we seem to exert a modest influence on policy. One way by which we can become more visible is to publicize or proselytize our work more broadly amongst policy-makers. *The Ghana Journal of Geography* is one avenue through which cutting edge, evidence-based scholarship could be made available to the general public. In addition, geographers ought to write op-eds in the major Ghanaian dailies to increase the visibility of the discipline. There are many important areas of geographical scholarship that border on public policy, but the message has to be cast in the appropriate style and discourse for the benefit of the policy-maker.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have sketched out some of the key moments of the development and practice of geography in Ghana with particular emphasis on the University of Ghana. We have discussed the changes that have taken place in geography, concentrating on the philosophy, teaching, research and public policy. We conclude that geography has evolved significantly over the last six decades or so. Geographers have concentrated on specific thematic areas with wider national development ramifications. These specializations and the redefinition of content and focus in thematic areas over the years are responses to both societal needs and wider epistemological and institutional changes. Ghanaian geography continues to fulfill its purpose in the generation of knowledge, provision of policy inputs, and practice in public administration. The movement away from foundational to demand-oriented themes can be inimical to the ethos of the discipline as geographers. Still, the increasing hybridization of foundational knowledge and popular themes has increased the policy relevance and appeal of the discipline. Also, the success of geography in influencing other disciplines with its foundational ethos of spatial differentiation makes the subject very versatile. There is the need to strengthen the physical branch of geography, since geographers rely heavily upon the knowledge of the physical characteristics of the earth in discussing the interrelationships between humans and the environment. However, the classification of geography as a social science deprives it of access to special funding open to the physical sciences for equipment, travel, laboratories and the associated personnel. The future of geography is quite bright, as geographers continue to incorporate new areas of research and knowledge, using contemporary inter-disciplinary frameworks, methods, and theories.

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Chapter 5

Psychology in Ghana: A Review of Research and Practice

Ama de-Graft Aikins, Angela L. Ofori-Atta, Adote Anum
and Vivian A. Dzokoto

Introduction

This chapter tracks the evolution of the development of psychology in Ghana from the colonial era to present. We focus on research trends and practice trends in the first two sections. In the final section, we present and discuss current and future challenges in developing psychology in Ghana, in terms of its theoretical and practical relevance to social and national development. Our discussion will draw from a review of published articles on psychological research in Ghana, supplementary material solicited from psychologists based in Ghana, Europe and the US and our own work in the areas of clinical, cognitive, social and health psychology.

Research Trends in Ghanaian Psychology

Research Trends in the Colonial Era: Late Nineteenth Century to Late 1960s

The origins of professional psychology in Ghana can be traced to the Presbyterian Training College in Akropong in the late nineteenth Century, where college courses included psychology modules and trainees were subjects of psychological research

A. de-Graft Aikins (✉)

Regional Institute for Population Studies (RIPS), University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana
e-mail: adaikins@ug.edu.gh

A. L. Ofori-Atta

Department of Psychiatry, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

A. Anum

Department of Psychology, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

V. A. Dzokoto

Virginia Commonwealth University, Virginia, USA

(Beveridge 1935, 1939)¹. Then, in the 1920s and 1930s, psychological concepts and methods were applied to anthropological work among the Tallensi (or Frafras) of the then Northern Territories through the work of the British anthropologist Meyer Fortes who trained originally as a psychologist (Fortes 1981). At the time, global professional psychology was about half a century old and Euro-American psychologists had become interested in the psychologies of Africans.

Graham Richards, a historian of Psychology, notes that during the 1920s and the 1930s, three ideological camps were discernible in the field: the racist, anti-racist and ‘somewhere in between’ (Richards 1997). Fortes belonged to the camp of anti-racists which included British psychologists such as F. C Bartlett, C. S Myers and W. I. Thomas and the American Culture and Personality School. While many in this camp drew on secondary data to build strong counterarguments to concepts proposed within the racist and ‘somewhere in between’ camps, Fortes drew on primary data, thus placing psychological phenomena in the Northern Territories at the heart of the early development of critical social and cultural psychology.

For example, the concept of ‘the pre-logical mentality’ developed by the French philosopher-anthropologist Lucien Levy-Bruhl was a dominant lens through which African, Australasian and other ‘aboriginal’ cultures were studied and understood during the 1920s and 1930s. Through a series of book-length treatises that drew on second hand information on Australians, Huron Indians, Melanesians, the Bantus and the Asante, Levy-Bruhl proposed that all non-literate ‘tribal’ people were unified by ‘the primitive mentality’ (Levy-Bruhl 1926). The ‘primitive mentality’ had two aspects: ‘prelogical mentality’ and ‘mystical participation’. ‘Prelogical mentality’ described an apparent disinterest in abstract logical thought and in seeking the (secondary) causes of phenomena that lie outside everyday concerns. Mystical participation referred to the strong bond ‘primitives’ forged between self, the world and the supernatural and the emphasis placed on the role of the supernatural (spirits, witches, ancestors etc) in directing life events. For Levy-Bruhl these phenomena were rooted in the psychology of ‘primitives’ rather than in socio-cultural factors. He contrasted the ‘primitive mentality’ sharply against the mentality of the civilised Euro-American worlds, explicitly buying into a social evolutionary concept of development.

Fortes’ work with Tallensi children on perception and cognition undermined the pre-logical primitive mentality thesis. At a meeting of the British Psychology Society in 1940 he presented drawings of Tallensi children and adults and argued for a cultural, rather than psychological, analysis of cognitive behaviour in this community:

I made a special point of asserting that the evidence of my ‘natural history’ observation over two years of close contact with the Tallensi, added to the evidence of responses obtained to the non-verbal tests I had tried out, left me in no doubt as to their cognitive abilities. I

¹ The Presbyterian Training College was established in 1848. Danquah (1982) suggests that the practice of some form of psychology in Ghana may have much earlier origins in the fifteenth century, when missionary teachers were responsible for counseling children enrolled in castle schools and were also an important source of help for parents who required solutions for emotional and social problems.

stated that there was not the slightest doubt that Tallensi children and adults perceived, remembered and thought about the world around them in accordance with the same laws of cognitive behaviour as govern our [European] perceptual and cognitive activities. Apparent difference, I said, were of cultural not psychological origin. Thus any peculiarities that might seem to appear in the drawings could not, a priori, be attributed to peculiarities of mental constitution in a genetical sense. (Fortes 1981, p. 48)

Between the 1940s and 1960s psychology in Ghana developed along the lines of regional professional psychology. During this period psychological research in sub-Saharan Africa was carried out by theorists from the Culture and Personality School as well as those in cognitive psychology, social psychology and developmental psychology. We conducted a citographic analysis on two book-length reviews (Wickert 1967; Wober 1975) and review articles on intelligence (Cryns 1962). The results are presented in Table 5.1. Research conducted in at least 37 countries, including Ghana, focused on eight themes: (1) child psychology; (2) cognitive development and intelligence; (3) perception; (4) vocational aspirations; personnel selection, training; (5) attitudes and attitudes change; (6) personality and identity; (7) 'psychological adjustment to social change' (including psychopathology); and (8) language. The dominant sub-fields were theoretical (e.g social and cognitive psychology) as well as applied (e.g. industrial and clinical psychology). Research focused on a broad range of urban and rural communities and plethora of research methods were applied. As political independence approached in the late 1950s and early 1960s, there was a drive to understand and explain for a western audience how African societies were responding to socio-political changes of the time. An emergent theme in the 1950s and 1960s for instance was 'urbanisation and acculturation'. Then as the first few countries gained independence and responsibility for nation building fell to the 'natives', psychological testing within industrial psychology become important. Similar research trends occurred in Ghana.

During this period, psychology research in Ghana was carried out mainly by Euro-American psychologists, as reported for other African countries (Gupta 1995). The British-trained Austrian social psychologist Gustav Jahoda, who took up a post at the Department of Sociology at the then University College of the Gold Coast (now the University of Ghana), dominated research in Ghana between the 1950s and 1970s, publishing almost 60% (19) of the total output of papers (34) during this period. His subject matter spanned perception (e.g Jahoda 1966), beliefs and practices of herbalists treating mental illness (Jahoda 1961a), the content and functions of newspaper advice columns (Jahoda 1959), attitudes of pre-independence 1950s Ghanaians to 'the white man' (Jahoda 1961b) and supernatural beliefs of university students (Jahoda 1970). Jahoda left Ghana in the early 1960s to establish a psychology department at the University of Strathclyde in Scotland. His Ghanaian research has informed his distinguished international career in social and cultural psychology (Jahoda Moscovici and Markova (2006).

The colonial period was characterised by cross-disciplinary collaboration between psychology and other social science disciplines, in particular anthropology, sociology and history. In some countries, such as Zambia, psychological research was conducted by social anthropologists between the 1920s and 1950s (Peltzer and Bless 1989). This practice was a function of the inseparable relationship between

Table 5.1 Psychology research in Sub Saharan Africa, 1950s to mid 1970s: themes, sites and methods

Sub-fields and themes	Countries (<i>N</i> =37)	Social groups	Methods
[1] Cognitive Psychology Cognitive development and intelligence; perception; language	Algeria; Angola; Benin; Burkina Faso; Cameroon; Cape Verde; Central African Republic; Congo (Brazzaville)	Rural/urban groups; adult men, women; primary and secondary school children, university students; infants; blue-collar workers, civil service personnel	Quantitative (e.g. personality scales; questionnaires)
[2] Developmental psychology research and applications in child psychology	Congo (DRC) (Kinshasa); Egypt; Ethiopia; Gabon; Gambia; Ghana; Guinea; Ivory Coast; Kenya; Liberia; Malawi; Madagascar; Mali; Mauritania; Morocco; Mozambique; Niger		Qualitative (e.g. ethnographies, interviews, dream analysis; sentence completion; word choices)
[3] Organizational psychology vocational aspirations; personnel selection, training	Nigeria; Rwanda/Burundi; Senegal; Sierra Leone; South Africa; Tanzania; Togo; Tunisia		Mixed methods (quantitative and qualitative)
[4] Social psychology attitudes; attitudes change; personality and identity; 'psychological adjustment to social change' (incl psychopathology)	Uganda; Zambia; Zaire; Zimbabwe		Experiments (e.g. Thematic Apperception Tests (TAT), Piagetian tasks)

^a Sources: Cryns (1962) on intelligence; Wickert (1967) and Wober (1975) on remaining themes, the former focusing on research in Francophone Africa, the latter on Anglophone Africa

anthropology, psychology and sociology during this period (Richards 1997). In Gold Coast/Ghana, a number of important cross-disciplinary meetings and workshops were held, which explored synergies between psychology, anthropology and history.

Research Trends in the Contemporary Era: 1970s to Present

The post-independence era saw the exodus of foreign psychologists from many African countries and national investment in training local psychologists to produce work that benefited national development. In Ghana, as elsewhere, the pioneering local psychologists were trained abroad, usually in Europe and North America. The

first Department of Psychology was established in 1967 at the University of Ghana, with the social psychologist C. E. Fiscian as the first Head of Department. Since then, psychology departments have been established in other universities: University of Cape Coast, the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, University College of Education, Winneba, and the newer private universities such as Methodist University, Central University and Regent University College of Science and Technology. Psychology courses have been incorporated into allied disciplines such as medicine (at the University of Ghana Medical School), nursing (at the three Psychiatric Nursing Colleges and newer private colleges) and business (at the University of Ghana Business School).

Following global and regional trends in psychology, various sub-fields have been developed since the late 1960s. From an initial dominance of cognitive and social psychology, the field—and areas of psychological expertise—has grown to encompass clinical psychology, developmental psychology, industrial/organizational psychology, health psychology, educational psychology, community psychology, and neuropsychology. The teaching of psychology has also expanded to include a comprehensive range of subfields. At the University of Ghana's Department of Psychology, for example, undergraduate courses are offered in the aforementioned sub-fields as well as newer sub-fields such as sports psychology, environmental psychology, political psychology and military psychology. At the same department and at Methodist University, graduate level courses are offered in clinical psychology and guidance/counselling, respectively.

To provide a more systematic account of research trends in psychology from 1970 to present, we searched psychology and social and health sciences databases (Psychinfo, Web of Science; ISI Web of Knowledge, Pubmed) for psychological research conducted by psychologists in and on Ghana from 1970 to present. We also hand searched three local journals for published psychological research: Ghana Medical Journal, Ghana Social Science Journal and Ghana International Journal of Mental Health. The search was supplemented with requests of published research from psychologists we know, based in Ghana, Europe and North America. Search terms included 'psychology', 'mental health' and 'Ghana'. Inclusion criteria were empirical psychological studies applying various methodologies including secondary analysis of quantitative surveys; studies conducted by psychologists based in Ghana or outside, and published in psychology journals or in related journals (such as mental health, public health or health systems). Exclusion criteria were review articles and articles not based on empirical research. Table 5.2 presents the results of the search. We were interested in a number of themes:

- What sub-fields were represented in psychological research?
- Who led psychological research on Ghana (Ghanaian, European, etc)
- What communities were of research interest to psychologists?
- What research methods were used in reported studies?

As Table 5.2 highlights, five (5) sub-fields were represented in published psychological research on Ghana. Of these 5 areas, Social Psychology and Clinical Psychology were the dominant sub-fields, with health and mental health as the

Table 5.2 Psychology in Ghana, 1970—present: reviewed papers by topic

Topic	No	References
<i>Cognitive psychology</i>	(8)	
Perception	3	Jahoda and McGurk (1974); Jahoda (1975); McGurk and Jahoda (1975)
Memory/recall	2	Ross and Millsom (1970); Parker (1977)
Conservation tasks	1	Arnold et al. (1981)
Visual-spatial performance	1	Amponsah and Krekling (1997)
Gender-based skills	1	Else-Quest et al. (2010)
<i>Developmental psychology</i>	(7)	
Child/adolescent health and wellbeing	4	Danquah (1975); Doku (2009); Oti-Boadi (2009)
Malnutrition and social/emotional behaviour	2	Appoh (2004); Appoh and Krekling (2004)
Socialisation	1	Wiafe-Akenten (2009)
<i>Social psychology (general)</i>	(17)	
Beliefs, attributions, attitudes, perceptions, representations (various social targets)	9	Adams and Dzokoto (2007); Jahoda (1970); Dugbartey (1994); Dzokoto and Adams (1997); Dzokoto and Adams (2005); Dzokoto and Mensah (2010); Dzokoto et al. (2010a, b); Schimmack et al. (2002)
Emotions	2	Dzokoto and Okazaki (2006); Dzokoto (2010)
Group identities, relations and dynamics	6	Adams (2005); Adams et al. (2004); Anderson et al. (2008); Earley (1984); Frederick et al. (2007); Jahoda (1981)
<i>Social psychology (applied to health)</i>	(16)	
Health/illness knowledge, perceptions and representations	8	Abor (2006); Cogan et al. (1996); Ofori-Atta and Linden (1995); de-Graft Aikins (2002, 2010, 2011); de-Graft Aikins et al. (2012); Borzekowski et al. (2006)
Illness experiences and representations (diabetes, HIV/AIDS, sickle-cell)	6	Riley and Baah-Odoom (2010); de-Graft Aikins (2003); de-Graft Aikins (2004); de-Graft Aikins (2005, 2006); Okraku et al. (2009)
Other: caregiver stress/support	1	Mensah (2003)
Health interventions/systems/policy	1	Abanilla et al. (2011)
<i>Clinical psychology, neuropsychology and mental health</i>	(28)	
Depression	2	Turkson and Dua (1996); Walker and Danquah (2010)
Substance use and mental health	1	Danquah (1979)
Suicide	2	Eshun (1999); Hjelmeland et al. (2008)
Life stressors and (mental) health; representations; mental health seeking behaviour	5	Appiah-Poku et al. (2004); Bull et al. (2010); de-Graft Aikins and Ofori-Atta (2007); Ofori-Atta et al. (2010a); Walters et al. (1999)
Institutional care	2	Danquah and Asare (2009); Asare and Danquah (2010)
Psychotherapy and counseling	2	Lo and Dzokoto (2005); Mate-Kole (1999)
Neuropsychology	2	Dugbartey et al. (1998); Dugbartey et al. (1998b)
Scale validation and use	2	Weobong et al. (2009); de Menil et al. (2012);

Table 5.2 (continued)

Topic	No	References
Mental health systems and policy	10	Akpalu et al. (2010); Awenva et al. (2010); Bhana et al. (2010); Flisher et al. (2007); Kleintjes et al. (2010); Lund et al. (2010); Ofori-Atta et al. (2010b); Omar et al. (2010); Raja et al. (2010); Rosenberg (2002)
<i>Industrial and Organisational psychology</i>	(5)	
Personnel attributes and representations	2	Sackey and Sanda (2011); Zoogah (2010)
Organizational culture; organizational stress	3	Puplampu (2005); Sackey and Sanda (2009); Atindanbila (2010)
<i>Total</i>	<i>81</i>	

focal applied areas, respectively. The dominance of Euro-American psychological research on Ghana ended in the early 1980s. Between the 1980s and present, Ghanaian psychologists, based in Ghana, Europe and North America led the bulk of published research in all the sub-fields. Out of 70 eligible articles published between 1980 and 2012, 49 articles (70%) were lead authored by twenty-three (23) Ghanaian psychologists, with the majority based in Ghana, and the remainder based in European and US institutions². Of the remaining 21 articles, almost two-thirds (14 articles or 67%) had Ghanaian psychologists as co-authors. Co-authored articles tended to be inter-disciplinary in nature with medical sub-fields like psychiatry, public health and epidemiology dominating, as well as allied health disciplines such as mental health. Research communities of focus included rural and urban communities, adults, adolescents and children, working, underemployed and unemployed adults, and individuals receiving care in health institutions. The dominant regions of research focus were the Greater Accra, Ashanti and Brong Ahafo Regions. Communities in the Northern and Volta Regions featured in two studies. Research methods applied in the published studies included quantitative (surveys), qualitative (individual and group interviews, ethnographic case studies), experimental studies and clinical case studies.

Development of Psychology Practice

A number of sub-fields in psychology in Ghana have a thriving applied dimension, for instance clinical, industrial/organisation, and social/health. Others, which by definition ought to be actively applied, remain in the lecture halls, for instance community psychology (cf. Akotia and Barimah 2007). In this section of the chapter

² Some of the articles were written and published when authors were completing their doctoral studies in Europe or the US. Authors have since returned to departmental positions in Ghana.

we will focus attention on the three dominant sub-fields: clinical, social/health and industrial/organisational psychology.

Clinical Psychology

Clinical psychology was established in Ghana in 1974 by the Canadian trained Ghanaian clinical psychologist, Samuel Danquah (1982). The sub-field was first housed at the Department of Psychiatry of the University of Ghana Medical School. Two additional US-trained clinical psychologists joined the department in 1980 (Araba Sefa-Dedeh) and 1993 (Angela Ofori-Atta). The three professionals were instrumental in the early development of an MPhil programme in clinical psychology at the University of Ghana's Department of Psychology. This programme, is one of two graduate level clinical psychology training programme in Ghana. The second is the MA program in counselling at Methodist University College. However it is the older and larger of the two, having trained over 100 graduate students to date. Trainees take a wide range of theoretical courses including psychopathology, developmental and personality psychology and behavioural medicine and they conduct 500 h of practical work with clients in hospitals or community-based organisations. Job prospects for graduate psychologists are poor. However clinical psychology graduates tend to work in the mental health sector, in the public psychiatric hospitals, private hospitals and clinics, and with mental health NGOs. Some teach in the new private universities or proceed to further graduate studies abroad. There is a strong tradition of the scientist-practitioner in Ghanaian clinical psychology. Established psychologists consult with patients at the three psychiatric hospitals: Accra Psychiatric Hospital and Pantang Psychiatric Hospital in Accra and Ankaful Psychiatric Hospital in Cape Coast. Some psychologists also work with patients at the country's two teaching hospitals: Korle Bu Teaching Hospital in Accra and the Komfo Anokye Teaching Hospital in Kumasi. Both hospitals have psychiatry departments which facilitate teaching and practice in clinical psychology. Clinical psychologists draw on their work with patients for research purposes and they collaborate with medical and allied professionals to conduct general mental health and mental health systems research. Teams of psychiatrists and clinical psychologists are often sought by Ghana's development partners and international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) to offer community-based services in underserved areas (such as Northern Ghana) or on urgent social issues (such as conflict). Over the last decade, research groups in Accra and Kumasi have also secured and worked on major research grants in mental health and healthcare delivery. The Mental Health and Poverty Project (MHaPP), presents a recent case study of Ghanaian clinical psychology in action. MHaPP is a major multi-country research project funded by the UK development agency, DFID. Based in Ghana, South Africa, Uganda and Zambia, the aim of the project was to collate extensive data on the relationship between mental health and poverty in these African countries and to develop sustainable interventions that addressed the needs of the mentally ill, their caregivers, healthcare providers and health policymakers (Flisher et al. 2007). In Ghana, the

project has been led by a team of psychiatrists and clinical psychologists, with a clinical psychologist—second author (ALOA)—as a co-principal investigator. The project has produced important publications on mental health systems and policy (cf Awenva et al. 2010; Ofori-Atta et al. 2010; Kleintjes et al. 2010) and has been instrumental in the development of a new mental health bill, which will soon pass into law. The large data set that has been collected has informed multidisciplinary graduate projects on mental health systems research and offer a very important model for building research capacity in psychology and allied disciplines in Ghana.

Social/Health Psychology

Social psychology is one of the oldest sub-fields in psychology, globally and within the Ghanaian context. Its application to health in Ghana, however, is recent. This is also a reflection of global trends. Fundamentally, health psychology has a relatively young history compared to other psychology sub-disciplines. Established in the 1970s it aimed to develop an integrated biopsychosocial model of health research and practice (Marks 1996; Crossley 2000). In Ghana early work can be traced to Jahoda's (1961) concerns with traditional healing for mental disorders, a study which applies the eclectic approaches of social and cultural psychology to health beliefs and practices. Our review of psychological studies (see Table 5.2), shows that no health psychology studies were published between the 1970s and early 2000s. However, evidence from health sector projects and reports, suggests that healthcare professionals and administrators incorporated health psychology principles (e.g concepts and approaches in health promotion such as knowledge-attitude-beliefs (KAB)) into their practices during this period. Since 2000, when the earliest publications appeared, work has concentrated largely on representations and experiences of chronic non-communicable diseases, such as diabetes and hypertension (de-Graft Aikins 2003; de-Graft Aikins 2012a, Kratzer 2012) and HIV/AIDS (Riley and Baah-Odom 2010). Other studies, which draw on the principles of health psychology or offer insights for health psychology in Ghana, have focused on the relationship between everyday stressors and physical and mental health (e.g. de-Menil et al, 2012; Walters et al, 1999).

There are graduate level courses in social psychology at the University of Ghana's Department of Psychology, but none for health psychology. Few PhD level trained psychologists have a core interest in health. However there is great scope to expand and strengthen health psychology in Ghana, given the rise in health sciences research and the importance of health systems and health policy research. Health sciences research, from public health (Aryeetey et al, 2013). Sociology (Fosu 1995), and philosophy (Grills and Ajei 2002), provide useful conceptual and methodological insights for health psychologists.

At present psychologists with applied research interests in health, like clinical psychologists, work closely with the Ministry of Health and the Ghana Health Service. A number of major projects over the last 15 years have involved health psychologists. These include the development of a manual for mental healthcare

provision in schools, the evaluation of the MOH's Regenerative Health and Nutrition (RHN) Programme, the development of an RHN policy and the development of a chronic non-communicable disease policy (Bosu 2012; de-Graft Aikins 2010). Over the last 5 years, Africa's rising prevalence of NCDs has received national, regional and international attention through a multi-disciplinary network funded by the British Academy and co-directed by a social psychologist—first author AdGA. This network has convened research meetings and produced influential publications on Africa's chronic disease burden (British Academy 2010; de-Graft Aikins et al 2010a, 2012b).

Industrial and Organisational Psychology

Industrial and organisational (hereafter I/O) psychology produced the least number of publications across the reviewed period. This lack of publication presence is deceptive, as the sub-field has a thriving practical presence. A substantial number of I/O psychologists work closely with Ghanaian organisations and industry to develop human resources capacity and functions, develop personnel recruitment scales and provide consulting services on a wide variety of I/O problems. For example, the Ghana Armed Forces works closely with a psychologist based at the University of Ghana to develop recruitment and welfare indicators and to run counselling services. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has contracted psychologists at the University of Ghana to assist in developing and operationalising recruitment and employment models (Linda Darkwah, personal communication, August 2012). I/O psychologists are not only based in traditional psychology departments. They also teach and conduct research from the University of Ghana Business School. Some I/O psychologists run their own successful consultancy firms. The gap between practice and theory is wide and there is minimal reflection of the structure and functions of the sub-field. What is required from this sub-field is greater integration of theory and practice, along the lines developed by clinical psychology.

A Note on Other Applied Areas

Other sub-fields of psychology are not as developed as they ought to be, from the perspectives of local experts. For example community psychology remains largely a classroom-based discipline (Akotia and Barimah 2007; Akotia, In Press). Yet it ought to be more developed because of the vibrant culture of community-based research in other disciplines, such as anthropology and health sciences, and the proliferation of grass-roots and civil society movements in Ghana more generally (de-Graft Aikins et al. 2010). Similarly counselling psychology has a long applied history (Danquah 1987; Essuman 1999). It is an established practice, particularly in school and faith-based settings. But this sub-field remains to be formalised, evaluated and developed. Institutionalising counselling psychology will be important as

it will facilitate the professional development of counselling in other socio-cultural spaces such as churches, tertiary institutions and healthcare. The MA programme in counselling offered by Methodist University provides an important framework for building research and practice capacity in this area.

Current and Future Challenges for Psychology in Ghana

In their late 1980s review of the history and status of professional psychology in Zambia Peltzer and Bless (1989) provided a useful typology of understanding the challenges facing contemporary psychology production in Africa. The authors grouped the key concerns of Zambian psychologists under three categories: 'culture', 'organisation' and 'manpower and finance'.

Culture This constituted the importation of 'expatriate' research interests, the influence of Western doctoral training and a 'colonial hangover' of Western superiority on the theoretical positions and research activities of local psychologists. Cultural challenges led to the adoption and adaptation of Western psychology in its conservative forms and a lack of attention to complex cultural concerns and internal differences.

Organisation While professional associations existed and psychology courses were offered to other university departments, Zambian researchers observed a "lack of coordination and fragmentation of psychology efforts between the university and government, different departments and institutions in the university and government as well as associations, parastatals and the private sector". The government lacked clear policies on psychology training and key development areas such as 'rural and health problems' that could benefit from a psychological approach remained under-researched.

Manpower and finance This included low numbers of trained psychologists and poor conditions of work and pay which undermined research activities (especially in terms of geographical access to research communities), teaching (lack of access to books and periodicals) and practice/reflection (e.g. lack of access to regional and international psychology communities). Poor conditions led to migration of psychologists to well paid administrative jobs in government or to academic positions abroad contributing to the low numbers of active psychologists based in universities.

These categories have applied to the majority of reviews on the history and state of professional psychology in many African countries over the last twenty years, for example in Cameroon (cf Nsamang et al. 2007), Ghana (Akotia and Barimah 2007, Kenya (Ruto-Korir 2006) and Nigeria (Eze 1991; Ezeilo 1990). The consensus in these professional reflections has been that cultural, organisational and manpower/financial challenges have marginalised psychologists and psychological production in Africa in the contemporary era.

Using the typology by Peltzer and Bless (1989) we will consider, first, what successes and challenges exist in the domains of culture, organization and manpower/finance. We discuss how these concrete challenges can be overcome in order to develop a professional psychology that is relevant to current trends in global psychology, to the social sciences in Ghana, and to national development.

The Culture of Psychology in Ghana

To what extent has psychology in Ghana exclusively applied western psychological theory in its conservative forms and ignored the complexities of internal socio-cultural processes? The answer to this question must lie in a critical review of the concepts, methods and interpretations of the body of work that has been produced by psychologists in the contemporary era. While a comprehensive analysis is beyond the scope of this chapter, we can offer three preliminary insights based on: (1) a content analysis of research abstracts of research published since 1970 (see Table 5.2); (2) our own work; and (3) our engagement with the research practices of psychologists based within and outside Ghana.

First, our review suggests that being trained in the western context does not necessarily lead to wholesale borrowing of western concepts and neglect of indigenous concepts. Four signposts for developing ‘indigenous psychologies’ in the non-western world have been outlined by Yang (1997) as follows:

1. giving priority to the study of culturally unique psychological and behavioural phenomena or characteristics of the local people;
2. investigating both the specific content and the involved process of the phenomenon;
3. beginning any research with a thorough immersion into the natural, concrete details of the phenomenon to be studied; and
4. basing research on local intellectual traditions rather than western intellectual traditions.

Some psychologists have applied three or more of these signposts in the development, analysis and interpretation of their research (Adams 2005; Adams and Dzokoto 2007; Dzokoto 2010; Ofori-Atta and Linden 1995; de-Graft Aikins 2003). In relation to Yang’s fourth point, it is important to note that some western psychological concepts and models, for example in social and cultural psychology, emphasise the importance of local cultures, histories and social organizations in the concepts, methods, analysis and interpretation of studies.

Secondly, similar to Fortes’ work in the 1930s and 1940s, recent Ghana-based psychological research has contributed to conceptual developments in global psychology. In the sub-field of cross-cultural psychology, studies by Adams (2005) on enmity and Dzokoto (2010) on emotions and embodiment constitute key examples. Psychologists have also drawn on research in Ghana and other Sub-Saharan African contexts to critique mainstream and critical psychological ideas on self

and identity (Adams and Dzokoto 2003), health (Adams and Salter 2007; de-Graft Aikins and Marks 2007) and the production of social knowledge (de-Graft Aikins 2012a).

Thirdly, the adaptations of western tools in applied psychology are facilitated by immersion in socio-cultural constructs and processes. For example the adaptation of diagnostic tools such as the Kessler 6 (K6), SF36 and Wide Range Achievement Test-4 (WRAT-4) by clinical psychologists and mental health professionals are informed by reflexive cultural sensitivity. Furthermore, experienced clinicians use these adapted tools within the context of deep knowledge of dynamic socio-cultural norms, as well as awareness of other cultural resources such as religion and class (Sefa-Dedeh 1992).

A major problem is that these trends do not inform the structure and content of teaching psychology, especially at the undergraduate level. This may be a product of the challenges in the organization and human and financial resourcing of psychology.

The Organization of Psychology in Ghana

There were early attempts at organizing psychology in Ghana, as more psychology departments were established in universities across the country and the numbers of psychology graduates grew. In the 1990s the Ghana Psychological Association (GPA) was established. In November 2012, after a 20-year history of leadership challenges and periodic stagnation, the GPA was re-inaugurated with a fresh set of executives made up of researchers based at the University of Ghana and University of Cape Coast. The aim of the GPA is to create an active community of intergenerational psychologists and to inform the development of policies relating to the development of psychology as a recognized profession in Ghana and its integration into the activities of relevant sector ministries such as health, employment and welfare and local government development (C. Charles Mate-Kole, personal communication, October 2012). In 2009, the Ghana International Journal of Mental Health was established. This journal has had a more productive and regular profile than its predecessor, the Ghana Psychology Journal, the now defunct official journal of the GPA. Over the last 5 years, clinical psychologists have worked behind the scenes with policymakers to improve the employment prospects of clinical psychology graduates. This work has yielded two important outcomes. First, the Ministry of Health has formally included psychology as a recognized profession in the health sector and has created 25 new positions for clinical psychologists within the Ministry and the Ghana Health Service (D. Baah-Odoom, personal communication, October 2012). Second, the National Service Secretariat has signed an agreement to post clinical psychology graduates to the Ghana Health Service to work with community psychiatric nurses in the provision of community-based mental health services. These are important developments because they focus on the integration of the theory and practice of psychology into national development efforts. Ghana's

health system, like health systems in the African region, is weak. There is a severe shortage of health workers at all skill levels, and poor national distribution of the available health workers. There is a consensus that interventions that use existing limited resources creatively and judiciously are required. The current solutions offered by psychologists fall under the task-shifting approach, which devolves health-care from highly skilled health professionals to professionals with fewer technical skills but with the capacity to learn and apply a simple set of clinical care skills. In a number of countries in the African, Asian and Latin American regions, the task-shifting approach has been applied to the training of community health nurses, community health workers, psychology students and lay health advisors to provide care for common mental disorders and cardiovascular diseases (Chibanda et al, 2011; Lekoubou et al, 2010; Patel et al, 2010). The impact of applying the task-shifting model to the provision of mental health services by psychology graduates in Ghana will become evident over the next few years.

Some challenges remain in the organization of psychology in Ghana. The psychology community has grown, from its initial concentration at the University of Ghana to at least ten institutions across the country. Representation of psychological research in formal publications and local and international conferences tends to reflect institutional diversity³. However, the development of collective institutional capacity has not been an inclusive process. Researchers from the University of Ghana and the University of Cape Coast have traditionally dominated the GPA reform and restructuring processes. As the community grows and the psychology departments are strengthened through teaching and research, the GPA will have to revise the current model of capacity development.

The Human Resource Development and Financing of Psychology in Ghana

Human resource and financing challenges cohere around limited training capacity, poor conditions of work, and limited access to the global psychology community.

Psychology in Ghana has major human resource capacity challenges. Large numbers of undergraduates are trained but do not have access to relevant jobs post degree. Masters' level programmes exist in a number of institutions; however masters' students like undergraduate students may not gain access to the appropriate jobs. There is very limited local capacity to develop psychologists with advanced graduate degrees. Since the formal establishment of psychology in the 1960s, only 2 PhD level psychologists have been trained in Ghana. The majority of PhD level psychologists were trained in Europe or North America.

³ For example at the last International Congress of Psychology in Cape Town, in July 2012, psychological research in Ghana was strongly represented by researchers based at the University of Ghana, University of Cape Coast and Methodist University College. Similarly at the 2nd Annual Psychology Conference in Ghana held in Accra in November 2012, the following institutions were represented: University of Ghana, University of Cape Coast, Methodist University College and Ghana Telecom University. Our review of research trends yielded a similar mix of institutional representation.

Psychologists who teach in undergraduate departments experience poor conditions of service. They typically teach and examine large class sizes (some peaking in the 1000s), and lack the time to engage in the development and implementation of research. Lack of engagement in research sets up a vicious cycle whereby the inability to publish, undermines one's prospects for promotion and power to negotiate for better conditions of work. Some of these challenges have been reported for other disciplines in many African countries in the post-independence era and suggests that the systemic collapse of African tertiary institutions and education post-1980 continues to impact on the structure and quality of professional experience (Adomako Ampofu et al. 2004; British Academy(BA)/Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU) 2008). The problem of large class sizes is a shared case in point. Some universities, in Ghana and other African countries, have implemented policies to reduce class sizes. At the University of Ghana, for example, the policy stipulates a maximum undergraduate class size of 300 students per lecturer. However, as many departments lack the appropriate number of lecturers, and as student numbers remain high, this policy is unlikely to work realistically in the short-term.

In terms of access to the global community, psychology in Ghana has not fared as well as psychology in countries like South Africa and Nigeria. Three reviews of psychology production offer insights on this problem. Adair, Coelho and Luna (2002) conducted a systematic examination of the geographical spread of Psychology publications between 1971 and 2000⁴. They found "psychological research from Africa was the least visible internationally in both PsycLIT and congress presentations" (2002, p. 166). Nigeria and South Africa had 'significant presence' in Psychology; Cameroon, Egypt, Uganda and Zimbabwe had 'a presence'; the remaining African countries had no presence. Gupta (1995) observed in her bibliographic analysis of research published between 1927 and 1987, that "almost two-thirds of the whole literature produced on African psychology [was] written about 10 countries". The top ten countries in Gupta's review were Nigeria, South Africa, Kenya, Senegal, Uganda, Ghana, Zambia, Egypt, Ethiopia and Zaire. de-Graft Aikins (2012b) conducted a review of research published in three major European journals between 1970 and 2012 and reported that 82% of the reviewed literature focused on 10 countries, 6 of which were included in Gupta's (1995) top 10: Nigeria, South Africa, Kenya, Ghana, Zambia and Egypt. Reflections of Ghanaian psychologists suggest a collective awareness that psychology in Ghana is not as visible in the global arena, as it should be. However, reviews of regional research production suggest that Ghana maintains a presence within the top ten countries that publish in international journals. Crucially, it is important to note that 'absence' of African subjects in international journals and psychology databases does not necessarily mean a lack of

⁴ Adair et al. (2002, pp. 167–168) developed a rough index of Psychology's presence along three criteria: (1) IAAP congress presentations or not; (2) international psychological association memberships or not; and (3) PsycLIT entries since 1971: (a) 290 or more entries (average of at least 10 per year); (b) 29–289 entries (average of at least one per year); and (c) fewer than 29 entries (less than one per year). 'Significant presence' was defined as countries meeting criteria (1), (2) and (3a). 'Minimal presence' was defined as countries that met criteria (1), (2) and (3b). 'Presence' was defined as countries meeting criterion (3b) and one of the other two criteria. 'No presence' were countries that failed to meet at least two of the three criteria.

research or practice that has global relevance. A number of trained psychologists in Ghana and other African countries work in applied settings (medical, health, human resources) and publish in non-psychology journals (e.g. medical, social science and organisational journals) or produce reports and technical documents for international agencies and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) (e.g. WHO, UNICEF, UNHCR) and government institutions (e.g. Ministries of Health and Education). The grey (technical) literature is useful, not only for the organisations which commission them, but also for psychologists, social scientists and policymakers who wish to understand psychological or developmental trends in focal countries. They offer raw and often extensive data, at the very least, of community and individual experiences of major developmental issues that provide the basis for critical and nuanced secondary analyses or further exploratory work.

Conclusions

In 1970, LeVine observed that “the social sciences in Africa need psychology, but the psychologists and psychiatrists have been generally incapable of providing it in terms that make sense in Africa” (LeVine 1970, p. 107). Our review of psychology research and practice in Ghana has yielded a number of important insights that suggest a gradual movement towards the development of psychology that makes sense to Ghanaians. First, the field has transitioned from a discipline that was conceptualised and developed by Euro-American psychologists in the colonial era to a contemporary discipline that is largely owned by Ghanaian psychologists. Secondly, the sub-disciplinary focus has widened, from a colonial era preoccupation with cognitive and social psychology to a broader range of sub-fields including clinical, health and industrial/organizational psychology. Thirdly, a core group of researchers in clinical, social and health psychology have been productive in practice as well as theory and have made important contributions to conceptual developments in global psychology. Finally, in recent years, the psychology community has become more organised and is succeeding in aligning internal capacity development efforts to national development needs. Despite these positive trends, challenges remain in the areas of teaching, research for some sub-disciplines and the development of a stable organising body that addresses the collective interests of a growing psychology community. We consider how these challenges can be addressed by considering approaches within and outside Ghana.

Three African countries—South Africa, Nigeria and Zimbabwe—have led the production of psychological research that is relevant to the social sciences and to national development efforts. They offer important lessons for addressing the challenges of psychological production in Ghana. In South Africa, for example, where professional psychology is most developed and is validated by the global psychological community, the role of psychology in answering key developmental and cultural questions has been demonstrated in areas as diverse as intergroup relations, crime and conflict (Hook and Eagle 2002) and on Africa’s public health problems (in particular the HIV/AIDS crisis) and how effective grassroots advocacy is built

on ‘a social psychology of participation’ (Campbell 2003). South Africa’s approach is similar to Latin America’s liberational psychology which has offered important ‘best practices’ for development work as well as novel concepts and methods for global psychology (Nelson and Prilleltensky 2005).

For a Ghanaian-centred psychology to develop into a critical discipline along the lines of the progressive work in South Africa and of the liberational psychology of Latin America, local psychologists and their collaborators need to engage in research and theory building relevant to local experiences, needs and problems. For this to happen, the three challenges outlined by Peltzer and Bless (1989) will need to be addressed simultaneously. Two of the three challenges—organisational and manpower/finance—will require broader institutional support, as they constitute challenges that affect a broad range of disciplines in African universities (Adomako Ampofo et al. 2004; BA/ACU 2009). Recent investment in capacity building in African universities may provide concrete solutions in the coming years, although these responses tend to privilege dominant disciplines such as the medical sciences, neglected disciplines such as the basic sciences, and on technological development for institutions. At the University of Ghana, PhD training across the disciplines has been restructured to strengthen students’ understanding and expertise in the philosophies and methodologies of the sciences, as well as to broaden students’ access to local, regional and international networks. The first cohort of psychology PhD students under the new University of Ghana programme enrolled in August 2013. The progress of this cohort over the next 4 years will provide useful insights into the extent to which broader university reforms improve the organizational fortunes of specific disciplines like psychology. Cultural challenges, which are largely ideological and social psychological, have to be addressed internally. We have shown how clinical, social and health sub-disciplines in Ghana offer important models for researchers to draw on indigenous resources in the development of theory, method and practice. Problem-focused research partnerships in Ghana, such as MHaPP and the UK-Africa Academic Partnership on Chronic Disease (Flisher et al. 2007; de-Graft Aikins et al. 2012b) offer additional models. These partnerships have demonstrated that applied research collaborations that are owned or co-owned by local psychologists at all stages of the collaboration open up important avenues for active research, publishing and the development of local capacity for training the next generation of psychologists.

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Chapter 6

The Development of Sociology and Anthropology in Ghana and Future Trends

Akosua Darkwah, Steve Tonah and Max Assimeng

Introduction

The fields of Sociology and Anthropology have interesting origins that have implications for their application in a Non-Western society such as Ghana. Sociology's roots lie in a desire to understand the Industrial Revolution of Western Europe and its impact on society. Implicitly then, Sociology is a study of "modern" society. Anthropology, on the other hand, was developed in the West as a study of other cultures in terms of both societies of the past but primarily non-Western societies. As Hannerz (1980) notes, it is only in the late 1960s that Western Anthropologists began to study their own societies. However, the attraction of the "other" persists and is evident in both the foreign language course requirements in many post graduate Anthropology Departments around the world as well as the ethnographic research in the non-West often required of anthropologists. Anthropology also has had historical links with the colonial enterprise in that European colonial officials with anthropological training were sent out to the colonies to study the peoples and understand them so as to make it possible for the colonies to be ruled more effectively. One such example in the Ghanaian case is Captain R. S. Rattray who joined the Gold Coast Customs Service in 1906 and set up a one-man Anthropological Department in Ashanti in 1921 of which he was head (Robertson 1975, p. 54), culminating in four publications that are still considered of anthropological significance almost a century after they were first published (Rattray 1923, 1927, 1929, 1931/1932). Other foundational Africanist anthropologists who worked in Ghana include Margaret Field (1937, 1940), Meyer Fortes (1940, 1945, 1949) and Jack Goody (1957) who worked on the Ga, the Tallensi and the Dagaba, respectively. In this sense, anthropological studies predate sociological studies in Ghana.

A. Darkwah (✉) · S. Tonah · M. Assimeng
Department of Sociology, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana
e-mail: keseboa@hotmail.com

In addition to different sites of focus, the disciplines of Sociology and Anthropology have historically had different analytical interests and therefore theoretical orientations. Anthropologists have typically studied groups of people with a common language and culture which they referred to as tribes. These groups were largely treated as independent units and their relationships with neighbouring groups were scarcely considered. Sociologists, on the other hand, tried to understand society in general and have focused on studying smaller social units and social problems, mainly in urban areas. Theoretically, anthropologists have a much stronger affinity with structural functionalism than sociologists do. While sociologists can also boast of a functionalist bent, the influence of Marx is very strong in this discipline and so there is much more likely to be a discussion of power and change in sociological texts than in traditional anthropological texts.

A third distinction between the disciplines of Sociology and Anthropology lie in their methodological approach. While traditional Sociology lays much more emphasis on the quantitative method, anthropologists give pride of place to the ethnographic method. A true anthropologist understands the language of the people of his/her study, immerses him or herself in their cultures for a number of years, observes cultural practices, participates in these practices as well as interviews cultural practitioners for an extended period of time to gain a deeper understanding of a people and their practices.

While immersion in and documentation of cultural practices is characteristic of Anthropology, it is not the preserve of anthropologists. Many European travellers to the African continent wrote extensive travelogues that provided key insights into the cultural practices of Africans long before the discipline of Anthropology was established as a credible field of study. Ghana is no exception in this regard. As Robertson (1975, p. 51) attests, “Ghana is one of social Anthropology’s principal domains” with what could count as social anthropological writing on the country dating as far back as the 1700s with writers such as Bosman (1705), Bowdich (1819), the Rev. J. G. Wood (1868) and Ellis (1887) documenting their understandings and experiences of Ghanaians. Similarly, although Sociology as an academic discipline in Ghana did not officially begin until 1950, with the establishment of the Department of Sociology at the University of Ghana, interest in sociological matters preceded this period. Assimeng (1976, 2005) notes, for example, that matters of sociological interest were discussed in the works of Ghanaian scholars such as C. C. Reindorf (1895), J. E. Casely Hayford (1903) and J. B. Danquah (1928, 1944). At the University of Ghana, evidence from the first annual report of the Institute of Adult Education also shows a clear interest in sociological matters in the lectures for the 1948–1949 period by authors such as Mrs. Ione Acquah who spoke in Sekondi on the topic, “Local Aspects of Sociology” and Dr. Kofi Abrefa Busia, who spoke at the Komenda College on the theme, “A Sociologist Looks at the Village” (see also Acquah 1958; Busia 1950, 1951; Assimeng 1978).

Considering that Ghana is located in the non-West, it is interesting that in setting up the first Department to study society in 1950, it was named the Department of Sociology and not Anthropology, or even Department of Sociology and Anthropology even though the first Head, the Oxford trained Kofi Abrefa Busia, was himself a

social Anthropologist, and Ghana's first at that. This decision was probably because an Institute of African Studies where much of the anthropological studies were done was already in existence at the University of Ghana. In the memorandum he wrote requesting for the establishment of the Department of Sociology, there is no mention of this tension. Social Anthropology comprised 3 of the 10 required areas of instruction in those early years. The tension inherent in the contradictions between an anthropologist heading a Sociology Department and teaching methods with an emphasis on quantitative methods (and not qualitative methods) as well as theory with an emphasis on structural-functionalism (and not Marxism) became evident 20 years later when colleagues at the University of Cape Coast began to take the Department at the University of Ghana on with regard to a number of issues. The Department at the University of Cape Coast had different historical roots. Created a decade after the Department at the University of Ghana by then President Kwame Nkrumah, it was named a Department of Sociology and was headed by a sociologist named Roger Whipple, currently living in Canada who in spite of the fact that he only had a Bachelors Degree at the time, clearly had been schooled primarily in the discipline whose development he had been hired to oversee. In a later section of this chapter, we shall discuss the major issues that produced tensions between these two Departments. Before that though, we present a brief historical background of the four Departments/Programmes of Sociology in Ghanaian public universities.

Departments/Programmes of Sociology at Public Universities in Ghana

The Department of Sociology at the University of Ghana, Legon

The Department of Sociology at the University of Ghana in Legon, the oldest in the country, was established in 1950 with Kofi Abrefa Busia as the Head of Department.¹ The first two students in the Department of Sociology at the University of Ghana were Kwasi Ampene and Austin Tetteh who eventually became Professors in Adult Education, then the Department of Extramural Studies, at the University of Ghana and Regional Planning at the then University of Science and Technology, respectively. A third student, Kwaw Esiboa de Graft Johnson who was one of two students taken on in the second year of the Programme went on to undertake postgraduate training at the London School of Economics (LSE)² and returned to

¹ It was originally intended to be a Department of African Studies, but K. A. Busia persuaded the university to develop it as a Department of Sociology so they could train the researchers who would collaborate with other colleagues from economics, political science and other social science disciplines to conduct research on Africa.

² In 1937, his father had attended LSE for a post-graduate diploma in Social Anthropology and was a classmate to Jomo Kenyatta and Meyer Fortes.

the Department as a faculty member (having had his certificate vetted by Sir Arku Korsah, then Chairman of the University Council) and taught from 1957 to 1979 with intermittent breaks to teach elsewhere. Cyril Fiscian was the lone honours student in the third batch and he, like K. E. de Graft Johnson, went on to study at the LSE and to teach in the Department. Similarly, Ebo Mends, and Godwin Nukunya who were students between 1958 and 1961 and Max Assimeng who was a student between 1961 and 1964 came back to the Department as faculty members. Ebo Mends retired in the 2010 academic year, but Max Assimeng continues to teach on a part-time basis while Godwin Nukunya, the Department's first emeritus professor, still teaches and supervises post-graduate students.

When students took classes in the Department in the first decade of the Department's existence, it was under the tutorship of K. A. Busia, Gustav Jahoda, P. J. Rollings, P. T. W. Baxter and David Tait. There were ten courses at the time. These were Theories and Methods of Sociology, Ethics, Social Philosophy, Social Psychology, Social Institutions, Techniques of Social Research, Theories and Methods in Anthropology, Anthropology of Worldwide Societies, Ethnography of West African Societies, and a choice between Criminology or Demography. Students also had to choose a subsidiary paper in English, Economics or Philosophy, each of which consisted of two papers. Being an honours degree student in those days was a real privilege. Only a few students were selected each year. It was made clear to honours degree students that they were "reading for a degree," in other words, the onus was on them to ensure that they acquired the knowledge expected of honours students. An honours degree required a 3-year study of the ten courses after which students took what de Graft Johnson has described as a "traumatic" examination.

In addition to the difference in course structure in those days, the teaching style and nature of interaction between students and lecturers was very different from that which exists today. First, students were expected in class and if they failed to show up, the faculty member could literally go looking for them. Class attendance was important because classroom time was spent discussing material which each student was expected to have read. The rather small class sizes of that time period also made it possible for a congenial relationship to develop between students and faculty. Students had weekly personal interaction with faculty. De Graft Johnson recalls that students went to dinner on alternate Tuesdays at Dr. Jahoda's house where they met numerous dignitaries. Dr. Tait's weekly interaction was on Thursdays from 3:30 pm to 6:30 pm where they were introduced to Earl Grey tea and Scotch as well as intellectual critique. These students were also exposed to the ideas of key scholars of the time such as Melville Herskovits, Meyer Fortes and Evans Pritchard all of whom came in person to share their ideas with the students. These intimate relationships inspired them to work hard to undertake post-graduate studies and become a part of that intellectual environment. Until 1958, the largest number of students per class was four. In 1958, the number of students in the class increased to 11 (including one lone female student) and has continued to increase steadily ever since.

The intellectual environment in the Department changed markedly in the late 1970s with the growing economic difficulties in Ghana that led to an exodus of professionals including university lecturers. The few remaining faculty members found

themselves overstretched having to take on classes that should otherwise have been taught by the departed faculty members. Teaching and learning difficulties were compounded with the country's adoption of the Structural Adjustment Programme in 1983 which led to state neglect of public tertiary institutions. Subscriptions to journals were not renewed, book acquisitions became a thing of the past and funding opportunities for research and conference attendance all but dried up.

Today, while the development of the internet and online databases have improved access to teaching material dramatically, the number of teaching faculty available falls below the requirements for the student population that we have. Class sizes are therefore large and the personal student interaction with faculty of the type described by de Graft Johnson in the early years is currently reserved mainly for post-graduate students. The course requirements for a degree in Sociology are also substantially different from the early years although some elements remain the same. First year students are required to take two courses that serve as introductory courses in Anthropology and Sociology. Second year students are required to take four courses: Basic Concepts in Sociology, Traditional Ghanaian Social Institutions, Comparative Social Institutions and the Social Structure of Modern Ghana. In the third year, students are introduced to material similar to what others would have studied 50 years ago. The four required courses are Research Methods, Foundations of Social Thought, Perspectives in Social Theory and Quantitative Methods in Social Research. The required courses in the final year of study are Social Anthropology and Social Psychology both of which are year-long courses, Theories of Social Development, and the Context of Development and Underdevelopment. Elective courses are offered in the third and fourth years. Third year students choose two out of the following: Rural Sociology, Urban Sociology, Sociology of Tourism and Tourism Development in Ghana, Sociology of Religion, Political Sociology, Sociology of the Family, Poverty and Rural Development, Culture and Development, Population Studies, Sociology of Deviant Behaviour and Medical Sociology. Fourth year students choose four out of the following elective courses available to them: Sociology of Law, Globalization and Developing Societies, Industrial Sociology, Gender Studies, Advanced Quantitative Techniques, Demographic Analysis, Contemporary Social Theory, Penology and finally, Culture and Reproductive Health. Students who major in Sociology also have the option to write a long essay on a topic of their choice that involves primary data collection and analysis.

The masters programme (MA and MPhil) was introduced in the 1970s. In the 1980s, a PhD programme was introduced with the first graduands including Chris Abotchie, E. Q. Blavo and Nana Araba Apt, all of whom later became lecturers in the Department. Students who are admitted into the post-graduate Programme at the Department must have a first degree in Sociology. Intermittently, a post-graduate Programme has been introduced to allow individuals without a first degree in the discipline to undertake a 1 year course that provides them with the basics of Sociology after which they could apply to undertake postgraduate studies in the Department. The Department currently has funding from the Carnegie Corporation of New York that provides grants of \$ 3,000 and \$ 30,000 for the Masters and PhD candidates respectively to enable them conduct their fieldwork.

The Department of Sociology at Cape Coast

At the University of Cape Coast, Sociology was first introduced in the Department of Education in 1963 as part of a course in education. Two years later, the Department was established. As with the University of Ghana, the Department started out with a handful of students. The course structure at the time was modelled largely on the structure existing at the University of Lancaster where Roger Whipple, the first Head of Department had been trained. The personal interactions between faculty and students that existed at the University of Ghana also existed at the University of Cape Coast, and perhaps one can argue that these relationships were far more solid at the University of Cape Coast than at the University of Ghana. Victor Ametewee, one of the first students enrolled at the University of Cape Coast who went on to become a faculty member in the Department maintains a relationship with the first head of the Department half a century after they first met.

The following courses were offered as part of the programme for the award of the 4-year BA degree in Sociology during the 1970s and 1980s: In the first year students read introductory courses such as Introduction to Sociology and Social Structure of African Societies; in the second year, Sociological Theory and Techniques of Social Research; in the third year, Social Change in Modern Africa, Social Psychology, Demographic Analysis and Sociology of Development; and in the final year, Comparative Social Institutions, Sociology of Religion, Political Sociology, Population Studies and Organizational Behaviour. Some of the lecturers who taught courses in the Department during this period include D. K. Agyeman, Ansa Asamoah, Kwesi Prah, Tony Aidoo, Tetteh Dugbaza, Jan Pieterse, Addai Sundiata and Victor Ametewee.

The Department has since the 1990s expanded considerably on the courses offered. Currently, it has a staff of more than 20 lecturers who specialize in various aspects of Sociology. Some of the new courses introduced by the Department include Industrial Sociology, Sociology of Law and Criminal Justice, Sociology of Health and Medicine, Gender and Sexuality, Chieftaincy and Society, Social Planning, Political Economy, Sociology of Tourism and Recreation, Sociology of Death and Dying and Environmental Sociology.

Currently, the course structure at the University of Cape Coast is substantially different from that at the University of Ghana. The Department in Cape Coast, rather than offer a degree in Sociology that incorporates courses in Anthropology has two distinct programmes on offer, one in Sociology and the other in Anthropology. Students who pursue a degree in Sociology have four concentrations to choose from: gender studies, development studies, demography or work, organization and labour markets. The Department also offers a diploma course in Conflict Management and Personnel Development. Besides, post-graduate degrees in Sociology are offered at the MA, MPhil and PhD level.

Sociology at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST)

At the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Sociology courses have been taught at the Faculty of Social Science since the 1970s. For a long time Sociology in KNUST was synonymous with Wereko-Brobby, who for several decades not only taught Sociology in the institution but was also Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, social science students in KNUST combined courses in Sociology, Economics and Political science for the award of the BA degree. It was not until the 2005/2006 academic year that the Department of Sociology and Social Work was established, one of three Departments in the Faculty of Social Sciences, in response to the rising demand for social science courses and the decision of the university authorities to expand the mandate of the university. Currently, with a faculty of ten, they offer a 4-year Bachelor of Arts Degree in Sociology and Social Work and a 2-year Master of Arts Degree in Sociology. The core courses offered to students in the Department of Sociology and Social Work at KNUST are similar to those in other public universities. These include: Introduction to Sociology, Social Structure of Ghana, Sociological Theory and Research Methods. At KNUST, because the Department offers a combined degree in Sociology and Social Work, students in this programme are also expected to take some core courses in social work: Theoretical Framework for Social Work Methodology and Approaches to Counselling in Social Work. At the post-graduate level, students take core courses titled “Major Perspectives and Trends in Sociology,” “Current Analysis of Sociological Problems,” “Research Methods,” “Advanced Quantitative Techniques” and “Advanced Sociological Thought.” In addition, they select one elective course from a wide range of courses.

Sociology at the University of Development Studies

The University of Development Studies is one of the youngest public universities in the country. Established in 1992, the first course in Sociology was taught in 1994 in the Faculty of Integrated Development Studies (FIDS). The Faculty established four Departments, one of which was the Department of Social, Political and Historical Studies. It is in this Department with a staff strength of five that courses in Sociology are currently taught. These are Introduction to Sociology, Social Structure of Modern Ghana, Rural Sociology as well as Culture and Development. Over time, other Faculties have been established and as with FIDS, these Faculties call on the Sociologists in the University to mount courses tailored to their Faculty needs. Thus, a Sociology of Education course is taught in the Faculty of Education while Medical Sociology is taught in the School of Medicine and Health Sciences. Plans are underway to create a Department of Sociology running courses leading to the award of a Bachelor of Arts in Sociology.

Intellectual Disagreements

As with intellectuals all over the world, sociologists/anthropologists in Ghana come from a variety of intellectual backgrounds based in part on the training they received which has resulted in some major disagreements. The first disagreement was over theoretical frameworks. The Government anthropologists who worked in Ghana worked largely within a structural functionalist framework which was developed mainly in the United Kingdom and was the dominant theoretical framework utilized by scholars at the University of London, with which the University of Ghana had a special relationship right from the beginning since it approved the course structure and examination questions in the university. It is not surprising then that Assimeng (1976, p. 110) argues that structural functionalism was the dominant theoretical framework adopted by Ghanaian anthropologists/sociologists in the early years. Busia's "Report on a Social Survey of Sekondi-Takoradi" undertaken in 1950 was thus largely devoid of an appreciation of the conflicts and tensions in the communities he studied.

As at the University of Ghana, structural-functionalism was the theoretical perspective that shaped the early writing of scholars at the Department of Sociology in Cape Coast. For example, C. A. Ackah, one time principal of the University College of Cape Coast wrote a paper on "Social Stratification in Ghana" in 1969 which sought not to point out the conflicts that arise in a stratified society, but the ways in which this stratification allows for a harmonious integration of Ghanaian society to ensure peace and order. In the early 1970s, however, a crop of European trained sociologists who trained during a period when structural functionalism was waning, returned to Ghana and took up teaching appointments at the University of Cape Coast. These included Ansa Asamoah and Kwesi Kwaa Prah, both of whom were trained in Germany, the birth place of Karl Marx. These scholars had been exposed to Marxist ideas and the conflict perspective as a frame of reference for thinking about the social world.

The disagreements over theoretical orientations were taken a step further when the sociologists at the University of Cape Coast began to question the value of Anthropology in a non-Western setting. Faculty members at the University of Cape Coast roundly critiqued Anthropology's colonial roots and legacies. In the Ghanaian context, many of the practices of colonial anthropologists could justifiably be critiqued. First, is the sheer racism and stereotyping inherent in the representations of various ethnic groups. Rev J. G Wood (1868, p. 617) for example, in his descriptions of the Fante writes:

It is really not astonishing that the Fante should have been so completely conquered, as they have been termed by Mr. Duncan, a traveller, who knew them well, as the dirtiest and laziest of all the Africans he had seen. One hundred of them were employed under the supervision of an Englishman, and, even with this enticement, they did not do as much as a gang of fifteen English labourers. Unless continually goaded to work, they will lie down and bask in the sun... even such work as they do they will only perform in their own stupid manner.

Beyond the stereotypical representations is the sheer distortions of local cultural practices as reported in the works of some anthropologists, primarily due to a lack of complete understanding of the language of the peoples they studied. Perhaps the most famous of these is the case of Eva Meyerowitz. Eva Meyerowitz who lived among the Bono and was enstooled queenmother as far back as 1950 wrote five books on Bono religion that are considered highly suspect (see Meyerowitz 1951, 1958, 1960, 1962, 1974). In Dennis Mike Warrens “A Re-Appraisal of Mrs. Eva Meyerowitz’s Work on the Brong,” he challenges many of Meyerowitz’s analytical arguments as well as factual information about religious practices of the Bono. Among others, he questions her rendition of the origins of the Bono, her assertions that the Bono believe that a queenmother’s soul comes from the moon while that of the *Omanhene* comes from the sun, her unclear understanding of the concept of cross-cousins, her confusion of the names of rulers such that the one and same person becomes two people in her accounting of royalty as well as a whole host of errors including distances between towns, locations of places of interest in Bonoland and so on. In analyzing her work, he says, “unless someone can prove to me otherwise, I would conclude that the Bono history taken from the Techiman Traditional State contains as much Meyerowitz as it does Brong Oral Tradition” (Warren 1970, p. 72).

A poor understanding of language has also led some anthropologists to give not simply a poor rendition of Ghana’s history as in the case of Meyerowitz, but also a poor analysis of local practices. Owusu (1978) lambasts Robertson for the co-authored piece with Dunn in which his linguistic incompetence as well as misconceptualization of “krom” leads him to an erroneous understanding of the people of Ahafo and by extension raises questions about the validity of his communal aggrandisement thesis (see Dunn and Robertson 1974).

Non-native anthropologists have also not been bound by the same codes of conduct as native ethnographers. Stephen Hlophe (as cited in Assimeng 1976, p. 109) notes the peculiar position of an auto-ethnographer in the following words:

The African researcher no longer enjoys the privilege of his Colonial predecessor of free reign in his description of, and theorizing on the African socio-political and cultural processes. It is not easy, for example, for a Kpelle or Gola Anthropologist, to report freely and in full detail on all the rituals and ceremonies of the Poro Society with which he may be familiar as a member of such institution. His community of origin may not regard such action favourably nor would traditional “Zoes” approve if one of their own sons revealed the secrets of traditional medicine to the public, be it a scholarly or a lay public.

While Assimeng (1976) argues that the long-term, post-independence implications of early scholarly work conducted by government anthropologists has been “seriously disastrous,” it can be argued that non-native anthropologists of the postcolonial era have not been without fault as evident in the criticisms of Meyerowitz as well as Dunn and Robertson in the Ghanaian case. Indeed, the relative value of native versus non-native scholars referred to in the literature as the emic-etic dilemma is a long-standing one that is not unique to the Ghanaian context; and the literature is replete with analysis of the different possible resolutions to this dilemma.

Maxwell Owusu (1978, p. 326), a prominent Ghanaian anthropologist who lectures at the University of Michigan has argued that the inherent distortions in government/non-native anthropology should force native-ethnographers to embark on newer, bolder, better and more reliable ethnographies which we daresay is exactly what the first auto-ethnographers such as Max Assimeng, Godwin Nukunya and Clara Fayorsey who taught in the Department of Sociology at the University of Ghana as well as Brigid Sackey and Takyiwah Manuh, female scholars in the Institute of African Studies, set out to do. Assimeng, for example, challenged notions about religious sectarianism and cultism that limited its practice to people of low social class. He argued instead that in the Ghanaian context, such practices cut across the social spectrum; relatively well-off people were members of sects and cults not because they were economically deprived but because they were in search of emotional fulfillment. Similarly, Nukunya's doctoral thesis challenged the long-standing assumption known in anthropological circles as the Gluckman hypothesis which argued that divorce was more prevalent in matrilineal societies. Using evidence from the Anlo, he argued that divorce rates were equally high in patrilineal societies. Similarly, in the Institute of African Studies, Brigid Sackey made a name for herself by challenging Western scholarship that suggests that traditional African practices such as puberty rites are static and devoid of dynamism. Takyiwaa Manuh, also located at the Institute of African Studies, made a name for herself by studying what she refers to as the "eleventh region,"³ the Ghanaian Diaspora and the changes in cultural practices among Ghanaians in the Diaspora such as gender relations and child rearing practices.

In spite of Owusu's admonitions and the efforts of many Ghanaian scholars, evidence from surveys with students over the years has shown consistently that they have not been enthused with the content of their Social Anthropology classes. In the early years at the University of Ghana, the curriculum had a heavy social anthropological bent with three of the ten courses being Social Anthropology courses. By the late 1960s, in a study of Legon students' perspectives on course content, the disapproval of this over-concentration on Anthropology was evident. Rollings (1967) notes that a third of the respondents suggested less Social Anthropology and more attention paid to the study of contemporary African society in the Social Anthropology course, a call that one may dare say has yet to be heeded completely as evident in the fact that the Social Anthropology course taught in the final year at the University of Ghana focuses largely on the usual suspects: Evans-Pritchard's Witchcraft among the Azande and so on.

It is also clear from student evaluations conducted both at the University of Cape Coast and the University of Ghana undertaken in the 1970s that there was a high level of dissatisfaction with the heavy emphasis on Social Anthropology at the two institutions. While documentation of the factors that shaped the students at the University of Ghana's dislike for Social Anthropology is largely unavailable, their counterparts at the University of Cape Coast provide erudite views on their reasons for disliking the discipline. The students were especially critical of the colonial

³ Ghana is divided into ten administrative regions.

legacies evident in the course content and theoretical approaches of the Department at the time. In an article written for the *Ghana Journal of Sociology*, they critiqued not just the functionalist orientation of the discipline but its colonial/racist origins. They ask:

Can we really say that the motive for their [anthropological] studies in Africa was the objective need for the collection of knowledge? We do not think so. We think their motive must be to satisfy the tastes of the European, especially, and American public, who thinking of themselves as the highest and most advanced societies on earth were craving for information about primitive man... Can't Social Anthropology too move from the primitive period to the modern or transitional period just as society is moving? Perhaps this happens in Europe, but really in Ghana, we don't see this sort of thing, and in Cape Coast University—we are still towing the tail of Malinowski. Thus our two protests are that Social Anthropology has been used as an ideological tool and secondly, it has not been made progressive, modern and useful enough. (Dugbaza et al. 1975, p. 25, 26)

Faculty members at the University of Cape Coast offered perspectives in support of the students' displeasure with the courses and buttressed it with their own critiques of the theoretical frameworks that underpinned much of the analyses to which students were exposed. These faculty members felt that it was imperative that Ghanaian students be provided with the analytical tools that a Marxist orientation provides to appreciate the neocolonial, alien and false consciousness of European and American Anthropology and Sociology. Kwesi Kwaa Prah reacts to data Kwesi Kwaa Prah reacts to data used by Social Anthropologists in the Department in the following manner:

When these “uncritical compendia,” compiled in such a way that they would help the business of colonial administrations, are later used as regular educative material in both the metropolitan areas and the neo-colonies, they are indeed instruments of imperialist ideological control, to permanently intellectually tame the neocolonised masses into accepting the status quo. (Assimeng 1976, p. 117)

This impasse between the social anthropologists at the University of Ghana and the Marxist sociologists at the University of Cape Coast which Assimeng (1976, p. 117) refers to as the “Cape Coast affair” led to students threatening to boycott lectures and a petition to the Vice-Chancellor. Eventually, the impasse was resolved when the Executive Committee of the Ghana Sociological Association heeded a request for intervention and held a “teach-in” at the university on the “The Place of Anthropology in Developing Countries” on 14 December, 1974.

Curiously enough, the disagreements between the sociologists/anthropologists did not centre on methodology. However, issues of methodology continue to be an unstated tension which, although not explicitly discussed, is evident in the different emphases placed on quantitative and qualitative methods in the various departments. At the University of Ghana, although many of the faculty members were trained and conduct their own research using qualitative methods, the subject is not taught as a separate course on its own in the undergraduate programme of the Department at Legon and only receives cursory attention in the methods course. A similar practice prevails at the University of Cape Coast.

Collaborative Efforts Between Sociologists in Ghana

In spite of the ideological differences between some sociologists/anthropologists at the various universities, they were able to accommodate and overcome these differences and in fact collaborated for a number of years on two major institutional efforts: the establishment of an association and a journal devoted to the study of Sociology. Assimeng (1976) notes that on the prompting of students, the Ghana Sociological Association was started in the late 1950s. The aim of the association was to:

further the scientific study of society and social problems within the Republic of Ghana, to bring together all those interested in the dissemination of sociological knowledge and the furtherance of sociological research, to promote the free exchange of sociological knowledge between countries and to contribute to the development of the societies of Ghana and of Africa generally. (Assimeng 1976, p. 113)

From its very beginning, the association did not make a strict distinction between those with a sociological background, as in a first degree in sociology, and those who made a vocation out of Sociology, that is academic sociologists with post-graduate training in the discipline. The fact that the association was not meant strictly for sociologists in academia is evident in the fact that one of its early presidents who headed the association for a decade was Mr. Justice Nii Amaa Ollenu, a legal scholar. His publications such as *Principles of Customary Land Law in Ghana* (1962) and the *Law of Testate and Intestate Succession in Ghana* (1966) included a fair amount of ethnographic detail. Under his able leadership and drawing on his affiliations with the Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences, Justice Ollenu secured finance from the academy to host the annual conferences of the association from 1968 to 1986, the year in which he died. Justice Ollenu's headship of the association was not without controversy. Colleagues from the University of Cape Coast questioned why the association was led by a legal luminary instead of a sociologist. Colleagues from the University of Ghana countered that his commitment to the association was unparalleled, ultimately evident perhaps in the fact that the association died a natural death upon his demise.

During the years when the association was vibrant, it held a conference annually that lasted a day and provided faculty members with opportunities to present their works in progress in an academic environment where they could receive constructive criticism to improve upon the papers for publication in reputable journals. Victor Ametewee, for example, acknowledges the importance of the Association for his academic career when he notes how one paper co-published with James Christensen in the esteemed journal *Africa* had its beginnings in a paper presented at an annual conference of the association.

In recognition of the importance of academic associations in the lives of scholars, the Department of Sociology at the University of Ghana has made attempts in the last couple of years to revitalize the association. So far, some commitment has been secured from the departments in Cape Coast and the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology as well as the programme of Sociology at the University of Development Studies.

The *Ghana Journal of Sociology* (GJS)

The *Ghana Journal of Sociology* began first as *Acta Sociologica* and the maiden edition was published in 1962 under the able editorship of Cyril E. Fiscian, a social psychologist. That first edition published four articles discussing a range of issues such as “Volta Resettlement and Anthropological Research” by David Brokensha, “The Nature and Function of Social Thought” by K. E. de Graft Johnson, “Social Background of Kumasi Plan” by Austin Tetteh and “Crime and Illness” by the editor, C. E. Fiscian. There was then a 3 year hiatus until October 1965 when the second issue of the volume was introduced as the *Ghana Journal of Sociology*. The journal proceeded uninterrupted until 1971 when it took yet another 3-year hiatus and was published from 1974 to 1977 when the last edition, volume 11 came out. Over the 15-year period when the journal was published intermittently, articles in the journals were written by both Ghanaian and non-Ghanaian scholars and covered a wide range of topics including residence patterns, family, development, religion, fertility, politics, inter-racial relationships, migration, social stratification, agriculture, productivity and factory work. The last edition of the journal was a special issue devoted to an understanding of traditional leadership. Articles in that special issue included “Modernization of the Institution of Chieftaincy,” “The Chief in the Midst of Social and Economic Pressures,” “Chieftaincy under the Law,” “Chieftaincy as a Socio-Political Institution in Ghana,” “Litigations in Chieftaincy,” “Traditional Authority and Local Government” and “Local Government and Chieftaincy.”

The *Legon Journal of Sociology* (LJS)

In 2003, efforts were made to resuscitate a journal devoted to Sociology in the country. Not wanting to carry the burdens of the *Ghana Journal of Sociology* both financially and intellectually, the consensus was to rebrand the journal as the *Legon Journal of Sociology* (LJS). Unlike the *Ghana Journal of Sociology* that was produced by the Sociological Association, the LJS was the initiative of Sociologists at the University of Ghana. Now in its tenth year of publication, the journal which is published biannually has contributions from authors across the country as well as internationally, particularly Nigeria and has covered a range of topics including development studies, migration, medical Sociology, industrial Sociology and religion. The latest issue is a special edition on Basic Education in Northern Ghana. There are plans to revive the Ghana Sociological Association. When this is done, it is expected that the association will take over the publication of the LJS.

The Current Situation and Future Trends

In the last decade, with the recruitment of more faculty members and an increase in funding opportunities for scholarly research, sociologists/anthropologists in Ghana have slowly returned to a research driven agenda. As in the 1970s, we are beginning to see some collaborative research projects with faculty in and outside the Departments of Sociology as well as with international colleagues. One such major project at the University of Ghana was a collaboration with the University of Mainz in Germany and three institutions in Benin, Mali and Niger to study States at Work in Africa. Two PhD students from Ghana were supported in this project. The collaborative studies undertaken at the Department are yielding a number of theoretical and conceptual insights about religiosity in Ghana, chieftaincy in Ghana and the nature of the gendered labour market in Ghana among others. Similarly, at the University of Cape Coast, faculty members have partnered with the Guttmacher Institute on a number of adolescent reproductive health studies. In so doing, these scholars are acceding to the wishes of the Indian social scientist, Mukherjee (1970, p. 30) who noted that:

The development of Sociology in each society will have a specificity of its own, which will enrich the currently available theories and practice, and thus, lead to the development of world Sociology. A proper development of Sociology in the “developing societies,” therefore will not only be useful to the respective societies but also to the world at large.

The international linkages of the departments extend beyond research collaborations. At the University of Ghana, it also includes exchange programmes. Since 2000, the Department has had a collaborative arrangement with the University of Tromsø, Norway where every year, two students in the masters programme are chosen to spend a year in Tromsø, taking classes and refining their research proposals.

The importance of an understanding of society for various professionals has also led to a situation where the Departments of Sociology provide basic training in Sociology for a variety of departments. Beginning first with the Medical School students and the teaching of Medical Sociology, many students intending to go on to a career in law enroll in the Sociology of Law class which has been offered as an elective in the last decade. In addition, the Nursing School and the Faculty of Engineering require their students to take a basic course in Sociology. Servicing other departments is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, faculty members get to interact very intimately with other departments, but it also has its downside since they are stretched thin.

Many of the private tertiary institutions in the country also value the unique insights of Sociologists and strive to provide their students with a rudimentary appreciation of sociological principles. At Valley View University, for example, students can take a course in Introductory Sociology. Development studies which draw on knowledge and concepts from Sociology as well as other social science disciplines is offered in a variety of these universities including Valley View University, Central University College and the Akuapem Campus of the Presbyterian University College. At Ashesi University, some of their liberal arts core courses as well as

African Studies courses are either specifically Sociology courses such as the course in traditional medicine or draw on sociological concepts and principles such as the Social Theory class. In many of these private universities these courses are taught largely by faculty from the University of Ghana in their adjunct capacities or by former students of the Universities of Ghana and Cape Coast.

In Legon, just as elsewhere, academic sociologists have been employed by other departments and institutes. Sociological analysis and studies are no longer limited to the Departments of Sociology. Indeed, research studies steeped in sociological theories, concepts and frameworks are now conducted at the Department of Social Work, the Department of Geography and Resource Development, the Institute of African Studies, the Institute for Statistical, Social and Economic Research (ISSER), the Centre for Migration Studies (CMS) and the Centre for Gender Studies and Advocacy (CEGENSA).

While we cannot boast of a Legon School, a Cape Coast School or a Kumasi School in terms of anything analogous to the Chicago School or the Frankfurt School of Critical Sociology, we daresay that Ghanaian sociologists/social anthropologists have contributed key ideas to the wealth of sociological/social anthropological knowledge, even if these ideas are not well-known outside of our context. In many of our writings, we critique, based on existing evidence, some of the key ideas/concepts in the field. There is also a wealth of knowledge that our particular social context allows us to investigate. Kwame Arhin's work on contemporary funerals shows that it is possible to use an anthropological lens to understand contemporary social practices. Many other contemporary rituals such as traditional wedding ceremonies now known as engagements, naming ceremonies held in churches and so on provide ample research opportunities for the social anthropologists of today.

As the departments and programmes look to the future, a number of key ideas need to be paramount. First, it is important that we use both our sociological and anthropological lenses to understand the world in which we live. Students need to be exposed to a critical understanding of the roots of the two disciplines as well as the ways in which these have changed over time. Second, it is important to highlight qualitative methods as a viable, alternative means of data collection by teaching courses on qualitative methods at both the undergraduate and post-graduate levels that provide students with the opportunity to engage in fieldwork as well as data analysis using a variety of both traditional methods such as data matrices and the more modern software packages such as ATLAS.ti, NVivo and NUD*IST.

Conclusion

After nearly six decades of teaching and practising Sociology in Ghana, the discipline has become very well established in institutions of higher learning in the country. Currently, Sociology is taught in all public universities with a focus on social science in Ghana. Many of these universities have already established or are

about to establish fully-fledged departments for the discipline. Sociology is also taught as a subject in many of the newly established private universities that have sprung up throughout the country in the last decade. As a result, the universities with established Sociology departments, in particular those at the University of Ghana and the University of Cape Coast, are training the manpower required by the newly established universities to teach the subject. Ghana is also benefiting from the services of some Sociologists who have earned doctorate degrees in renowned universities around the world. Furthermore, public and private universities in Ghana have produced sociologists who are working in various capacities across the country. Some of the notable areas where sociologists can be found include the civil and public services, industries, medical professions, to mention a few. Sociologists also dominate in leading the numerous non-governmental organizations and civil society groups located across the country. In recent years, trained sociologists have gone on to seek further training and are working in the legal, banking, accounting, information technology and other professions.

Anthropology as a university discipline, on the other hand, has remained rather underdeveloped. Besides the University of Cape Coast that offers a first degree in Anthropology, only a few universities and institutions of higher learning in Ghana teach the subject. In many places, Anthropology as a subject is unknown. Given that Sociology and Anthropology are quite related, there are some lecturers who have trained to the highest level in both disciplines and are teaching Anthropology in Sociology departments. To a certain extent, it can be argued that Anthropology has not completely shed its image as a discipline that focuses on so-called backward and primitive societies. Anthropology courses in Ghana still focus almost exclusively on studying small, farming or pastoral groups located in rural and remote areas which have minimally been impacted by the modern industrialized and technology dominated world. More than half a century after independence, Anthropology still partly remains associated with the colonial enterprise and its ills. This explains why the discipline is not very popular among students and some lecturers in Ghana. If universities and institutions of higher learning are to establish independent Departments of Anthropology, as is the case in many universities abroad, then those who teach the subject have to demonstrate that Anthropology deals not only with the past but also with the present and is relevant for the future. In a sense, they have to demonstrate the relevance of Anthropology as a discipline in contemporary Ghanaian society.

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Chapter 7

Social Work Practice in Ghana: Changing Dynamics, Challenges and Opportunities

Michael Baffoe and Mavis Dako-Gyeke

Introduction

The issues presented in this chapter, are attempts by two professional social work practitioners and educators to shed light on the need for both social work education, as well as effective social work practice in Ghana. Educated in Ghana and North America (Canada and the United States), the authors are familiar with and understand the social problems in African and Western countries. They are also knowledgeable about the issues that call for a revamped social work education and professional practice in Ghana. This is essential because the Ghanaian society is currently beset with similar problems that Western societies grapple with and have increased the need for professional social work practice in those parts of the world.

The chapter commences with a brief overview of social work practice in the Western World, including historical and current developments in the profession. Next, it explores social welfare service provision and social work practice from pre-independence times to the present in Ghana. In addition, the chapter discusses some of the emerging social problems that have led to the changing dynamics in the relatively new profession of social work practice in the country. These include problems with children and families, social work in schools and health-care settings, community development and mobilization, capacity building and disability issues.

Also in this chapter, a brief overview is presented on the emergence of non-governmental organizations and the important roles they have and continue to play in helping to address some of the social problems in the country. The final section of the chapter discusses the future of the social work profession in Ghana by highlighting some of the opportunities, challenges and controversies that social workers face in their profession. Moreover, this section examines the critical role of social work

M. Baffoe (✉)

Faculty of Social Work, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Canada

e-mail: Michael.Baffoe@umanitoba.ca

M. Dako-Gyeke

Department of Social Work, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

education as it strives to prepare students for the rapidly changing social environment in Ghana.

The Social Work Profession

The role of social work in society cannot be overemphasized given that it is a profession devoted to helping people function in their social environments and contribute to changing these environments (Sheafor and Horejsi 2008). There are other professionals who also provide services that are aimed at improving conditions in society and assisting people enhance their social functioning and wellbeing. Among these are health care professionals who endeavor to save lives and help people improve their health conditions, police officers who are responsible for the protection and safety of society and legal practitioners who contribute to the defense of people's civil rights (Segal et al. 2010). Nonetheless, there are other people who are not social service professionals but provide social services and help others as well. For example, citizens who engage in neighbourhood watch for safety and security of children and property and volunteers who offer assistance to elderly persons in society.

With self-determination, which is a person's right to decide what is best for himself or herself as its core principle, social work is one of the professions in the field of human services that focuses on both the person needing services and the environment in which the person lives (Freedberg 1989; Gibelman 1999). In this regard, social work practitioners do not only assist people to solve their personal and community problems, but they also aim to contribute to the improvement of societal conditions that create problems for individuals, families and communities. Social work practice therefore consists of the professional application of social work values, principles, and techniques to one or more of the following: helping people obtain services; counselling and psychotherapy with individuals, families and groups; helping communities or groups provide or improve social and health services; and participating in legislative processes (Healy 2001).

The enhancement of the social and environmental conditions of vulnerable and marginalized population groups is therefore the main focus of the social work profession (Gutierrez and Cox 1998). Recognizing that social work practice aims at social change as well as social justice, it is necessary for its practitioners to possess sound and competent knowledge in the areas of human behavior and development; economic, social and cultural institutions, and the intersection and impact of these factors (NASW 2009). Additionally, as Sheafor and Horejsi (2008) posit, a good understanding of the social work profession should start with an appreciation of people as social beings. Consequently, it should be recognized that individuals' growth and development often entail guidance, nurturing, and protection by others in their environments. Social Work therefore involves interrelationships among people and the power of relationships that underpin the profession.

History of Social Work Profession: From Welfare to Generalist Practice

Modern social work practice can be traced to two late nineteenth century movements; the Charity Organization Society (COS) and the Settlement House Movement both in the United Kingdom and the United States where they flourished from the 1870s through the turn of the century (DiNitto and McNeece 2008; Lee 2001). DiNitto and McNeece (2008) further suggested that these also evolved out of religious organizations and therefore argued that individual charitable obligation “is a central tenet of most organized religions in which the more materialistically endowed members of the group are expected to help those who are less fortunate” (p. 4). Charity towards the poor and alms-giving is one of the five pillars of the Islamic Faith which postulates that wealth emanates from Allah (God) and that wealth should be passed on (Trattner 1999). Modern anthropology and sociology, according to Friedlander and Apte (1974), have shown that since the beginning of human society, the feeling of belonging and the readiness to provide mutual protection were just as influential as the selfish desire to dominate weaker human beings.

Crampton and Keiser (1970) also posit that “all patterns of culture known to anthropologists have emerged from a need to protect the group, a need that has also manifested itself in the cohesion and solidarity of people undertaking the care of the less fortunate” (p. 6). It can therefore be argued that the value and practice of people helping others is not new. Many social values, whether in the developed Western societies or developing countries of the South, reflect these patterns of compassion and mercy, goodwill and loyalty, which are all qualities which have evolved from the need to provide for those who cannot provide for themselves without some outside assistance. What is new is the process or practice of “paying people a salary to help others in need” (Segal et al. 2010, p. 3), which is now known as social work practice.

The world and the profession of social work have changed significantly in recent years (DiNitto and McNeece 2008). From its early beginnings to the present, the profession of social work in the United States has been intertwined with social welfare policy. Urbanization and the growth of towns and cities associated with industrialization in Western societies from the end of the nineteenth century have led to more people living in crowded cities far away from the familiar small homelands and the support of extended families they were used to (Segal et al. 2010). Social needs grew due to the conditions in which migrant people lived and worked in urban centers. Local communities were no longer capable of meeting the growing social needs and problems of poverty that emerged. It was in response to these problems that the Charity Organization Societies and the Settlement Movements emerged towards the end of the 1800s.

The Charity Organization Societies and the Settlement Movements all shared the goal and vision of improving people’s lives, but they had disagreements about how to work with people and communities. The settlers defined problems environmentally and operated from the position and belief that an individual’s well-being was directly linked to the external environment. Therefore, to help individuals,

settlement workers focused on changing the environment by advocating for better neighborhood services, public health programs and employment conditions. The charity workers' on the other hand, defined problems as personal deficiencies and emphasized the need for moral support to achieve social betterment (Germain and Hartman 1980). In effect, the need to improve people's lives created a conflict between the helpers and left a legacy of a "struggle between those who seek to change people and those who seek to change the environment" (p. 329). Nevertheless, the contributions of the Charity Organization Societies and the Settlement Movements created the foundation of modern-day social work practice which combines elements of both the Charity Organization Societies and the Settlement Movements.

History of Social Work Practice in Ghana

In Ghana, the social work profession is a relatively young and developing domain. Its history and current practice reflect some of the history of the profession and practice in Western societies as highlighted in the previous section. It has evolved from social welfare service provision from the colonial (pre-independence) times to the present, half a century after independence, in a rapidly-changing society that is grappling with a host of social problems. These problems range from child protection, issues related to poverty, especially child poverty that has fuelled a rural-urban migration leading to the emergence of a disturbing phenomenon of street children. Other issues include homelessness, poor health, inadequate community development and capacity building for community participation. In response to these disturbing issues, a wide range of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have emerged in Ghana, taking on the responsibility of providing services and interventions in a number of areas. This is the type of social work practice that is common in Ghanaian society.

The history of the social work profession in Ghana dates back to the colonial times with the development of a colonial social welfare system (Kreitzer 2012). Before the advent of colonialism, social problems in Ghanaian society were solved within traditional systems and social support networks which were, and continue to be integral parts of the social life of the indigenous people (Apt and Blavo 1997). The Ghanaian traditional support system was woven around a social institution of extended families which were characterized by strong family ties that provided a kind of insurance and security system for its members. This system, according to Apt and Blavo (1997) "dictated its social norms, safeguarded its moral values and conserved its economic base" (p. 320).

A number of events in the then Gold Coast (now Ghana) from the end of the First World War and throughout the pre-independence period created the foundation of social work practice in Ghana. Firstly, the introduction of colonialism in the country led to a breakdown of the extended family system and the power of the local chiefs who were custodians of law and order and supervised the provision of social

services (Boahen 1975). Secondly, was the powerful earthquake with a magnitude of 6.5 on the Richter scale, which struck the Gold Coast on 22nd June, 1939 and many people lost their homes and became homeless as a result. Shortly after this incident, many veterans from the Second World War returned to the Gold Coast and this created the need for their resettlement, as well as dealing with the problems related to family separations and re-unifications due to the war (Amponsah 2003).

Taking a cue from the British government's Colonial Development Act of 1929, the Colonial Development and Welfare Act was passed in Ghana in 1940. A Secretary of Social Services was appointed and given the task of coordinating all existing welfare activities in the country (Wicker 1958). These welfare and social services were hitherto provided by religious missions in the Gold Coast and the most organized social services in the country were carried out at the time by missionaries who pioneered in the provision of medical services, education and the care of needy children and mothers (UN 1964, No. 2, p. 7). The Department of Social Welfare and Housing was created in 1946 and a social development branch of this department was set up in 1948, which evolved into the present day Community Development Department. Social Welfare was separated from Housing in 1951 and placed together with the Ministry of Education. The Department of Social Welfare and Community Development was created in 1952 (Apt and Blavo 1997).

The massive changes that took place in the Gold Coast during this post-war period required the services of trained social workers. However, the first recruits into the profession were volunteers and experienced people who had knowledge of the local situations, especially teachers and community leaders (Kreitzer 2012). The Colonial Development and Welfare Act was revised between 1945 and 1957 to include greater funding and commitments to social services, including education, medical and health services, housing, nutrition, water supplies, broadcasting and welfare (Asamoah and Nortey 1987). To train professionals in social service field, the School of Social Welfare was started at Osu, a suburb of Accra in 1946, which became the School of Social Work in the 1980s. The School of Social Welfare offered a 9-month certificate course in social administration (Apt and Blavo 1997).

Another important milestone in the development of social work in the country occurred with the development of the community development movement in the 1950s. This movement which depended on inspired voluntary leaders (Sautoy 1958) and traditional local leaders who contributed their knowledge and skills in the area of village development was regarded as one of the most important factors in the social and economic development of the country (Abloh and Ameyaw 1997). With financial backing from the colonial government and also due to the rising nationalism, community development led to the provision of "adult literacy, home economics, self-help projects, extension campaign (teaching locals how to improve their lifestyle) and training" (Abloh and Ameyaw 1997, pp. 282–283).

The welfare system and policy set up by the colonial government, however, reflected both the ideology and basic structures of the system then in place in the United Kingdom. These structures, according to Asamoah and Nortey (1987), used primarily a remedial model in which clients' problems were identified and immediate means were sought to solve the problems. This approach, according to Asamoah

and Beverly (1988), was short-sighted in the sense that it did not address preventive measures, structural changes and social developmental services. It focused more attention on physical and mental rehabilitation, with special attention to homeless children, persons with disability, women and migrants. The colonial welfare policy had major fundamental flaws, which included a failure to take a holistic view of the human condition, an overriding importance of political considerations, minimization of the positive effects of traditional structures, and emphasis on economic convenience of advantage for the colonial power rather than benefiting the colony (Asamoah and Beverly 1988, p. 178). These weaknesses of the colonial social welfare policy and practice reflect the earlier struggles between the Charity Organization Societies and the Settlement Movements of the nineteenth century.

Social Work Education in Ghana

As indicated earlier, the increased need for professionals to provide interventions for social problems in Ghana led to the establishment of the School of Social Welfare at Osu in 1946, which became the School of Social Work in the 1980s. It was designed to train professionals in this field, starting with a 9-month certificate course. The program was moved to the University of Ghana, Legon in 1956 and a 2-year diploma course in social administration was designed for experienced trained social workers who had graduated from the 9-month certificate course at the School of Social Work at Osu (Apt and Blavo 1997). In 1989, a 3-year undergraduate course in social work was established at the University of Ghana, Legon and was attached to the Department of Sociology. The Social Work Unit separated from the Sociology Department in 2000 and became the Department of Social Work. A revised Bachelor's program in social work began to be offered in 2004 while a Master's program was started a year earlier in 2003.

Despite the earlier enthusiasm for social work education and practice in the early independence period, the profession as well as the education for it, have suffered from the political, social and economic upheavals that have plagued the country since independence. Professor Apt, a pioneer in social work in Ghana and a long-time head of the Department of Social Work attributes this decline and difficulties to continual government withdrawal of funding, as well as change in the attitude of the Ghanaian society towards how social services should be addressed (Kreitzer 2012).

Emerging and Current Social Problems Requiring Social Work Intervention in Ghana

As pertains in most developing countries especially in Africa, Ghanaian society is plagued with a myriad of social problems which necessitate professional social work intervention. The traditional methods of solving these problems, mostly

through family support and networks are no longer feasible or practical. Most individuals, families and communities lack the capacity to solve these problems on their own. They therefore need the coordinated assistance and interventions of professional social workers and other human service providers. In addition, professional social workers need the necessary and mobilized support of governments at various levels in the country. Some of the problems that call for professional social work intervention and guidance will now be highlighted.

Rural-Urban Migration and the Phenomenon of Streetism

The phenomenon of migration of children and youth from rural areas of the country to urban centers has now blossomed into an alarming migration problem. It started some years back as a trickle of mostly elementary school leavers moving to urban centers in search of jobs. This process has now taken on a totally new feature and has become an alarming phenomenon of massive migration of rural children and youth into Ghana's urban centers. The irony of the problem is that many of these children and youth may have dropped out from school or never been to school. On arrival in the urban centers, they are likely to live on the streets where they encounter many challenges and risks including health hazards and other dangers, abuse and exploitation. According to Omariba and Boyle (2010), the increase in the population of most urban centers in many developing regions of the world can be attributed to this rural-urban migration phenomenon.

The pattern of rural-urban migration in Ghana has particularly been influenced by the differences in the levels of poverty and lack of economic and employment opportunities between rural and urban areas. This situation of uneven development and lack of economic opportunities is more acute between the northern and southern sectors of the country (Anarfi et al. 2003; Kwankye et al. 2007). This trend of socio-economic development in Ghana has created three distinct geographic belts (Anarfi et al. 2003; Kwankye et al. 2007). These are the coastal zones dominated by Accra-Tema and Sekondi-Takoradi; a middle zone (the Ashanti region) with Kumasi as its centre; and the northern savannah zone. The coastal zone, which is currently the most industrialized and urbanized area in the country has become the destination of choice for many migrants from the rural areas (Boakye-Yiadom and MacKay 2006).

It has been documented that due to limited opportunities or prospects in the underdeveloped regions, farming communities, and hinterlands, majority of the unskilled rural youths move to the cities to seek menial jobs (Twumasi-Ankrah 1995). Caldwell (1969) and Frazier (1961) also described the internal movement of Ghanaians from rural communities to urban areas as a move in response to the push from the vagaries of rural living and the pull of Western industry, commerce, and bright lights of urban areas. Majority of these less educated migrants, end up working as porters, laborers and petty traders in the cities (Hashim 2005). Migration into cities in Ghana has manifested itself in two peculiar forms. One form is the normal migration of young men and women from rural communities into cities

and urban areas to find any kind of job. The other form is the migration of men and women mainly from the Northern, Upper East, and Upper West regions to cities like Kumasi, Sekondi/Takoradi Accra to engage in menial jobs to earn a living (Yeboah and Appiah 2009).

Kwankye et al. (2007) point out that studies on internal migration in Ghana have focused mainly on male adults from the three northern regions who migrate to the south to work in the mining and cocoa-growing areas. These movements were often associated with the farming seasons. However, in recent times, these movements are now all-year round, and have involved young children and particularly females who migrate independently from the northern parts of the country to cities and large urban centres in the south, notably Accra-Tema, Kumasi and Sekondi-Takoradi, to engage in various economic activities, such as *kayayei* or porters who carry heavy loads on their heads (Anarfi et al. 2003; Kwankye et al. 2007; Riisøen et al. 2004).

Ghana has made some significant moves in its attempts to better the welfare of its children. Ghana was among the earlier signatories to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of the Child (November, 1959). It established a National Commission on Children in 1979 in the year that United Nations declared as the International Year of the Child. The country's Constitution promulgated in 1992 also contains significant sections on the rights of Ghanaian children. Despite these shows of official concern, the welfare of Ghanaian children has fared no better. This is evidenced by the numbers of children living and working on the streets. Street children in Ghana are visible in every major urban centre in the country; in the markets, at traffic and road intersections, as well as bus and taxi terminals.

Some studies have been conducted on the situation of street children in Accra, Ghana's capital city. There are however, no known studies on children in other fast-growing cities and urban centers across the country. For instance, not many studies have been conducted in Kumasi, the second largest city, some 270 km to the north of Accra, which is known to be the first catchment stop of the migrants from the northern regions (Catholic Action for Street Children and UNICEF 1999). The twin-cities of Sekondi-Takoradi, to the West, also have their fair share of the large influx of children and youth from the rural areas of the country. These two cities have also seen an influx of a large army of children and youth who fled the civil wars in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Ivory Coast on the western frontiers of Ghana. The same phenomenon and pattern of growing street children exist in almost all the regional capitals and major urban centers. Nonetheless, very few studies have been done on this group across the country, which makes it difficult for policy-makers to have ideas about appropriate social policies and effective intervention strategies that would help address this growing problem.

Payne (2004) estimated that approximately 60% of the street children in Ghana's capital, Accra are girls. This is evident if one takes a casual walk through the streets of Accra where many of children who work on the streets as porters known in Ghana by the derogatory term, *kayayo* (carrier of burden) are young girls. Schepers-Hughes (1989) sounds an alarm about the potential dangers many of these street girls are exposed to. They face more dangers and are more vulnerable and exposed to dangers than their male counterparts. Some of these street girls are producing

babies on the streets, resulting in the phenomenon of raising children who have no homes but the streets of urban centers (Boyden 1997).

In a similar vein, other researchers (Alpers 1998; Hermann et al. 1998) argue that having children in their teenage years prevents the unemployed teenage mothers from completing of basic education. This further deepens their plight as possessing no skills and careers thus limiting their abilities to obtain careers and economic opportunities. These young mothers with limited incomes are known to lack basic nutritional and housing needs for themselves and their children. UNICEF (2001) succinctly captures the point by emphasizing the fact that:

... giving birth as a teenager is believed to be bad for the young mother because the statistics suggest that she is much more likely to drop out of school, to have low or no qualifications, to be unemployed or low paid, her child(ren) would grow up without a father, become victims of neglect and abuse, do less well at school, become involved in crime, and use drugs and alcohol. (UNICEF 2001, p. 3)

According to Herrmann et al. (1998) many countries view adolescent pregnancy as a major public health problem. It is seen as a contributory factor to long-term socio-economic dislocations including psychological problems for the teen mothers and their infant children. Adolescent mothers, according to Lesser et al. (1998) have been found to experience higher levels of stress that is associated with parenting, be less responsive and sensitive in interactions with their children, and offer lower quality of stimulation at home. It is the extent of this social problem of teenage pregnancy, especially among street children and how it is connected to other problems in Ghanaian society that has given rise to the call and need for new public policy responses and interventions by social work and other professionals.

Social and Educational Inclusion of Persons with Disabilities

The Concept of Disability

The importance of understanding the different ways in which disability is perceived lies in the fact that societies address disability issues based on the ways they conceptualize it. Intellectual disabilities for instance, are perceived in different ways by different societies and thus it is essential to understand how they are viewed within the social contexts they occur. Over the years, the meaning of disability has evolved, although it has generally shifted from the medical model which views disability as an individual deficiency, to the social model, which suggests that it is the social and economic structures that create disability (Anatasious and Kaufmann 2011; Michailakis 2003; United Nations 2006). When disability is interpreted as an illness or impairment, it is viewed as occurring in an individual's body or mind, and when interpreted as a social construct, disability is seen in terms of the socio-economic, cultural, and political disadvantages resulting from an individual's exclusion (Government of Canada 2003).

Various forms of disability are prevalent in Africa. Some can be attributed to the effects of malnutrition, diseases, environmental hazards, natural disasters, and motor and industrial accidents. Some can also be attributed to the many armed conflicts and wars that have raged the continent in the past couple of decades. It is common knowledge that the vast majority of persons with disabilities in Africa do not have access to meaningful education which will provide them with opportunities to acquire careers and skills to work. This virtually condemns many persons with disabilities to lives of poverty. Moreover, disabilities in African societies entails social stigma which results in continuous marginalization and isolation of such persons. Many persons with disabilities are therefore left with begging in public places as their only means to eke out a living (USAID 2005). While there is currently no reliable data on disability in Ghana, there are various estimates pointing to about 2 million people who have various forms of disabilities (Lax and Stern 2004).

The Women's Manifesto for Ghana Coalition (2004) asserts that people with disabilities encounter multiple forms of abuse, neglect and discrimination. Persons with disability in Ghana are generally viewed in a negative light. Such societal attitudes are fuelled by some religious beliefs, superstition and certain myths. Some of these myths are also buttressed by some religious groups who attribute some forms of disabilities, especially mental health disabilities, evils spirits and demons that must be cast out. The Women's Manifesto for Ghana Coalition (2004) chronicles challenges and obstacles that persons with disabilities in Ghana encounter. These include inferior and segregated education which results in unemployment, lack of access to proper health-care, and public facilities.

Avoke (2002) asserts that the negative attitudes, stigmas and marginalization of persons with disabilities in many communities in Ghana are due to the belief that disability is the result of curses that are invoked on individuals or families from the gods, for crimes or offences they or their parents or ancestors may have committed against the community which may have angered the gods. Fefoame (2009) also points out that in many Ghanaian rural communities, if a woman gives birth to a disabled child, the only explanation could be that the gods are angry with the woman or her family for sins committed. Some of the Ghanaian societal beliefs about disability as atonement for sins committed are slowly fading due to a number of factors which include western influences, and the influences of Christianity. Since 2006, various laws and legislations that have been passed that are aimed at correcting these beliefs, attitudes and misconceptions about disability (Persons with Disability Act 715). These legislations are designed to protect the rights of people with disabilities. On the international scene, there is the United Nations Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities (CRPD, United Nations 2006).

The general attitude in many Ghanaian communities towards children with intellectual disabilities is that they are children of the rivers and forests. In this regard, in the past, these children were returned to the forests or to the rivers under the guise of helping them to go back to where they came from. Fefoame (2009) also suggests that in some traditional communities, some creatures like crocodiles and snakes are believed to have supernatural powers, or in some cases, human beings change into such creatures, and therefore any cruelty against them can lead to an individual giv-

ing birth to a child with disability. Such beliefs invariably influence societal beliefs and perceptions about disability in Ghanaian traditional society.

Educating Children with Disabilities

Education is widely recognized as a means to developing human capital, improving economic performance, and enhancing people's capabilities and choices (OECD 2011). Thus, governments owe it to their citizens to make the necessary investments in education, in order to provide the best standards possible (Porter 2001). The United Nations estimates that school enrolment rates of children with disabilities in developing countries are as low as 1–3%, implying that approximately 98% of children with disabilities do not attend school and are illiterates (United Nations 2006). Yet, research shows that there is a greater likelihood that children, including those with disabilities, who are included in regular education, will complete school, acquire further education and training, get jobs, earn good incomes, and become active members of their communities (United Nations 2006).

Anson-Yevu (1988) suggests that formal education of children with disabilities in Ghana commenced in 1945, a 100 years after the introduction of general formal education by the colonial government. The Education Act of 1961, which was the first act of parliament to incorporate special education into the general education system, coupled with recommendations from a survey conducted by John Wilson, the then director of the Commonwealth Society for the Blind, led the government to take over schools for children with disabilities (Anson-Yevu 1988; Kwadade 2003). Although a large number of children with varying forms of disabilities continue to receive education in segregated settings in Ghana, the extent of educational inclusion differs significantly, depending on the type and severity of disability (Hooker 2007). As a human rights issue, the Persons with Disability Act (715) of Ghana stipulates in article 20 that there shall be no refusal of admission by any school on account of disability. The general principles of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disability, (CRPD, United Nations 2006) also include full and effective participation and inclusion in society, with an entire section of the Convention (Article 24) dedicated to provisions concerned with inclusive education.

Article 24 of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disability enjoins state parties to recognize the right of persons with disabilities to education, and on the basis of equal opportunity, ensure an inclusive education system at all levels and lifelong learning (United Nations 2006). Inclusive education denotes a system of education in which all students, including those with significant disabilities, are provided with equitable opportunities to receive effective educational services with the needed supplementary aids and services in order to prepare students for productive lives as full members of the society (Salend 1999). While there is an on-going debate on the extent of inclusion and on how to get there, there is much support for the notion of inclusion as a journey or process of continual societal adjustment (Culham and Nind 2003).

Child Welfare and Social Work Practice

Social Work practice in the Western world has a long tradition of helping children and families cope with the stressors that cause family dysfunction. What is regarded as neglect, that is the failure or inability of adults to meet the physical, emotional, mental, educational and other social needs of children, as well as abuse, which is classified as inflicting of physical abuse (non-accidental injury), and emotional harm on children by adults, account for a greater percentage of the workload of social workers in the Western world (Di Nitto and McNeece 2008). In determining what constitutes child abuse and neglect, social work practitioners are expected to distinguish between what may be classified as legitimate punishment that is directed at shaping a child's behaviour for the better, and abusive punishment.

When children suffer or are not given proper and sufficient supervision, or suffer from parental abandonment, it may be classified as neglect (Glicken and Sechrest 2003). In many Western countries, there are well-structured resources that social work practitioners tap into to offer the necessary protection and support for children and families in crisis. From the early stages when reports are received on suspicion of abuse, abandonment or neglect of children, to the point when it becomes necessary to remove children from abusive families or primary care-givers, the social service systems provide the necessary resources that practitioners require to adequately protect children. The resources and support systems include temporary and permanent foster homes and group homes for teenage children. Such homes and their proprietors, usually private, are carefully screened, assessed and approved for semi-independent living for teenagers with the focus of preparing them for eventual independent living (Noble and Jones 2006). There are also closed structured units that are designed for children and teenagers who exhibit serious behavioral problems (Noble and Jones).

The current social work practice in the area of child welfare in Ghana is different from what pertains in Western countries. There are a lot of challenges that child welfare social work practitioners in Ghana face. Generally, these challenges have their roots in the family structures in the country, which makes it difficult to draw a line regarding what constitutes child abuse, neglect or abandonment in Ghanaian society. In Ghana, certain physical and even emotional abuses of children are permitted and socially accepted as normal parental discipline of children. In Western societies, however, such practices would not be acceptable since they would be regarded as child abuse. The difficulty lies in the definition or what constitutes abuse and neglect. It is a common practice in Ghana for close and extended family members to step in to take care of children who are orphans, vulnerable, needy or have been neglected by their parents or care-givers. In most instances, adults who step into the care-giving roles do it as a matter of family responsibility and do not accuse the parents or care-givers of neglect. More often than not, such practices of neglect seem to be in line with the African axiom, *it takes the whole village to raise a child*.

Even though some public and private orphanages exist in Ghana, many of these institutions face a lot of challenges since they do not have the needed resources to take care of the orphan and vulnerable children. The major challenges, include lack

of professional staff, inadequate or minimal funding, overcrowding of children, among others. In some rural areas of the country, Queen Mothers Associations take care of orphans and vulnerable children. It is however important to mention that children who end up in the few under-resourced homes and those who receive care from the Queen Mothers are a small fraction of the large number of orphans and vulnerable children who require assistance and care. Unable to receive any assistance, many orphans and vulnerable children turn to the streets, where they live and beg in order to earn a living. Some become destitute or fall prey to criminal gangs.

Some researchers have sounded alarm bells on the increasing numbers of orphaned and vulnerable children on the streets of Ghana's urban centers. For example, Lund and Agyei-Mensah (2008) have described this growing problem of vulnerable street children as one of Africa's silent ticking bombs. In addition, the 2009 report by the Ghana National HIV and AIDS Commission showed that there were about 1 million and 400,000 orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) in the country at the time and this number was expected to increase (Ghana Health Service 2010). The above underscores the urgent need for professionally-trained child welfare social workers to assist in identifying abused, neglected or vulnerable children and offer the needed assistance and services. These services, however, cannot be offered in a vacuum.

In order to provide developmentally appropriate services for children, especially orphans and vulnerable children in Ghana, there is the need for collaboration among stakeholders (government, private sector and communities). In view of the fact that today's children are the future resource and leaders of the country (Peters 2003), it is important for society to recognize and understand that abused, neglected, or vulnerable children may experience difficulties growing up to become productive leaders of tomorrow. There is therefore the need for effective structures, services and programs to support the growth, development and wellbeing of all children.

School Social Work Practice

Traditionally, the school is an institution for teaching and learning, and thus teachers form the dominant professional workforce in any educational setting. However, the efforts of teachers alone do not provide a complete and meaningful educational experience. It is a well-known fact that many children are not able to learn well in school due to a combination of diverse factors in the school, home and community environments (Gallagher et al. 2009). These may range from lack of proper nutrition at home, poor living conditions, bullying by other children in the school or even the behaviour of some educators and school administrators.

In most Western countries, school social work practice is an integral part of the school system and professional social workers are always employed in schools to investigate and assist children, especially those who may experience difficulties in the school system. School social workers operate as a link that connects the school, students, and their families to needed services in the community (Crutchfield 1997).

Social workers therefore have a role to play in fostering inclusive education for all children, particularly children with disabilities.

Some of the major tasks of school social workers include consulting with a team of other professionals in the school system to develop programmes for students; independently directing intervention with children and parents in individual, group and family modalities; and assisting with programme development in the school and school districts (Openshaw 2008). Social workers serve as home-school-community liaisons that connect all stakeholders in children's education (Mittler et al. 2002). Consequently, for educational inclusion to be successful, the role of professional social workers is indispensable.

Conjugal Violence

In its Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993), the United Nations defines violence against women as any act of gender-based violence that leads to or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether taking place in public or private life. In every society, domestic violence is a double-edged dagger and its effect is not only on the adult partners but the children in the relationship, as well.

Domestic violence, especially violence against women is prevalent in Ghanaian society and children are regularly exposed to it. Children from such homes are known to be at risk of a wide range of adjustment difficulties and health problems (Ofei-Aboagye 1994). Such children have also been found to be aggressive, acting up at home and school and unable to learn appropriate social skills (Geffner et al. 2004). It should be noted that although Ghanaian society does not condone violence against women, it was only recently (February 2007) that official action against the practice was taken with the enactment of a Domestic Violence Act by the Ghanaian Parliament (Adu-Gyamrah 2007 as cited in Adinkrah 2010). Some opinion leaders, civil society leaders and Social Work practitioners have criticized the wording of this Legislation as approaching this social problem from a purely criminalized and policing perspective which may make its implementation difficult or counter-productive.

To buttress the above point, critics of the Act point to the location of the government agency known as the Domestic Violence Victims Support Unit (DOVVSU) that is entrusted with the responsibility of implementation of the provisions of the Act. The agency (DOVVSU) is located inside the Police Department. Making the situation worse is the fact that the Act contains no provisions for social support and counselling services. It simply recognizes the issue as criminal. This, we believe is not the right direction and approach to take in solving such a thorny problem. Since conjugal violence is recognized worldwide as a social problem. The intended and proposed solutions and preventive measures should be from a holistic perspective. In this regard, it is necessary to consider the social conditions and the environment within which the problem occurs. This therefore underscores the necessity for a

professional social work approach that takes into account all the intersecting factors that give rise to the problem.

Social Work Practice in Health Care Settings

One of the important aspects of social work practice in Western countries is service provision to hospital patients and their families. Every major health-care centre in developed countries like Canada, United Kingdom and United States has a Social Work Department, staffed with social work practitioners who are trained and dedicated to providing counselling and emotional support for patients and their families. The service provision in this domain includes psycho-social assessments of patients' living conditions prior to admission to a health-care facility. This enables the social work practitioners to obtain vital information that may explain some of the conditions that brought the patients to the health-care facilities.

Also, information gathered by social work practitioners in health-care settings from clients and their families is critical in assessing the conditions and support systems that may be available or unavailable to patients when they are discharged from the health-care facilities. Social work practitioners in health-care settings regularly participate in multi-disciplinary and discharge planning team meetings that plan the stay of patients in health-care facilities and their discharge. Furthermore, health-care social work practitioners engage in follow-up to monitor the ongoing effects of the intervention and also to re-examine clients' situation after discharge in order to assist in sorting out the difficulties clients might be facing.

Services provided by social workers who practice in health-care settings are even more critical for mental health patients and their families who need professional counselling and emotional support. They also need follow-up support from the mental-health care professionals as well as in the communities in which they live once they are discharged from mental health-care facilities. As persons with mental health problems also face stigmatization and marginalization from many Ghanaians, mostly stemming from ignorance, myths and superstitions, professional social work services to this clientele is very critical.

Care for the Elderly

Care for the elderly in Ghanaian society has traditionally been the responsibility of their children and/or extended family members. This role is changing due to changes in the traditional family system (Apt and Blavo 1997). In contemporary society, many elderly people are left on their own, especially in the rural areas and a number of reasons can be assigned for this changing trend. These include urbanization and the mass migration of youth from the rural areas of the country to urban settings in search of better economic opportunities. The trend can also be attributed to the weakening of the extended family system. The situation of the elderly in Ghana becomes more precarious if viewed against the background of the absence

of structured public or private social services devoted for the care of the elderly. This is contrary to the practice in Western societies where very efficient private and public elderly care services exist. Many elderly persons in Ghanaian rural areas are therefore neglected during old age when they need support, understanding and in some cases acute and extended tender care.

The changing trend indicates that the care of the elderly in Ghanaian society can no longer be regarded as the sole responsibility of family members who may either be stretched to their limits or are simply unavailable. There is therefore the need for professional social work intervention with the necessary resource support from governments at both the central and local levels. These services and intervention should include professional counselling, guidance and support for the elderly and their families. It is counter-productive for any society to abandon its elderly to their fate and left unattended to in their final years when they may be in need of assistance.

Ghanaian society is built on a form of reciprocal socio-cultural insurance where parents and older family members take care of their young ones with the hope that they (the young) would also take care of the elderly in their twilight years. This unwritten socio-cultural arrangement is captured by the Akan proverb which says that *se w'awofo hwe wo ma wose fiifiri aa, ewose wo nso wohwe won ma won se tutu*. This literally means that if your parents nurture you for your teeth to grow, you have an obligation to care for them (parents) for their teeth to fall out.

Filling the Vacuum: The Role of Non-governmental Organizations

Due to the absence of public-funded social services in the social problem areas outlined in this chapter, local and foreign non-governmental organizations (NGOs) mushroomed in Ghana, providing all kinds of services. It is impossible to state the number of local and foreign NGOs operating in the country because the literature on NGOs in Ghana is inadequate. Nonetheless their numbers are now estimated to be in the thousands (Bob-Millar 2005). The activities of some of the local and foreign NGOs operating in Ghana have transformed whole communities and rural dwellers have benefited a lot. Some NGOs by the virtue of their activities have replaced perpetual misery with smiles to those poverty-stricken and thousands of almost forgotten rural dwellers (Bob-Millar 2005).

These NGOs are playing an essential role in Ghana because most of them are engaged in activities aimed at addressing the imbalances between rural and urban areas in terms of development (Bob-Millar 2005). Their services include working with street children, persons with disabilities, women victims of conjugal violence, disaster relief, community development, health, education, income generation, mental health services and poverty alleviation. The concept of poverty alleviation is huge and broad that the NGOs come from different backgrounds with different intentions and modus operandi.

Even though the majority of these NGOs are playing vital roles in filling the vacuum in the provision of social services many of them have no trained social work professionals on their staff. Many of their personnel have no formal social work training and therefore operate out of interest and compassion for the problem area(s) as well as the clientele or victims of those social problems for which they seek to provide interventions. Concern has been raised about the proliferation of NGOs in Ghana in recent years. Amoakwe, Chief Director of the Ministry of Manpower Development and Employment, explained to BBC Africa that many of the NGOs operating in Ghana were fake (Adam 2004). Amoakwe pointed out that there were 3,000 NGOs in the country and only 150 of this number have submitted their annual reports and statements of accounts to the Social Welfare Department as required by the law in Ghana (Adam 2004).

Amoakwe further argued that the majority of NGOs spend around 80% of the money available to them from government agencies or foreign sponsors as administrative costs, for which they do not render proper accounts. According to him, NGOs are meant to be philanthropic, but many of them are fake and therefore spend a huge share of the money for their personal use. A major reason for the proliferation of NGOs in Ghana has been the recent inclination of both international and bilateral aid agencies to contract out much of their fieldwork. They find it is cheaper to contract out to local NGOs. The criticisms leveled against the NGOs notwithstanding, it must be acknowledged that many are devoted to filling the gaps in social development that were left unattended to by the structural adjustment programme (Adam 2004) that was initiated in Ghana in the early 1980s.

Making Social Work Practice Relevant in Ghana

The myriad of social problems outlined in this chapter calls for concerted efforts on the part of all stakeholders, notably governments (at national and local levels), educational institutions devoted to social work education, education and health-care sectors, non-governmental organizations and the private sector to collaborate in the training of social work professionals. These trained social work practitioners will assist in providing professional intervention programmes for persons in need of their services. Many of the current social work practice and orientations in Ghana were borrowed from the Western world. Social work, according to Gray et al. (2008), is essentially a modernist invention with a history of silencing marginal voices and importing into diverse cultural contexts, philosophies, theories and ideologies, primarily from Europe and North America with colonial connotations.

Social work is also seen as a technology transfer by way of colonization and globalization leading to sidelining and, in some cases, destruction of local cultures, wisdom, knowledge and morals (Baffoe 2005; Osei-Hwedie 2011). In this context, it should be understood that social work is a helping profession that can be shaped to suit different cultures. In this regard, the practice of social work would be different under various cultural circumstances (Osei-Hwedie 2011). This is referred

to as culturally-relevant social work practice which should aim at freeing social work practice from the dominance of European and North American dictates and principles (Mupedziswa 1993).

The demand to make social work practice culturally relevant in the Ghanaian context calls for a retooling of the curriculum of social work education. In the context of this indigenization approaches, social work practice and education must be based on the notion of understanding ourselves (Osei-Hwedie 2011). The locality relevance referred to here is conceptualized to reflect the need for Ghanaians to emphasize their unique characteristics and contexts as the basis for social work interventions in solving problems. This call for local relevance therefore does not seek to promote blind adherence to indigenous cultural and social structures. Some of our own Ghanaian cultural practices and other processes of social organization are part of the social problems and need reforms and change. We are therefore calling for a paradigm shift in the application of foreign social work practice interventions.

Osei Hwedie (2011) opines that indigenization embodies progressive social change and the fact that cultural inheritance is ever changing alongside perceptions and environments. Thus, the idea is not to sacrifice professional social work standards on the altar of indigenization. It rather means social work practice must accept the fact that in the current and rapidly changing environment, practice must be sensitive and flexible enough to adapt to changing, complex and multiple values. Culturally relevant social work practice, which is being called for in the current Ghanaian context, should have a mandate to develop a practice defined by the needs of the local people based on their circumstances of living (Osei-Hwedie 2011).

Social work educators in contemporary society also face many challenges, especially in preparing our future social work practitioners. In this regard, educators need to prepare social work students to learn how to practice their chosen profession from a theoretical base, and as Cooper and Lesser (2008) point out, be able to examine these theories as applied to social work practice with diverse clients. In the face of the rapidly changing nature of the social work profession, there is the need to prepare students to develop professional, ethical and creative use of the self in clinical practice and community interventions (Balbour 1984; Thyer 2002; Munro 2002).

Conclusion

Social work is a profession devoted to helping people function well within their social environments. It is evident from the discussions in this chapter that the profession has undergone transformation in Ghana over the past six decades from its genesis as the provision of social welfare services. Although its importance and services provided have not been fully understood by the general population, the changing circumstances present tremendous opportunities for innovative approaches to offer a dynamic social work practice in Ghana. The success of the practice will definitely depend on a revamped curriculum in social work education that emphasizes effective field practice.

All the social problems and issues highlighted in this chapter are crucial and therefore deserve urgent policy attention because they negatively affect Ghana's development. However, the social work profession in Ghana would not achieve its aim of helping people function well in society if the profession is not given the necessary recognition and support. Of particular importance is the need to recognize that Social Workers in Ghana operate through complex structural and traditional systems that sometimes become barriers to their practice.

While the road ahead will not be easy since the challenges are many, there is the need for collaboration between all stakeholders in this arena. More importantly, institutions offering social work education, as well as the government need to be educated to understand the necessity of the profession in Ghana. Furthermore, financial and other resources are necessary because they will serve as springboards for the development of interventions that will help address the varied social problems that threaten the structures of the nation. This will enable individuals, communities and the nation as a whole to recognize and appreciate the major role social workers play in national development by empowering, especially the most vulnerable and disadvantaged groups in society.

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Chapter 8

The Study and Practice of Economics in Ghana

L. Boakye-Yiadom, William Baah-Boateng and Abena D. Oduro

Introduction

As a social science, the discipline of economics has, over the years, witnessed significant changes in scope, depth, and methodology. In Ghana, the study and practice of economics has evolved in terms of teaching content and approach, research focus, methodology, and policy direction.

Prior to the economic reforms in Ghana in the 1980s, government policies and programmes were largely driven by inward-looking and state-controlled economic policies (Killick 2010). The economic downturn suffered in the 1970s and early 1980s as a result of a combination of external factors and domestic economic mismanagement triggered a shift of economic policy focus in favour of outward oriented and private sector strategies. The teaching, study and research in economics changed in line with the shift in economic paradigm.

In the context of developments in the Ghanaian economy and the evolution of economics as a discipline, we examine the evolution of the study and practice of economics in Ghana. To this end, we carry out a review of the teaching and study of economics, economic research, and economic policy-making in Ghana using the University of Ghana as the case study. In the next section we focus on a historical overview of the teaching and study of economics at the University of Ghana. Section three is a review of economic research in Ghana, focusing on the features and trends over the years. In Section four, we examine the links between researchers in economics and policy-makers. The fifth section is devoted to a summary and some concluding thoughts.

L. Boakye-Yiadom (✉) · W. Baah-Boateng · A. D. Oduro
Department of Economics, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana
e-mail: louisby@gmail.com

The Teaching and Study of Economics in Ghana

Helen Kimble made the following observation about the motivation of students towards the study of economics:

Economics is a subject much in demand for both extra-mural and undergraduate courses. But the motivation of students is sometimes weak; some have a very hazy idea of what economics is all about—except that there may be more money in it than history or sociology—and the discipline of a fairly tough subject causes subsequent changes of heart. Unfortunately many African students are unnecessarily handicapped and discouraged by their lack of mathematical equipment. (Kimble 1969, p. 714)

The orthodox neoclassical and Keynesian principles still feature prominently in the teaching of economics. In microeconomic analysis, students are introduced to the workings of the market based on assumption of rationality of the consumer and the firm. While the consumer is assumed to aim at maximizing satisfaction, the firm operates on the assumption of profit maximization. The invisible hand within the classical framework is argued to allocate resources efficiently, suggesting irrelevance of any external intervention in the market. The failure of the market to ensure the production of certain goods whose benefits go beyond the individual (e.g. public goods) and the existence of externalities (both positive and negative) have often formed the basis of external intervention in the market by government. The problem has always been that welfare economics that exposes students to the social benefit as opposed to private individual motive of economic activities is not often taught in the early years of the undergraduate degree programme.

In macroeconomics, undergraduate students are exposed to the rubrics of Keynesian economics in the determination of equilibrium output in the IS-LM and AD-AS frameworks and at later stages they are introduced to the arguments of the monetarism, structuralism and rational expectations. This section examines the changes in the teaching and study of economics from the perspective of courses and programmes offered at the University of Ghana, the content of courses, and dissertation and thesis areas. A combination of approaches including a review of literature and relevant documents and key informant interviews of faculty and alumni of the Department of Economics of the University of Ghana are employed to inform our analysis.

Trends in Programmes Offered

The teaching and study of economics in Ghana began in 1948 when the Department of Economics was set up as part of the establishment of the University College of the Gold Coast affiliated to the University of London. With the University College tied to the apron string of the University of London until 1961 when the University of Ghana gained autonomy to award its own degrees, the programmes and courses offered were largely influenced and approved by London.

Until the 1980s, the department offered a Bachelor of Science (BSc) Honours programme which was based on the second and third years of academic work. Students were admitted into economics and other programmes and based on performance at the First University Examination (FUE), selection was made into the economics Honours programme, while those not selected into the Honours programme and who were unable to get the opportunity to do honours in other programmes were compelled to settle for a general degree. The economics honours required two end-of-year examinations after FUE, one at the end of the second year (Part I) and the other at the end of the third and final year (Part II). Those in a general degree programme, however, were required to take only one examination after the FUE during the third and final years of their degree programme. All honours candidates in economics were required to take one course outside economics in their second year.

In the 1980s, the Bachelor of Arts (BA) programme was introduced to replace the BSc Honours and General degree programme. Students enrolled in the BA programme to study economics were offered two other subjects in addition to economics and could graduate with BA (single major) or combined major. Students graduating with a single major in economics offered four courses in economics including Microeconomics and Macroeconomics and two courses in the minor subject in Part I. Five courses including Economic Theory (microeconomics and macroeconomics) and Econometrics in Part II, were taken as a requirement for graduation. Combined major students in economics offered three economics courses each in Part I and II including intermediate micro and macroeconomics in Part I and Economic Theory (Microeconomics and Macroeconomics) in Part II. Econometrics was an option for students pursuing combined major in economics. In 1992 when the university embraced the semester system, a course in Cost-Benefit Analysis (CBA) and project work was introduced. Students are exposed to the theory of CBA which largely involves project appraisal in the first semester of the final year and apply the theory in a project work in the second semester. This course is a core for single major students, but optional for combined major students in economics.

Until the 1980s a postgraduate programme in economics leading to the award of a Master of Science (MSc) was offered by the Department. The programme was mainly thesis based until the early 1970s when coursework was introduced in addition to thesis writing to enable applicants with no background in economics pursue a postgraduate degree in economics. The thesis-based MSc programme was offered to graduates with an honours degree in economics. Graduates without a degree in economics were offered the opportunity to pursue an MSc in economics upon the introduction of coursework into the programme. In the 1980s, the MSc was changed to a Master of Philosophy (MPhil) in economics with coursework and thesis requirements.¹ In order to qualify for the award of an MPhil (Economics), students were required to offer five courses including Microeconomic Theory, Macroeconomic Theory and Econometrics in the first year with the second year devoted to thesis writing.

¹ This was in line with a university-wide review of bachelor's and master's programmes.

The Department established strong links with the African Economic Research Consortium based in Nairobi. This organization has as one of its objectives strengthening the capacity of economists on the African continent through training and participation in research. In furtherance of this objective a collaborative Masters programme (CMAP) was developed by the AERC in collaboration with selected Departments of Economics on the continent in 1993. The CMAP has two components. Selected universities offer core courses, i.e. Macroeconomics, Microeconomics and Quantitative Methods, to students during the first year of the programme. Students from all the participating universities who pass the core courses proceed to a Joint Facility for Electives (JFE) during June to October where they take two elective courses.

After completing the electives at the JFE the students return to their home universities to write their theses. The Department of Economics, University of Ghana is one of the initial participating universities in this programme which offers core courses. Even though the CMAP did not require the University of Ghana to offer electives to its students, the department continued to offer two electives in addition to the three core courses. The reason behind this decision was that, the University was running its own approved Masters programme in economics and did not want to abandon it. This would make it possible for the University to run its own Masters programme in case the AERC is unable to run the JFE for one reason or the other. Dividends from this decision were realized in the 2011/2012 academic year when the University of Ghana and three other universities in Ethiopia, Kenya and Tanzania were taken out of the JFE programme and asked to teach their own electives. Indeed, the JFE exposed students to a wide range of elective subjects at the master's level in addition to research methods. Two other public universities in Ghana, the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST) and the University of Cape Coast also run similar postgraduate training in economics with or without JFE participation.

A new postgraduate programme at the Master's level was introduced in 1998 to train middle level personnel in the public sector on economic policy management in Ghana and Africa. The programme which is sponsored by the African Capacity Building Foundation (ACBF) and the World Bank is open largely to public servants in policy oriented positions with bachelor's degrees in any discipline. Students admitted into the programme are not only exposed to economic theories for policy but are also trained in management and business courses such as accounting, strategic management, and financial management. It started as a 2-year taught programme with a 3-month internship leading to the award of a Master of Arts in Economic Policy Management. The length of the course was reviewed and reduced to 18 months and later to 12 months, largely to reduce cost. Over the past 5–10 years, the programme has been open to candidates in the private sector and in non-policy related jobs and has trained a considerable number of people in economic policy management across Africa. Since the inception of the programme, 566 Ghanaians (74% males and 26% females) and other Africans have graduated from the programme.

A thesis-based PhD programme in Economics is also offered at the University of Ghana but has been limited to faculty members. In 2004, the University signed a

collaborative agreement with Harvard University that allowed registered PhD candidates to take 1 year of coursework at Harvard University to help the candidate keep abreast of new developments in the discipline. This collaboration with Harvard University has produced two PhDs.

Trends in Courses Offered

The number and types of courses taught in economics at the tertiary level have changed over time largely due to the availability of capacity to teach the courses. Many more courses have been introduced into the curriculum at the University of Ghana and other universities in Ghana as well as Africa. This is largely due to the expansion of the discipline to cover areas such as urbanization, population, health, environment, tourism and transport. Indeed, at the JFE, courses in health economics, managerial economics, corporate finance and investment and game theory which were not offered during the first 5 years of the programme have been introduced. Undoubtedly, microeconomics and macroeconomics principles and theories are core in all training programmes in economics at all levels and have always been taught and studied as a core requirement in economics training. In addition, quantitative courses (Mathematics, Statistics and Econometrics) that introduce and expose economics students to mathematical and statistical concepts required to understand and explain economic phenomenon have always been taught. In undergraduate training in economics, the introduction to the economy of Ghana course tailored to expose students to understand the structure, performance and policies in the Ghanaian economy has always been offered.

Courses such as Money and Banking, Public Finance, and International Economics have always been offered at the undergraduate and postgraduate levels. Elective courses such as Agricultural Economics, Industrial Economics, Labour Economics, Health Economics, and Resource and Environmental Economics were introduced into the bachelor's and master's programme when expertise in those areas of specialization became available in the 1990s. The JFE under the CMAP programme held in Nairobi every summer has provided a wide range of choice in elective economics courses at the MPhil programme. Courses such as Managerial Economics, Corporate Finance and Investment, Policy Analysis and Economic Management, Agricultural Economics, and Game Theory have been offered at the Masters level.

Course Content and Literature

A common feature of economics as a discipline in the social sciences is the mathematical application to the analysis of economic phenomena. Indeed Kartzner (2003) argued that relative to other social sciences, economics has become "overwhelmingly" mathematical. Undoubtedly, the introduction of high level quantitative techniques in economics has become a controversial issue. It is argued that

the insistence on ever higher levels of mathematics in economics has actually led to shallower understanding of basic economic processes (Krueger 1991). In the teaching of economics globally, students are required to have a basic minimum knowledge of mathematics corresponding to 'O' level mathematics in England or high school graduation in the USA (Kimble 1969) and this has not changed over the years. Indeed, students admitted to pursue a course of study in economics at the University of Ghana are required to have a strong quantitative background that would enable them appreciate basic mathematical concepts relevant to economic analysis. To improve their knowledge in mathematics upon admission, students are exposed to more rigorous concepts in mathematics including multivariate calculus and matrix algebra. This is meant to enhance their ability to carry out optimization problems which are key in economic analysis. Kimble (1969) believes that the process of critical thought and logical reasoning applied to economic problems must be capable for verbal expression. She argues that mathematical formulae may appear more precise, but their precision depends entirely on the definitions which marks the transition from words to symbols.

The teaching approach in terms of the method of explaining economic phenomena and contents have witnessed some changes over time. As the face of the discipline of economics changed globally towards the use of more quantitative techniques in analyzing economic phenomena in the early years of the twentieth century, the teaching of economics at the University of Ghana followed suit. Katzner (2003) suggests that mathematics has become important in economics to among other things attain scientific respectability. In terms of the central arguments in economics, there has not been a noticeable change in the teaching of economics in Ghana over the years. The determination of market equilibrium based on rationality assumption of the consumer and the producer as utility and profit maximizers respectively dominate microeconomic analysis. The theoretical arguments of the Classical and the Keynesian schools continue to form the foundation for teaching of the principles of macroeconomics. In macroeconomics, students are introduced to the Classical, Neoclassical, Keynesian and Monetarist models. The IS-LM model is the workhorse that is used to discuss issues of the determination of national output, employment, and interest rates while inflation and expectations are discussed using AD-AS model. One fundamental concern of the teaching of economics is the high focus on theory with little link to policy. Until the introduction of the Economic Policy Management Programme which combines theory and practice and involvement of practitioners to teach on the programme, teaching at the graduate level and the traditional MPhil (Economics), have often concentrated on theoretical issues with limited involvement of practitioners in the teaching and design of curricula.

Lack of suitable textbooks with local content has been one major constraint to the teaching and study of economics at the University of Ghana in particular and in other universities in Ghana in general. The reliance on British and American textbooks in the teaching and study of economics in Ghana has brought to the fore the applicability of the content of the teaching of the discipline to local context. In the 1960s, most of the textbooks were related entirely to the details of British and US economic and social contexts with little or virtually no practical application in

Table 8.1 A sample of books on Ghana published by Ghanaian and Foreign Academics. (Source: Compiled by the authors)

Author/editor	Title of the book	Publisher	Year
T. Killick	Development economics in action. A study of economic policies in Ghana	Heinemann Educational Books	1978
Jones Ofori-Atta	Introduction to microeconomics	Woeli Publishing Services	1998
Amoah Baah-Nuakoh	Studies on the Ghanaian economy Vol. 1: The pre-“revolutionary” years	Ghana Universities Press	1997
Amoah Baah-Nuakoh	Studies on the Ghanaian economy Vol. 2: Environment, informal sector and factor markets	Woeli Publishing Services	2003
Amoah Baah-Nuakoh	Studies on the Ghanaian economy vol. 3: The industrial sector	Woeli Publishing Services	2003
E. Aryeetey, Harrigan J. and Nissanke M (eds.)	Economic reforms in Ghana: The miracle and mirage	James Currey & Woeli Publishing Services	2000
E. Aryeetey	Globalization, employment and poverty reduction: A case study of Ghana	Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research (ISSER)	2005
C. D. Jebuni and A. D. Oduro (eds.)	African imperatives in the new world order. A case study of Ghana	AERC and CEPA	2007
E. Aryeetey and R. Kanbur (eds.)	The economy of Ghana. Analytical perspectives on stability, growth and poverty	James Currey & Woeli Publishing Services	2008
W. Baah-Boateng	Labour market discrimination in Ghana: A gender dimension	Lambert Academic Publishing	2012

Ghana and Africa (Kimble 1969). After 65 years of teaching and studying economics, measures are yet to be initiated to encourage and reward effort in the production of economics textbooks at the tertiary level based on local content and examples in the country. Not only does the use of foreign textbooks in the teaching and study of economics make it difficult for students to comprehend the content of the lecture; it also makes it difficult for them to relate to the issues under discussion.

Ghanaian students in the 1950s and 1960s had to rely on foreign textbooks from Britain and America for a thorough grounding in economic principles due largely to the University’s affiliation to University of London. As time went on, some lecturers quickly developed a Ghanaian-oriented method in their teaching. One of them, upon persuasion, produced a little *Introduction to Economics* which was found to be the first introductory textbook in economics written specially for African readers (Kimble 1969). Jones Ofori-Atta produced a textbook, *Introduction to Microeconomics* which has become a widely-used textbook on principles of microeconomics. Some other economics books tailored to local needs have been produced (see Table 8.1). Three books authored by A. Baah-Nuakoh focus on the structure and performance of the Ghanaian economy and use both descriptive and

quantitative approaches in the analysis and have been a major reference point for academics and students at all levels. In 2000 Aryeetey et al. published an edited book that was to provide a comprehensive perspective and analysis of developments that had taken place since the 1966 publication by Birmingham et al. The book is a collection of papers by Ghanaian and foreign academics that has been a reference point for students, teachers and policy-makers. Aryeetey (ed.) (2005) also edited a collection of research output by Ghanaian researchers that provides insights into issues of employment and poverty reduction in Ghana in response to globalization. Baah-Boateng (2012) provides a comprehensive analysis of labour market discrimination in Ghana from a gender perspective as a reference point for academics, students, policy-makers and gender activists. Nonetheless, the teaching of core subjects in economics (microeconomics, macroeconomics, and econometrics) at all levels in tertiary institutions is still largely based on textbooks written by foreign authors from their economic contexts.

Theses and Dissertations

Research into economic issues as in other disciplines at the student's level in tertiary institutions is captured by the project work undertaken by students at the tail end of their course of study in the form of long essays, dissertations and thesis. The choice of economic issue to research into by the student is often influenced by a combination of factors including the burning economic issues on the ground, student's interest and the expertise and interest of the faculty to guide and supervise the student's work. Theses in economics in Ghana are mostly applied and this has remained unchanged over the years. Indeed, in most universities in the developing world including Ghana, researchers often employ secondary or primary data to existing theories using relevant methodology to confirm existing theories or otherwise.

The fundamental change observed in terms of thesis writing in the field of economics has been a shift from the dominance of more micro and targeted sectoral issues to macroeconomic and financial issues. Master's theses in economics produced before the 1980s were largely micro-based focusing on specific industries or sectors of the economy. Some of the theses written in the 1970s focused on the garment industry, the timber industry, tobacco farming, selected manufacturing industries, women's labour force participation, employment and unemployment, and public policy and fiscal issues (see Table 8.2). The focus of theses changed towards macroeconomic issues from the 1980s, largely in line with economic reforms (Economic Recovery Programme and Structural Adjustment Programme) introduced in 1983 to salvage the Ghanaian economy from total collapse. Some of the thesis areas since the 1990s include government expenditure and economic growth, monetary controls, exchange rate policies, debt burden and balance of payments, and foreign direct investment. The SAP/ERP focused on macroeconomic stabilization and the liberalization of the foreign exchange market and trade regime. Upon the introduction of the economic reforms in Ghana, research conducted by some faculty

Table 8.2 Distribution of M. Phil theses in economics, 1971–2006. (Source: Compiled from the list of theses in the Department of Economics, University of Ghana)

Year	Fiscal	Trade	Industry	Labour and employment	Money and finance	Macro and Int. finance	Health	Environment and natural resource	Poverty and development	Quantitative	Agriculture and water supply
1971			2	1					1		
1973				1						1	
1974	1	2									
1977			2								2
1978	1		1								
1980	3	1									
1981						1			1		
1982	1		1								
1983					1						
1991	1		1		1						
1992		1									
1993	1	1			1	1					
1994		1			1	1					
1995	1	1		1		3					1
1996	2	1	1		3	2	2				
1997		1			1	2					
1998	1				1	2	1	1			
1999	2			1	5	2	1	1			1
2000		1		1	4	4	1				
2001		1		1	4	2	1				
2002	2	1	1		1	3	2				
2003	3	2			6		1				
2004	1	1			5	1	2	2	2		1
2005	1	2	1		4	3					
2006	1	1	1	1	3		2				
Total	22	19	8	9	41	27	10	7	4	2	5

members concentrated on economic issues bordering on stability in the foreign exchange and financial markets, trade liberalization, fiscal management and monetary control with the view to ensuring domestic price stability and economic growth. With the research interest of the supervisor and the student as well as burning issues in the economy being an important consideration in selecting thesis topics, it was not surprising that issues based on the economic reform became the main focus of post-graduate theses.

The changing trend in the theses areas over the years has been informed by a number of factors including the range of electives offered, research interest and expertise of faculty and global economic research and policy trends. Expertise and research interest in the area of money and finance, macroeconomics and international finance, health, environmental and natural resource economics improved considerably from the 1990s. The introduction of electives courses such as environmental and natural resource economics, health economics, and recently labour economics locally and at the JFE has enhanced the interest of students in these areas.

Challenges in the Teaching of Economics in Ghana

One fundamental constraint to the study and teaching of economics at the tertiary level over the years has been the reliance on foreign textbooks with limited local content. While the theories are invariably the same (although not necessarily applicable) universally, some of the illustrations and examples used in the texts are often found to be alien to the Ghanaian environment, making it difficult for students to effectively and easily relate to them. The nature, structure and characteristics of economic institutions are not the same. Take for example, a chapter on the money supply process in a standard North American text. The institutional framework for the conduct of monetary policy in Ghana is different from that of the US. Thus, it becomes quite difficult for students to follow the discussion on monetary policy when reference is made to the conduct of monetary policy by the US Federal Reserve.

In addition, some of the economics concepts were developed based on the economic structure of countries in the developed world and cannot be easily situated within the Ghanaian context. For instance, students do not find it easy to appreciate that jobless people who are available for work but fail to actively seek work during a reference period are not classified as unemployed because even though they may be jobless they failed to seek work. Clearly, unemployment is a phenomenon of job seeking out of joblessness.

The teaching of economics in Ghana suffered a setback in the 1980s due to the exodus of academics and other professionals to Nigeria, Cote d'Ivoire, North America and European countries, which started in the late 1970s. This caused the suspension of the MSc (Economics) programme in 1983. As a result, no student from the University of Ghana's Department of Economics submitted a master's thesis between 1984 and 1990 (see Table 8.2). The suspended master's programme

was re-introduced in 1987/1988 as an MPhil. programme upon the return and recruitment of new Ph.D. holders.

The increasing use of quantitative techniques to explain economic phenomena has tended to discourage many students who would love to pursue a career in economics. In 2006, the AERC funded two studies in Ghana and Liberia to find out why women were under-represented in graduate programmes and in the research community. The study found that in Ghana among the sample of final year students in three of the country's five public universities, the majority of both female and male students found economics to be challenging (Oduro 2010). For some undergraduate female students the decision to pursue a postgraduate degree in another subject was because they found economics challenging or difficult. Students who are not well equipped in mathematics are often discouraged from pursuing economics. Even those who are found to be quantitatively inclined and have the opportunity to pursue a course of study in economics based on their performance in mathematics at the senior high school level choose to select areas that have limited quantitative content when they later realize their weakness in quantitative techniques. There are instances when students who have been selected to pursue a single-major in economics in Level 300 based on their performance in Level 200 opt for a combined-major with the view to avoiding coming in contact with Applied Mathematics and Statistics for Economists in Level 300 and Econometrics in the final year.

In addition, the breakdown in the tutorial system due largely to large class sizes does not facilitate effective instruction. The tutorial system was quite effective from the 1950s until the mid-1990s when students' population soared. As pointed out by one of the interviewees, between 1950 and mid-1970s, lecturers were handling tutorials themselves in their offices, largely because of the small class size. As the number of students in the class increased, teaching assistants and national service persons took over tutorials. Over the past one and a half decades, the tutorial system in economics has virtually collapsed. Students identified the infrequency of tutorials and the large class sizes as challenges to their study of economics (Oduro 2010). These challenges continue to hamper effective teaching and learning of economics at the University of Ghana, in particular, and Ghana in general.

Economic Research in Ghana

Introduction

Within the context of developments in Ghana's economy and the evolution of ideas and methodologies within the broad economics discipline, this section assesses the trends in economic research in Ghana. We also review the role and relevance of collaborative and multi-disciplinary research and how these have influenced economic research in Ghana. In reviewing the research output within the economics discipline, our main objective is to distil the changes that have occurred over the

years, factors that have influenced these changes, and the challenges and opportunities associated with economic research in Ghana. We also identify lessons that can be drawn and the implications for the way forward in our quest for excellence in economic research.

The books, papers, and studies that form the basis of the review are largely drawn from the following:

1. Books by economists based in Ghana.
2. Articles in various issues of the Economic Bulletin of Ghana (EBG).
3. Legon Economic Studies (LES) papers of the Department of Economics, University of Ghana.
4. Technical and Discussion papers of the Institute of Statistical, Social, and Economic Research (ISSER), University of Ghana.
5. Publications of institutions such as the Bank of Ghana, and the Centre for Policy Analysis (CEPA).
6. Other articles/papers by Ghana-based economists.
7. PhD (Economics) theses.

Fields of economics covered by these studies include microeconomics, macroeconomics, econometrics, international economics, monetary economics, labour economics, public finance, development economics, mathematical economics, and agricultural economics.

Economic Research in Ghana—Features and Trends

General Overview

Economic research in Ghana has covered numerous themes and has employed diverse methodological approaches. The themes covered include economic history, macroeconomic developments and policy, poverty and well-being, international trade and finance, political economy, agriculture, the labour market, and public finance. While there are various ways of categorizing the studies, it is helpful to group them on the basis of whether they are essentially microeconomic or macroeconomic in nature. In this respect, while both the microeconomic and macroeconomic studies include articles, books, theses, and other unpublished papers, it does appear that with the possible exception of textbooks, books by Ghana-based economists tend to focus on macroeconomic issues. This trend for Ghana is not very different from what pertains in the economics discipline generally.

Presumably, the main reason why macroeconomic themes dominate books on economics meant for a general audience is the fact that topical economic issues tend to be macroeconomic in nature. This is largely because non-economists and the general public tend to identify more with the macroeconomic dimension of economic issues. Thus, issues such as unemployment, inflation, the interest rate, and the exchange rate are typically the economic issues that capture the concern and interest

of the general public, and therefore find space in public discourse. Even for issues that are not inherently macroeconomic (for example, poverty and inequality) their macroeconomic aspects tend to lend themselves more easily to being explained to a general readership, arguably because they tend to be less technical, that is relative to their microeconomic aspects.

It should be noted that the range of variety of topics that have characterized economic research in Ghana has been impressive. The following list provides a flavour of the variety of topics that have enriched the economics literature in Ghana: inflation; unemployment; the taxation of cocoa income; the economics of Ghana's road transport system; economic policy in Ghana; poverty and wellbeing; gender and assets; migration and remittances; education; economic growth; and inequality. In our view, however, economic studies in Ghana have usually relied mainly on the analysis of quantitative data, with econometric techniques as a major methodological tool. It would be useful though for economic studies in Ghana to supplement quantitative analyses with the analysis of qualitative data.

Economic research in Ghana has largely been empirical. Many of these empirical studies, especially the macroeconomic ones, employ time series data. Indeed until the 1980s, time series analyses appeared to dominate Ghana's economic research landscape. Given the relatively few cross-sectional or panel datasets available prior to the 1980s, the preponderance, then, of time series analysis is not surprising. Since the 1980s, however, there has been a significant increase in the number of studies that employ nationally representative cross-sectional data. Factors accounting for this development will be discussed shortly. At this point it would be instructive to highlight some of the cardinal features of economic research in Ghana during specific time periods.

Features of Economic Research in Ghana in the 1960s and 1970s

In the 1960s and 1970s economic research in Ghana was characterized by an exciting array of diverse topics, with many of these studies relying heavily on economic principles and theory to analyze issues. In spite of the rich array of economic issues covered in this era, there was a limitation on the extent to which quantitative microeconomic analyses of issues affecting households could be carried out. This was due to the unavailability of nationally representative household survey data. There was also a dearth of theoretical research, but as implied earlier, this is not a peculiarity of this particular time period.

One other issue that merits attention is the role played by the existence of the reputable Economic Bulletin of Ghana. This journal, now defunct, was a vehicle for the dissemination of the findings of interesting and valuable economic research in Ghana. It does appear that the affiliation of the journal to the Department of Economics, University of Ghana, served to motivate a number of the department's faculty to make submissions to the journal, a development that promoted economic research. Accepted articles covered a wide range of subject areas in economics. There were articles on economic development, labour and demographic studies, trade, educa-

tion, renewable resources and conservation and agriculture, for example. In 1974 J. L. S. Abbey and C. S. Clark published an article entitled “A Macroeconometric Model of the Ghanaian Economy, 1965–1969”. The devaluation of the cedi in 1972 generated a healthy debate and in 1975 the journal published “Devaluation—The Prelude to self-reliance in Ghana” by J. Ofori-Atta. In 1974, T. E. Mswaka published “Tariff Structure and Economic Cooperation between Liberia and Sierra Leone,” and in 1972 T. A. Oyejide published “The ‘Spill-Over’ Effect of Domestic Credit Creation on the Demand for Imports: A Note on the Nigerian Experience, 1970–1971.” Thus even though the *Economic Bulletin of Ghana* was a Ghanaian journal, it was international in its content and perspective. In addition to scholarly articles, the journal included book reviews (see, for example, Ofori-Atta 1968). The Economic Society of Ghana, the publisher of the journal was vibrant and reports on the activities of the society were published regularly.²

While economic research in Ghana during the 1960s and 1970s often employed econometric and mathematical techniques, the prevailing technological and computational constraints naturally had a bearing on the depth and variety of quantitative analysis that was feasible. On the whole, given the computational constraints at the time, the level and variety of quantitative analysis carried out during the period is commendable.

Economic Research in Ghana in the 1980s and Beyond

In the post-1980 era, economic research in Ghana has maintained the general pattern of a concentration in empirical analysis. A major feature of economic research in this era, especially in the 1980s and 1990s, was the prevalence of studies that assessed the macroeconomic reforms and/or analyzed issues relating to the economy’s challenges and prospects. Thus, while Baah-Nuakoh et al. (1996) did a study on export diversification, Jebuni et al. (1992) undertook an evaluation of Ghana’s trade regime, comparing the pre and post-ERP period and linking this to the economy’s performance in the external trade sector. Other studies include an analysis of fiscal deficits, output growth, and inflation targets in Ghana (Sowa 1994a) and an edited volume by Aryeetey et al. (2000) that assessed Ghana’s economic performance.

Regarding the Legon Economic Studies series, the studies covered both micro-economic and macroeconomic themes. The microeconomic themes include the demand for ante-natal healthcare services (Ayivor 1994), factor intensities in Ghana’s manufacturing sector (Baah-Nuakoh 1982), obstacles to growth of manufacturing firms (Baah-Nuakoh 1994), and moonlighting activities in the Canadian labour market (Boateng 1983). The macroeconomic themes, on the other hand, include economic growth (Tsikata 1996), economic research and policy (Anyemedu 1994), governance and economic performance (Sowa 1994b), money demand (Akoena 1996), monetary policy (Antwi-Asare 1994) and money and banking (Gockel 1996).

² Ablo (1972).

Many other studies have been carried out by economists at the University of Ghana's Department of Economics. These studies have covered themes and sub-disciplines such as health economics (e.g. Nketiah-Amponsah 2009; Owoo and Lambon-Quayefio 2013), firms' access to credit (e.g. Osei-Assibey 2013), educational inequality (Senadza 2012; Boakye-Yiadom 2013), labour economics (Baah-Boateng 2012), gender and asset ownership (Oduro et al. 2011), environmental economics (e.g. Twerefou and Ababio 2012), migration and remittances (e.g. Boakye-Yiadom 2008), and impact evaluation (see Antwi-Asare et al. 2010).

The implementation of the ERP and the SAP brought in its wake concerns about the effects of these policies on poverty and inequality. The study of these effects, however, often requires large microeconomic datasets. It is therefore gratifying that the post-1980 era has witnessed a surge in the number of microeconomic empirical studies that utilize large datasets. Many of these studies examine various aspects of well-being and livelihoods, such as poverty, inequality, migration, remittances, health, and education. Other microeconomic studies in this category focus on an analysis of firm activities.

This increase in the volume of microeconomic studies employing large datasets has been influenced mainly by the availability of a number of microeconomic datasets. Notable among these datasets are those from the various waves of the Ghana Living Standards Survey (GLSS). These surveys are a series of nationally representative household surveys on various aspects of living conditions. The first wave of the survey (GLSS1) was carried out in 1987/1988 and the fifth (most recently completed) was carried out in 2005/2006. In this connection, it is worth mentioning that GLSS 6 (the sixth wave) was begun in September 2012. Other large microeconomic datasets that have contributed to the growth in microeconomic research in Ghana include the Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) datasets, data from various waves of the Regional Project on Enterprise Development (RPED) & Ghana Manufacturing Enterprise Survey (GME) surveys, the Ghana Household Asset Survey and the surveys conducted by the Institute for Statistical, Social and Economic Research (ISSER) at the University of Ghana.

The availability of these large microeconomic datasets, coupled with the tremendous advancement in information and communication technology (ICT), has facilitated an increase in research into numerous aspects of living conditions, such as poverty and inequality, education, employment, migration, remittances, and health (for examples, see Asenso-Okyere et al. 1998; Appiah-Kubi et al. 2008; Boakye-Yiadom 2008; Ackah and Medvedev 2010; Oduro et al. 2011). These datasets have further enhanced the scope for the economic analysis of issues that are often neglected by economists. These issues include spousal violence, decision-making, and child fostering.

In addition to the highlighted features of economic research in Ghana in the post-1980 period, there are two comments that should be made. The first is about the role of the African Economic Research Consortium (AERC) in promoting economic research in Ghana, and in Africa, in general. The granting of funds and support, by the AERC, for economic research in Africa has become an important avenue for stimulating economic research in Ghana (for example, see Aryeetey (1992); Jebuni

Table 8.3 Proportion (%) of multi-authored papers in eight leading journals. (Source: Hudson 1996)

Journal	1950–1993	1950–1965	1966–1970	1970–1974	1974–1993
All eight journals	26.4	10.9	22.8	25.1	40.0
Quantitative journals	30.8	13.8	30.8	33.2	44.2
British journals	24.5	9.4	20.2	23.0	37.6
American generalist journals	25.5	10.4	20.0	21.7	39.5

et al. (1994); Osei (1995)). Faculty at the Department of Economics, University of Ghana, have benefitted also from collaboration with what used to be the Overseas Development Agency (ODA) (now DfID), and funding from the MDG3 Fund of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The second point relates to the apparent increase in the number of multi-authored academic work in economics.³ Given the importance and intriguing nature of this issue, we provide a discussion in the next sub-section, taking into account the prevalence of the phenomenon in the economics discipline worldwide.

Collaborative Economic Research

One of the interesting aspects of economic research in Ghana is the degree to which collaborative research is prevalent. Although complete statistics are not currently available, our preliminary checks suggest that collaborative economic research is on the ascendancy in Ghana. For example, using information on articles published in the Economic Bulletin of Ghana between 1966 and 1975, roughly 10% of articles were authored by two or more persons. A similar analysis of ISSER technical publications shows that over the period 1968–1989, joint authorships of economics papers accounted for about 22% of the articles. Even though none of the Legon Economic Studies papers, spanning 1981–1996, was jointly authored, joint authorship of economic papers is arguably on the increase in Ghana.

At this point it is instructive to observe that the economics discipline has experienced a surge in joint-authorship of articles over the past several decades (Hudson 1996). As shown by Hudson (1996), the increase in the proportion of multi-authored papers cuts across all eight leading journals⁴ analyzed in his study (see Table 8.3). Interestingly, this development has been a subject of economic analysis (see Barnett et al. 1988; Piette and Ross 1992; Hudson 1996). A number of hypotheses have been proposed to explain the phenomenon. These include the division of labour and specialization hypothesis, the opportunity cost of time hypothesis, the quality hypothesis, and the diversification hypothesis (Table 8.3).

³ The phenomenon is probably not confined to the discipline of economics.

⁴ The journals are American Economic Review, Economic Journal, Econometrica, Review of Economics and Statistics, Review of Economic Studies, Journal of Political Economy, Quarterly Journal of Economics, and *Economica*.

According to the division of labour and specialization hypothesis, joint-authorship in economics has increased mainly because the growth in the discipline has generated many sub-disciplines, and this often means that research efficiency requires joint-authorship, with each author focusing on a particular component(s) of the work. For many academic institutions these days, the promotion of faculty is critically dependent on the number and quality of their publications. To the extent that this development has considerably increased the opportunity cost of researchers' time, it has implications for the price one has to pay in order to obtain an informal peer review of a manuscript. Thus, the opportunity cost hypothesis asserts that a simple "Thank you" or an acknowledgement in a footnote is increasingly becoming inadequate for eliciting the kind of meticulous review from academic colleagues that would considerably enhance the quality of a paper. In view of this, according to the opportunity cost hypothesis, the offering of co-authorship is often the equilibrium price for a thorough informal review of papers (see Barnett et al. 1988). According to the quality hypothesis, the increase in co-authorship of economics papers is driven by the increased competition for journal space. It argues therefore, that since the co-authorship of a paper by the right mix of authors enhances the paper's chances of being published by a reputable journal, there is an incentive for researchers to seek collaboration. Finally, the diversification hypothesis argues that there is a large random element in journals' editorial review process. As a result, within a given period of time (e.g. 2 years) a researcher risks not getting any publication. In this context, co-authorship is a natural attempt by academics to increase their publishable outputs per period, thereby diversifying their portfolio of journal submissions in order to reduce risk and uncertainty.

The above hypotheses are all plausible explanations for the apparent increase in co-authorship of economics papers in Ghana. Significantly, there is a tendency, in contemporary times, for funders of research to require collaboration, sometimes across disciplines. We believe this has further contributed to the growth of collaborative economic research in Ghana. An example of a multi-disciplinary collaborative research involving economists is the project on Chronic Poverty and Vulnerability in Ghana, which was carried out by economists, sociologists, and a geographer.

Challenges and Opportunities Associated with Economic Research in Ghana

The challenges confronting economic research in Ghana are numerous, but surmountable. Since most economics researchers are based in the universities, it is important to mention the challenge posed by rising class sizes. This inevitably imposes huge constraints on the time of lecturers, especially with respect to the assessment of students and the supervision of student research.

There is also the constraint posed by the competition for research funds. In view of the keen competition for the limited funds available for economic research, the requirements of funding institutions tend to be exceptionally high. Such high

requirements often mean that considerable time and effort need to be invested in the writing of excellent proposals if one is to have a credible chance of winning any grant. Given the challenge of large class sizes and the related heavy research supervision load, many academics are often unable to attract adequate funding for economic research.

The above constraints notwithstanding, there is a sense in which the opportunities for economic research in Ghana can be described as immense. A major reason for this assertion is the increasing availability of data, especially microeconomic data, in the case of Ghana. There is also the massive boost in economists' capacity for analyzing large datasets owing to the emergence of more powerful econometric and statistical software. Thus, with this improvement in data availability and software technology, it is possible to carry out certain kinds of economic research without a grant, the main constraint here being time. Regarding the availability of data, it is worth emphasizing that economic researchers in Ghana would benefit from broadening their country focus to include countries for which relevant data exist.

The massive technological advancement in computer technology and ICT offers a huge boost to economic researchers in Ghana, and indeed to researchers worldwide. With the emergence of the Internet, it is now possible to access data, literature, and information that researchers, a few decades ago, could only fantasize about. Furthermore, with the increased capacity for communicating via email, mobile phones, Skype, and video conferencing, researchers' capacity and opportunities for collaborative research have increased dramatically. For example, researchers can co-author a paper without physically meeting.

Additionally, although student research supervision does impose considerable constraints on academics' time, it can be an avenue for churning out joint publications, i.e., by the student and the supervisor(s). It must be stressed, however, that for this to be efficient, there should be an effective system for ensuring that the research topics of graduate students are closely linked to the research interests and/or expertise of faculty. Such an arrangement is likely to improve the quality of supervision and enhance the publication profile of lecturers.

The Links Between Policy-Makers and Academia

Seneca, a teacher and advisor to Nero, the Roman emperor was of the opinion that academics must use their knowledge for the public good. The academic could be excused from this obligation due to ill-health or old age, if the services of the academic are refused by the state or the state is so corrupt that it is not capable of benefitting from the advice of academics. This obligation of academics to put their knowledge to good use thus requires that there are links or bridges between academia and policy-makers.

In this section we shall examine the links between economists in academia and policy-makers in Ghana and how research findings are disseminated to policy-makers. Although we acknowledge that there have been links between the two spanning

the years since the establishment of the departments of economics in Ghana, in this section we shall use the Department of Economics of the University of Ghana as a case study. We will examine how the links are created between economists in academia and policy-makers, how the links are utilized and the outcome for both policy-makers and academia. We use information collected from a sample of former and current lecturers of the Department of Economics at the time of the survey, as well as insights from some policy-makers.

The Creation of Links

Links between policy-makers and academia can be created at the instance of the policy-maker or the academic or due to the initiative of a third party. Policy-makers have different mechanisms that they can use to establish links with academia. Government can establish an institution that provides funding for research. Access to the resources can be by competitive bidding on research topics and themes that have been decided by the institution using clearly defined procedures. Two examples of such institutions are the National Science Foundation (NSF) of the USA and the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) of the United Kingdom. These bodies promote research with several objectives, including improving upon the economic competitiveness of their respective countries and to inform policy. Ghana does not have a similar institution that provides regular funding to social scientists to promote research that will push forward the knowledge frontier or be utilized by policy-makers to inform policy.

There are other mechanisms available to policy-makers to establish links with academia. These are commissioned research, invitations to participate in brainstorming sessions, to prepare policy documents and to join technical and advisory teams. In Ghana, policy-makers have initiated links with economists in academia using the latter set of mechanisms. Academics worked with officials of the National Development Planning Commission to prepare major policy documents such as the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (GPRS I) and the Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (GPRS II). In particular, academics were members of the technical teams that prepared the annual progress reports of the implementation of the GPRS I and II. They have been members of technical teams that formulated pension reforms, financial sector reforms, trade policies and policies on child labour. Some lecturers of the Department of Economics have spent a stint working with government during their sabbatical leave.

Academics also reach out to policy-makers, thus creating links between them. Policy-makers have been invited by lecturers in the Department of Economics, University of Ghana to participate in research projects. In some instances this is because the topic being researched required the participation of a policy-maker. In other instances a third party, i.e. the funding agency of the research project, required the participation of policy-makers in the project. Policy-makers performed a number of roles as members of the research team, ranging from providing analytical input, participating in the preparation of the research output or playing an advisory role.

Another set of actors who are important in the Ghanaian policy arena are the development partners and non-governmental organizations. Some researchers have received funding from these agencies to undertake research and short-term consultancies and this has created opportunities to link up with policy-makers. Academics have also spent a stint working with these organizations.

Dissemination

If research findings are to be utilized by policy-makers, the findings must reach the policy-makers, be read by them and understood by them. Policy-makers must be involved in discussions with academics about their research findings and the research findings must be relevant to policy-makers (Knott and Wildavsky 1980). The most frequently used means whereby researchers in the Department of Economics, University of Ghana, make their research findings available to policy-makers is by sending them copies of the research findings, synthesizing the research findings into a policy brief and inviting policy-makers to dissemination seminars. Other (not frequently used) means are the preparation of a short piece for publication in the media and posting the research findings on the web page of the researcher.

Utilization of Research Findings and Policy Impact

Lecturers of the Department have seen their policy advice and the output of their commissioned research translated into policy documents and implemented. Examples of such positive impact are in the area of reforms of the Social Security and National Insurance Trust and provisions of the Ghana Labour Act. In one instance the findings of the research were an input into the budget of one of the Ministries and in another instance the recommendations are being implemented by the Ministry. Almost all researchers (i.e., in our survey) who had spent a stint working with government mentioned that their ability to influence policy was constrained by already determined paradigms. According to one researcher "Some policy-makers or development partners can be inflexible on some issues."

It is important to distinguish between commissioned research and non-commissioned research. The issues of relevance and utilization of research findings do not apply to the former since the research is conducted at the request of the policy-maker and the terms of reference are defined by them. Policy-makers gave a mixed response to the question on the relevance of non-commissioned research. Not all non-commissioned research was relevant to their work. There were mixed responses concerning whether the presentation of the findings of non-commissioned research was too technical. Research findings may not be utilized if clear policy options are not provided.

Impact on the Researcher

The academic is unlikely to be unaffected by interactions with policy-makers and there can be some positive synergies for the academic. Spending a stint working with government can keep the academic economist in close touch with policy developments and the reality associated with policy-making. According to one lecturer, working with government resulted in a “more broadened outlook on economic thinking with a lot of actual practical experience.” The experience gained by working with government can provide the researcher with relevant and practical experiences to buttress points made whilst teaching. According to another lecturer, “My students appreciated my real world insights and examples.”

Similar positive experiences were recounted by lecturers who worked with development partners. Working with development partners widened the network with other academics, improved access to data and built on the analytical and skill capacity of researchers. One researcher came away with a “more nuanced outlook on the impact of economic policy.”

Conclusion

The depth and scope of economics have evolved over the years as economists have applied the tools of the discipline to a wide array of issues. In the process, there have been notable changes in thematic emphasis and methodology. In Ghana, the discipline of economics has witnessed changes in teaching and research, while the links between researchers and policy-makers continue to register modest gains. Factors underlying most of the changes observed include increasing specialization, the increased application of mathematics and quantitative techniques, the remarkable advancement in ICT and software technology, and the growing interaction with other disciplines such as sociology and psychology.

Bridges have been built between policy-makers and academics in Ghana, and academics have had some influence on policy design. There is concern among some policy-makers that not all research findings are relevant or accessible, and that this explains why they are not utilized. This raises the question of whether all research has to be policy relevant and whether the researcher cannot have the luxury to undertake research that pushes the knowledge frontier, but does not have direct or immediate policy relevance. The answer is that each academic needs to determine that balance between policy relevant research and research that is of purely academic interest at that moment in time. What is missing in Ghana is an institutional framework that provides government with cutting edge research on issues that it considers relevant. Such an institution will strengthen even further the links between policy and economic research and the positive synergies that exist between the two.

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Chapter 9

The Vicissitudes of Political Science in Ghana

Joseph R. A. Ayee and Maame A. A. Gyekye-Jandoh

Introduction

The discipline of Political Science has had an intriguing burgeoning since its global introduction with the works of its founding fathers, namely, Plato (380 BC) and his student, Aristotle (365 BC), Laski (1951, 1960) and Lasswell (1958, 1963). This burgeoning is due to the fact that the discipline touches the life of everybody in the world, rich or poor. From its origin of using formal institutional approach, which was criticized as legalistic, descriptive, prescriptive and based on institutions and structures to its modern day approach based on behaviouralism and science to human behaviour and outcomes, Political Science has had a dynamic stance and following with several nuances and specializations. The scientific and behavioural approach has impacted, changing the character of the discipline from a largely normative to a largely empirical direction.

The vicissitudes of the discipline has been influenced by the following: the several concepts such as the state, power, authority, legitimacy, sovereignty, democracy, governance, leadership, conflict, identities, policy, globalization and development; the methods employed by political scientists; empirical data generated which covers the national and local state, democracy and governance, comparative and developmental politics; and its policy relevance largely preoccupied with the “good society,” education for citizenship and achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

Against this backdrop, this chapter discusses the four key indicators that have dominated academic and professional debate over the vicissitudes of the discipline of Political Science in both Ghana and other countries. They are as follows:

J. R. A. Ayee (✉)
MountCrest University College, Accra, Ghana
e-mail: jraayee@yahoo.com

M. A. A. Gyekye-Jandoh
Department of Political Science, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

- i. Ideology and philosophy.
- ii. Methods.
- iii. Empirical/substance.
- iv. Policy relevance.

Before we deal with these indicators, it is appropriate at this point to discuss the evolution of the discipline in Ghana and curricula transformation undertaken, which also reflect the vicissitudes.

The Evolution of Political Science in Ghana

As a discipline, Political Science became part of the programme structure of the University of Ghana, Legon in the late 1950s and was attached to the Department of Economics. It was only from the mid-1960s that it became a separate Department with its own head, staff and students. From its humble beginnings at the university, it has grown to become one of the largest departments in the University of Ghana in terms of staff and student numbers. In 2011, for instance, the Department of Political Science has over 20 academic staff and 5,500 students. In addition, the Department runs BA, M. Phil and programmes. Its programmes have largely concentrated on five specializations or subfields of Political Science, namely (i) Political Theory; (ii) Political Research and Methodology; (iii) Comparative and Developmental Politics; (iv) International Relations; and (v) Public Administration and Public Policy.

In the early 1970s, the Department of Political Science was divided on ideological grounds with the return of some young scholars who had obtained their PhD from universities in Europe and the US. This division, however, promoted scholarship and healthy debate at departmental seminars and workshops over developmental issues and challenges. In addition, admission of students to the department was rigorous particularly in the 1960s and this had discouraged some students from reading the discipline.¹

For a very long time, the discipline used to be taught at the Department of Political Science, University of Ghana. In fact, academic staff of the department proudly used to say that the “Department of Political Science is the only one in the country.” Even when the discipline was introduced on a limited scale in the early 1970s at the then University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, a lecturer from the Department of Political Science was assigned to teach it. With the production of more graduate students from the 1990s by the Department of Political Science, the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST) and the University of Education, Winneba have departments dedicated to teaching the discipline, thus mainstreaming the discipline in the regular programmes. The KNUST, for example, now has several interesting courses in Political Science from the first to fourth years

¹ In an informal discussion with Joseph Ayee in 2007a, b a former Registrar of the University of Ghana, Teddy Konu recollected his desire to read Political Science in the late 1960s but was not allowed to do so by the then Head of Department.

in the Department of History and Political Studies. In the first year, Introduction to Political Studies I and II, as well as African Political Systems I and II are taught. Second year political science courses that are offered range from Elements of Government, Political Thought, Economic Thought, and Law and Political Process to The Politics of International Law. In the third year of the Political Studies programme, students get to take Research Techniques in Political Studies, the Study of Comparative Politics, Public Administration, Political Economy of Ghana, Politics and the Media, Political Change and Development, and Government and Planning, while fourth/final year students are exposed to courses such as Modern Political Analysis, Political Process in Ghana, Regionalism and International Organizations in World Politics, Political Parties and Pressure Groups, Technology and Politics, and Problems in Modern Democracy, among others.

It is, however, instructive to note that none of the numerous private universities in Ghana have modules or courses in Political Science because of their mandate to pursue courses mainly in business administration, religion and theology for the job market rather than produce “generalist or liberal arts or social sciences” graduates, whose students do not have the necessary skills and competencies for the job market and therefore unemployable. For example, a private university like the Methodist University College in Ghana offers a general arts course in its Department of General Studies that covers Political Science topics like governance and development. This is the ‘Contemporary Issues’ course that deals with issues of governance, gender, human rights, and alternative dispute resolution.

Curricula Transformation in Political Science

Curricula transformation of the discipline globally at both undergraduate and graduate levels underscored its vicissitudes. The traditional focus of Political Science was largely based on political theory and thought (the state, power, authority, legitimacy, sovereignty, rights, liberty, equality, pluralism, law and morality, political obligation), political sociology (development and underdevelopment, modernization, social change, political culture, political socialization, political participation, political recruitment and political communication); organization of government (constitution and constitutionalism, separation of powers and checks and balances, the three arms of government, namely, the executive, legislature and judiciary, unicameralism and bicameralism, bureaucracy; forms of government (aristocracy, dictatorship, totalitarian, democracy, federal and unity system of government, presidential and parliamentary system, party system), international politics; and public administration (Easton 1975).

However, global changes occasioned by the two World Wars in 1914–1918 and 1939–1945, decolonization and self-determination, identities, eradication of poverty, equality, the international economic order, military rule, terrorism, governance and the role of multilateral and bilateral institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) have led to some changes and emphasis on the

discipline's orientation and outlook. Accordingly, some of the topics that have featured prominently in the curricula of Political Science in most universities, particularly those in Africa, include public policy issues, state capacity, political economy, the military in politics, conflict, human rights, security, transitional justice, regionalism, identities mostly in the areas of religion, gender, youth and refugees, neocolonialism, globalization, good governance, democracy, decentralization and social capital. In addition, there has been increasing interest in methodological issues with emphasis shifting from qualitative to quantitative analysis.² In both the old and new curricula, students were required to write a project work at the undergraduate level while theses and dissertations were required at the graduate level.

In Ghana, curricula transformation was not only influenced by international trends but also national and university imperatives. At the undergraduate level, the 3-year degree structure divided into Terms (Michaelmas, Lent and Trinity Terms) and not semesters of the University of Ghana influenced the curriculum in three ways. First, there were limited electives for the students since almost all the courses were compulsory. The total number of courses that a student majoring in Political Science was allowed to take was 10, two at first year and four each in the second and third year. Consequently, the total number of courses in the department at the time was not more than 15. Second and by implication, there were no prerequisites courses. Third, courses taught covered one year based on the three-term periods into which the university calendar was divided. First year courses in Political Science include *Introduction to Government and Politics in Africa* and *Elements of Political Science*. Year Two courses include *Contemporary African Politics*, *Public Administration*, *Techniques of Social Research*, *International Politics* and *Ancient and Medieval Political Thought*. In the third year, students were exposed to courses such as *Comparative Politics*, *Political Sociology*, *Social and Political Theory*. In addition, students majoring in Political Science, in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the award of the Bachelor of Arts (BA) degree were mandatorily required to submit the Long Essay or project work and those combining Political Science and another discipline were also allowed to do the same if they were not writing it in the other discipline.

At the graduate level, some of the courses included the *Methodology of the Social Sciences*, the *Politics of the International Economy*, *The Military in Politics*, *Strategies of Development* and *Political Philosophy*. Students were allowed to take a total of eight courses in the first year and write a thesis in the second year. Like the undergraduate curricula, the graduate one was also limited in term of electives. There were two areas of concentration, namely, international politics and comparative politics, thus making it difficult for students to pursue options relating to their job opportunities and expectations. It therefore also suffered from the limitations associated with a degree structure based on Terms and not Semesters.

However, the introduction of the course credit semester system by the University of Ghana in the 1990s with the 4-year degree structure as a result of the Senior

² This emphasis on quantitative analysis is true of the curricula of most Political Science departments in the United States of America.

Secondary School (SSS) system marked a major curricula transformation. With the directive to all departments within the university to revise their curricula on the modular system, the department had to introduce *core* and *elective* courses, thereby significantly increasing the courses available to students from which to choose. Some of the existing courses were either split into two or renamed. In most cases, however, new courses were introduced. The key difference is that students majoring in Political Science are now required to take a minimum of 18 credits, that is, six courses and a maximum of 24, that is, eight courses per semester. Therefore, to graduate at the undergraduate level, a Political Science major will have to take a minimum total of 36 courses including four at Level 100 instead of the 10 courses previously.

Another significant development of the curricula transformation in the course credit system is the introduction of courses with Ghanaian bias unlike previously when the courses had African bias. For instance, the new curricula had courses such as *Government and Politics in Ghana I and II*, *Regional Politics and Local Government in Ghana* and *The Military in Politics* which were introduced in direct response to addressing national challenges. In spite of this, the course, *US Foreign Policy Towards Africa* was introduced to show the importance of US in global and national politics of African countries.

Furthermore, unlike previously three courses in methodology, namely, *Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Political Research* and *Methods of Political Research* for First and Second Semesters of Level 300 respectively and *Applied Political Research Statistics* for First Semester of Level 400. The rationale was to give the students more exposure and grounding to undertake research in their chosen topics in the course, Long Essay, which was renamed Independent Study.

A similar curricula reorganization exercise also occurred at the graduate level. *Core* and *elective* courses were introduced and the areas of specialization (areas of concentration) increased from the previous two to four, namely, Public Administration and Public Policy, Methodology, Comparative and Developmental Politics and International Politics. Some of the new courses include *Public Policy Analysis*, *Public Personnel Administration*, *Public Finance*, *Industrial Relations*, *Decentralization and Local Government*, *International Organizations*, *Peace and Conflict Studies* and *Strategies for Development in Africa*. It is instructive to note that one additional course, *Survey Research in Social Sciences* was added to the *Methodology in the Social Sciences*, one each in both semesters to enable students better understand how to write their thesis proposals.

Like previously, students take a minimum of four courses per semester with at least two of the courses coming from the students' area of concentration. The only difference is that students have more electives than previously. In addition, like previously, students are required to write their thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the Masters degree.

The doctoral programme has not undergone any significant changes except that doctoral students like their Masters counterparts are required to make seminar presentations per semester and got credits for them.

Table 9.1 Majority of courses offered at the Department of Political Science, 2013

Level 100	Level 200	Level 300	Level 400
Introduction to the study of Political Science	Introduction to Development Studies	Ancient and Medieval Political Thought	Political Economy of Africa's Development Since Independence
Basic Ideas and Concepts in Political Science	Introduction to Public Administration	Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Political Research	Applied Political Research
Political Institutions	Introduction to International Politics	Ghana From Colonialism to Independence	Politics of International Economic Relations
Introduction to State and Society Relations	Introduction to Comparative Politics	Organization Theory	Foreign Policy Analysis
		Public Policy Making	Post-Conflict Peace-building and Transitional Justice
		Modern Western Political Thought	Human Resource Management and Development
		Methods of Political Research	Social and Political Theory
		Issues in Comparative Politics	Electoral Politics and Democracy in Ghana
		Public Policy Process in Ghana	Issues in Africa's International Relations
		Africa and the Global System	Political and Economy Reform and Democracy in Africa
		Terrorism and Global Security	Politics and Bureaucracy in Africa
		International Organizations	Public Finance Administration
		State and Market in Africa	Politics in Developing Countries: West Africa
			Ghana's Foreign Policy

A second round of curricula transformation took place in 2007. In response to the University of Ghana's Strategic Plan which enjoins units to restructure their courses and programmes and make them innovative and demand-driven, further curricula changes were made but not as substantial as the ones made in the 1990s with the introduction of the semester course credit system. What is different in this second round of curricula change is that more courses were introduced to take account of trends in global, regional and national environments (see Table 9.1). The table shows some of the courses which are at the time of writing this chapter offered by the Department of Political Science. Levels 100 and 200 courses are compulsory to all students and there are no electives because the intention is to expose students to both the theoretical underpinnings of the discipline as well as its main strands, namely, public administration and public policy, comparative politics, international politics and development studies.

There are no changes to the graduate programme even though it is being contemplated. This notwithstanding, the Department of Political Science launched its maiden 12-month Master of Arts (MA) in Public Affairs programme which is one of its contributions to the ongoing search for satisfactory capacity building initiatives to support governance, democracy and development. The programme is opened to both career and non-career officials in both the public and private sectors. It provides students with knowledge, skills and competencies necessary to begin or enhance career in the public and private sectors. The graduates will acquire the theoretical, analytical and ethical foundation to produce new knowledge that impacts policies and programmes and enhances a institutional and community performance. Regardless of career goals, the programme expects students to demonstrate competency in the following areas: (i) leadership; (ii) research designs and analytical methods; (iii) policy research skills; (iv) creative thinking; (v) theory building.

The courses being offered are contained in [Box 9.1](#). They show that they are career-driven and therefore tailor-measured.

Box 9.1: Courses in MA in Public Affairs Programme Offered by the Department of Political Science

Core Courses

- Governance, Democracy and Institutional Reform
- Public Policy Analysis
- Government and Politics in Ghana
- Research Methods
- Principles and Practice of Leadership
- Africa and the International Economy
- Constitutional and Administrative Law
- Seminar
- Dissertation

Elective Courses

- Human Resource Management and Development
- Public Sector Management
- Decentralization and Local Governance
- Administration of Non-Governmental Organizations
- Public Budgeting and Management
- Conflict and Conflict Management
- Organizational Development
- Government-Business Relations
- Strategic Planning
- Lobbying and Agenda Setting
- Procurement

Ideology and Philosophy in Political Science

Ideology and philosophy in Political Science are as old as the discipline of Political Science itself, if not older. From the days of Plato (*The Republic*) and Aristotle (*Politics*), through the lofty arguments of modern political philosophers like Machiavelli (*The Prince; Discourses on Livy*), Thomas Hobbes (*Leviathan*), John Locke (*Two Treatises of Government*), right down to Baron de Montesquieu (*The Spirit of the Laws*), Karl Marx (*The Communist Manifesto*), John Stuart Mill (*On Liberty*), and Jean Jacques Rousseau (*Discourse on the Origin of Inequality; On Social Contract*), and to the contemporary political philosophers/theorists like John Rawls (*A Theory of Justice*), Hannah Arendt (*The Origins of Totalitarianism; The Human Condition*), Karl Popper (*The Open Society and Its Enemies*), Leo Strauss (*The Political Philosophy of Hobbes; What is Political Philosophy?*), Isaiah Berlin (*Two Concepts of Liberty*), and Judith Shklar (*The Liberalism of Fear*), political philosophy has been the progenitor, some will say, of Political Science.

Interestingly, the difference between the old and modern political philosophers, according to the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, is that the old/ancient political philosophers (such as Plato and Aristotle, Cicero, Augustine, Aquinas) emphasized reflections on the origin of political institutions, the concepts used to interpret and organize political life such as justice and equality, the relation between the aims of ethics and the nature of politics, and the relative merits of different constitutional arrangements or regimes. They were primarily concerned with the search for the right order. The modern and contemporary political philosophers have tended to be more concerned with the search for peace and order, and are “more likely to be rationalists or empiricists and base their theories on reductionist foundations. Aristotle and Aquinas would probably view the political philosophies of Machiavelli and Hobbes as reductionist and insufficiently concerned with promoting virtue and the pursuit of the good life; while Machiavelli and Hobbes have criticized classical political philosophers like Aristotle and Aquinas for being overly concerned with utopias and idealistic regimes” (Geoffrey Alan Plauche, web post, April 9, 2011). In other words, the modern and contemporary political philosophers, beginning with Hobbes, Locke, and others mentioned above advocated particular political systems on the basis of empirical observation and analysis (O’Neill 2007).

Indeed, the discipline began as Political Philosophy in parts of the world and extended into more empirical forms and issues in politics. It is interesting to note that from the end of World War II until 1971, when John Rawls published a *Theory of Justice*, political philosophy declined in the Anglo-American academic world, as analytic philosophers expressed skepticism about the possibility that normative judgments had cognitive content, and political science turned toward the behavioural school and statistical methods. On the other hand, in continental Europe, the postwar decades saw a huge blossoming of political philosophy, with Marxism dominating the field (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_philosophy). In Africa, and particularly Ghana, although increasingly empirical works were written from the latter half of the twentieth century, these were guided by or had philosophical

or theoretical foundations. While becoming increasingly empirical, the Political Science Department at the University of Ghana, for example, still maintained specifically Political Theory courses (see Table 9.1) as well as courses on Democracy, Elections, Development, the International System, and others that had theoretical underpinnings.

The influence of philosophy on Political Science and the inextricable link between the two is exemplified, for example, by Leo Strauss (1959), who argued that politics and philosophy were necessarily intertwined. He regarded the trial and death of Socrates as the moment when political philosophy came into existence. Strauss adhered to Socrates' argument that philosophers could not study nature without considering their own human nature, which, in the words of Aristotle, is that of "a political animal" (Aristotle, *The Politics*, 1253a1–3).

Political philosophy, or political theory, constitutes the normative and speculative components of political science. In fact, political theories and ideologies guide political scientists in analyzing problems such as the foundations of political authority and motivate and inspire political behaviour (Jackson and Jackson 2003, pp. 11–12). This argument goes against the "irrelevance thesis" which has been the subject of considerable debate in recent years, where, in discussing the relation of contemporary political science to the heritage of political philosophy, some political scientists have argued that political philosophy is too normative and overemphasizes moral principles, thus overlooking the empirical elements which underlie contemporary political science (Jackson and Jackson 2003, p. 7). Crick (1962) also argues against the "irrelevance thesis" to assert that "political theory is an essential part of the political system and is itself political—both descriptive and normative" (Crick 1962, p. 188). In order to explain what is being done and why it is being done in a particular way, Crick argues that political theory is still very relevant (1962, p. 188).

Political Philosophy is the study of such topics as liberty, justice, property, rights, law, and the enforcement of a legal code by authority: what they are, why (or even if) they are needed, what, if anything, makes a government legitimate, what rights and freedoms it should protect and why, what form it should take and why, what the law is, and what duties citizens owe to a legitimate government, if any, and when it may be legitimately overthrown—if ever. In a vernacular sense, the term "political philosophy" often refers to a general view, or specific ethic, political belief or attitude, about politics that does not necessarily belong to the technical discipline of philosophy (Hampton 1997). It provides insight into the various aspects of the origin of the state, its institutions and laws, among others.

Leo Strauss, for example, described political philosophy as "an attempt to replace *opinion* about the nature of political things by *knowledge* of the nature of political things. Political things are by their nature subject to approval and disapproval, to choice and rejection, to praise and blame. It is of their essence not to be neutral but to raise a claim to men's obedience, allegiance, decision, or judgment" (Strauss 1959, p. 643; Cohen and Fermon 1996). One cannot understand political things, Strauss argues, unless one measures them by some standard of goodness or

justice. In other words, political philosophy is of necessity value-laden, but aids in the understanding of things political.

Political philosophy is sometimes referred to as political theory/thought. These terms are often used interchangeably, and therefore it is important to clarify what political theory is, in order to explain or justify the conflation of the two terms. In *A History of Political Theory*, written by George Sabine, political theory is defined as “man’s attempts to consciously understand and solve the problems of his group life and organization,” noting that political theory is an intellectual tradition whose “history consists of the evolution of men’s thoughts about political problems over time” (Sabine 1973, p. 3). Sabine goes on to assert that political theory as the “disciplined investigation of political problems has in the main been the province of philosophical writers, most of them distinguished in philosophy and literature considered more generally”. Thus, Plato, Aristotle, St. Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Hegel, and Marx are great names in the history of the Western intellectual tradition generally as well as in its political aspect (Sabine 1973, p. 4).

The utility of Political Theory to Political Science is again made clear in Sabine’s argument that “political institutions and political theories merge into one another in the sense and to the degree that both aim to relate people, objects, and happenings under some notion of common good or common interest. An important function of political theory is not only to show what a political practice is, but also to show what it means. In showing what a practice means, or what it ought to mean, political theory can alter what it is” (Sabine 1983, p. 5). Thus, both political theory and political philosophy see the common good or common interest as underpinning the search for knowledge about, and solutions regarding specific problems or issues of politics. Political philosophy and political theory, in effect, claim to be relevant because they provide insight into different aspects of politics and can even change/influence political practice. While others like Raphael (1970) have argued that there is a distinction between political philosophy and political theory (where the former is “normative” and the latter “positive”), Political Science scholarship and teaching in Ghana have tended to use the two terms interchangeably to a large extent.

Out of political philosophy/theory have come different political ideologies and extremely influential notions and concepts that have eventually had and continue to have real empirical impact on the politics and political systems of countries worldwide: social contract and limits on government, the state and society, constitutionalism, democracy, rights and human rights, authority, authoritarianism, power, justice, liberty, legitimacy, socialism, communism, capitalism, populism, liberalism, neo-liberalism, Marxism, African political thought, the consent of the governed, the right to withdraw consent or to revolt, rule of law, sovereignty, separation of powers, forms of government, governance, types of rule—civilian versus military rule, nationalism, citizenship, religious and ethnic identities, colonialism, and political economy, to name a few. For example, Thomas Hobbes (1651) contributed to the idea of the authority of the state as constituting a single will, created by its individual citizens through a social contract in which the citizens gave up their private right of judgment in return for peace and order, rather than fear and danger of violent death (Dunn 1996, pp. 50–51). John Locke’s idea and analysis of

the social contract or compact, in contrast, saw the social contract as a “foundation for governmental authority” necessary to “set clear and decisive limits to the degree of their rightful subjection to any possible human ruler” (Dunn 1996, p. 53). These political theorists together greatly influenced political behaviour and practice down the centuries, particularly regarding the sovereignty of the state, the authority and legitimacy of the state, power, limitations on government, republicanism, consent of the governed, rights, property, and liberty.

It is important that note is taken also of political ideology—what it means and examples of it. According to Heywood (2002), the term, “ideology” was coined in 1796 by the French philosopher Destatt de Tracy (1754–1836). He referred to it as a new “science of ideas” that set out to uncover the origins of conscious thought and ideas. It was De Tracy’s hope that ideology would eventually gain the same status as biology or zoology. Heywood (2002, p. 40) goes on to state that a more enduring meaning of the term, “ideology” is gleaned from Karl Marx’s works, where ideology referred to the ideas of the “ruling class,” ideas that therefore uphold the class system and perpetuate exploitation. Liberal theorists such as Hannah Arendt and Karl Popper viewed ideology as a “closed” system of thought, which refuses to tolerate opposing ideas and rival beliefs by virtue of its claim to a monopoly of truth. They therefore argued that since liberalism embraces individual freedom, it is clearly not an ideology (Heywood 2002, p. 40).

Heywood (2002, p. 41) argues, however, that “an inclusive definition of ‘ideology’ (one that applies to all political traditions) must therefore be neutral; it must reject the notion that ideologies are ‘good’ or ‘bad’, true or false, or liberating or oppressive. This is the virtue of the modern, social scientific meaning of the term, which treats ideology as an action-oriented belief system, an interrelated set of ideas that in some way guides or inspires political action.” In effect, then, at a fundamental level, ideologies resemble political philosophies; at an operative level, they take the form of broad political movements (Seliger 1976; c.f. Heywood 2002).

In Ghana, teaching and research in political philosophy has tended to embrace this inclusive idea of ideology, so that political ideologies discussed have included liberalism, both classical and modern; neo-liberalism; socialism; Marxism; communism; social democracy; and to a lesser extent fascism and anarchism. So for example, while the ideology of liberalism is characterized by a focus on individualism, freedom, reason, equality, toleration, consent, and constitutionalism, the ideology of socialism is characterized by an emphasis on community, fraternity, social equality, need, social class, and common ownership (Heywood 2002, pp. 41–42, 49–50). Both of these are, however, ideologies, because they “offer an account of the existing order; provide a model of a desired future; and outline how political change can and should be brought about” (Heywood 2002, p. 41).

Although political philosophy/political theory, as a branch of the discipline of Political Science, has faced, in the last 50 years, some dwindling of its importance as seen in the reduction in the numbers of political philosophy courses and lecturers in many departments of Political Science around the world, its resilience is remarkable as evidenced by the courses taught at both undergraduate and graduate levels

and the fact that political theory courses remain as core or compulsory courses to be taught as foundations or good grounding for any student of Political Science.

In the Department of Political Science at the University of Ghana, for example, political philosophy exemplifies the vicissitudes of Political Science in its unique way. Over time, while there have been several additional and interesting courses introduced to allow students insight into the empirical world of political science, it is instructive to note that the department has continued to offer political philosophy courses as core and elective courses at both the undergraduate and graduate levels.

At the undergraduate level, specifically at Levels 300 and 400, political philosophy courses have included Ancient and Medieval Political Thought (core), Modern Western Political Thought (core), Political Thought in the Black Diaspora (elective), Modern African Thinkers (elective), the Contractualists (core), and Social and Political Theory (core). Most of these courses are structured and named in such a way as to take cognizance of the different periods, changes, and vicissitudes of political philosophy—Classical political philosophy, philosophy of the Middle Ages and of the Enlightenment, as well as Contemporary political philosophy. Students are therefore exposed to the broad range of ideas disseminated through the evolution of political philosophy.

For example, in Ancient and Medieval Political Thought, topics taught include, in 2011, “The Nature of Ancient Political Theory,” ‘Ancient Greek Political Philosophy and Institutions’, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Seneca, The Catholic Clergy (Augustine, Aquinas), and Niccolo Machiavelli. Students are expected to read on these topics from great political scientists and theorists such as J. S. McClelland (2002), George Sabine (1973), Mitchell Cohen and Nicole Fermon (1996), Plato (*The Republic*), Niccolo Machiavelli (*The Prince*), M. B. Forsters (1941), and L. Cameron McDonald (1968), among others. The Ancient and Medieval Political Thought course provides a historical and analytical study of political thought among the Ancient Greeks, the Roman Empire and within the established church up to the Reformation, and ends with the rise of the modern nation state. Its aim is to give students a critical understanding of the main text and ideas of classical and medieval political theory, and the controversies surrounding them.³

It is pertinent to note, however, that the number of political theory courses offered in the Department of Political Science has actually decreased slightly from nine in the 1990s to six since the holistic revision of courses offered in the Department in 2006, and remains so in 2011. Thus, courses like Hellenistic and Roman Political Thought (elective), Theories of Politics (elective), The Contractualists (core), and Socialist Thought in Africa (elective), which were offered in the Bachelor of Arts Political Science programme in the 1990s, are no longer being offered. There should, however, be no cause for alarm, as some of the important topics under these courses have been subsumed under some of the remaining theory courses.

Similarly, at the graduate level, a course in political philosophy is offered, though it must be emphasized that it is just one course (African Political Thought). In line

³ Culled from POLI 301 Ancient and Medieval Political Thought course outline for 1st semester, 2011/2012, Department of Political Science, University of Ghana.

with the seeming decline of political theory courses in the Department of Political Science, this course is an elective, and unfortunately only a handful of Master of Philosophy students take this course since it is not compulsory. While it is strategically sensible to offer courses that address timely and important empirical issues such as conflict and globalization, it is nevertheless important that every student at the graduate level (Masters) receives a more in-depth and possibly specialized instruction in contemporary political theory/philosophy (for example, such as the two faces of power) as a means of getting grounded in more contemporary political philosophy and the important issues raised regarding justice, equality, human rights, whether political science should only be scientific or whether there is room for normative aspects, for example. While students who received their first degree from the Department may have been exposed somewhat to these kinds of discussions, some Master of Philosophy students coming from outside the University of Ghana may not have been.

All in all, it can be argued that scholars and teachers of Political Science in Ghana adhere to the view of the utility of political philosophy/theory to the understanding of various aspects of politics and political practice as well as to the analysis of the many concepts and ideologies that have emanated from such theory that have had long-lasting effects on the lives of different peoples in different periods through the ages. The evidence for this argument is in the sustained teaching of political philosophy courses throughout the history of the Department of Political Science at the University of Ghana as explicated above, as well as scholarly publications that have emerged. For example, scholarly works include works by Ayee, Bluwey, Bofo-Arthur, Drah, Folson, Ninsin, Oquaye, Gyimah-Boadi, Essuman-Johnson, and others, most of which have been underpinned by the political philosophy of liberalism.⁴

There has been no great ideological divide among political science scholars at Legon, as most of the faculty has tended to be somewhat conservative/liberal. The department itself has been perceived by outsiders, including governments of the day, as conservative/liberal and not in favour of military and leftist governments in particular. This must have influenced their research and teaching in the sense of what they decided to research, for example, but not to the extent of bias affecting the quality and utility of their work to the social sciences. In the turbulent years of the 1970s and 1980s (during successive military governments of Acheampong, Akuffo and Rawlings), scholars such as Prof. Folson and Mr. Drah made fiery contributions to the *Legon Observer*, for example, that tended to betray their political and ideological conservatism.

There is a perception, however, that most students do not like political theory or philosophy courses because of their “technical” and “dry” nature—a situation which may have accounted for inadequate number of lecturers in this sub-field of Political Science, and the absence of a Masters or PhD thesis in political theory. Political theory can be made more attractive and popular with students by including

⁴ For example, see works underpinned by a liberal political philosophy such as Ayee (2001); Gyimah-Boadi (1999); Bluwey (2002); Bofo-Arthur (2006); Drah and Ninsin (1993); Ninsin (1993, 1998); Oquaye (1995, 2004).

role-play and dialogue among students themselves, for example, when addressing texts like Plato's *Republic* or Thucydides' account of the Peloponnesian War. So that students could take turns reading aloud the different contributions of characters in these works, and then also take turns attempting to explain the big ideas behind what they are saying. This would certainly wake students up, make them engage in more thorough reading and preparation outside class and also make class time itself more interesting. Lecturers/professors can then give students the right interpretation and explanation of what has been said during the role-play and dialogue.

In smaller classes at the higher levels (level 400, the Master of Philosophy level, and, in the future at the University of Ghana, the Doctor of Philosophy level), students can be broken into smaller groups and asked to present on a certain topic to be taught in class every week or at least every 2 weeks. This would have multiple advantages: encourage students to engage with their political theory texts and readings more; hone their oral presentation skills; practise team work and collaboration; and be considerably more analytical and independent in their thinking and attitudes toward their courses. Each group can be awarded marks according to their performance which would count toward their final grades. In addition, lecturers must be committed toward keeping abreast with and learning more innovative and different ways of presenting the material, particularly in political philosophy courses, to students. Perhaps, when all this is done, political theory/philosophy may become more attractive and less intimidating to students, who will eventually look forward to engaging in more research in this sub-field at the graduate level.

Methods of Political Science

Methodological approaches to the study of political life, issues and problems have engaged the attention of all political scientists both old and new and have assumed greater significance because of the view by some scholars that the discipline is a "science." In the works of political thinkers and theorists like Aristotle (565 BC), Niccollo Macchiavelli (1532), Thomas Hobbes (1651), Charles-Louis Montesquieu (1748), Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1754, 1762), John Stuart Mill (1859), Karl Marx (1848, 1867) and Max Weber (1905, 1922, 1958), efforts were made to engage with methods or approaches to the study of political and social phenomena and the scientific method, that is, the rational working of the mind in search for knowledge of political reality, had been the common denominator. Marx, for instance, developed a methodology for the study of social evolution and on that basis certain predictions can be made which to some extent have proved to be true (Heywood 2005). Similarly, the work of Weber on three types of legitimate authority, namely, rational-legal, traditional and charismatic authority, even though criticized by some scholars (Habermas 1975; Beetham 1991) is still regarded as the basis for meaningful scientific investigation of the nature of authority in the contemporary world.

Given its preoccupation with the search for knowledge and rationality to solve problems and challenges facing society, a triangulation of methods has been used for teaching and research in Political Science. They include the (i) historical method;

(ii) observational method; (iii) comparative method; and (iv) case study method (Easton 1953, 1965). It is instructive to note that these methods have also informed the teaching, research and publication of Political Science in Ghana.

The global interest in the scientific nature of Political Science also influenced the teaching of and research in the discipline in Ghana. This is underscored by the fact that the Department of Political Science in its curriculum transformation exercise introduced one and two additional courses in methodology at the graduate and undergraduate levels respectively. The syllabi of the courses include the logic of scientific enquiry, the research question, validity and reliability, the review of the literature and research design, operationalization and measurement, sampling, experimental design (independent and dependent variables and hypotheses, focus groups, survey research, questionnaire design, content analysis and qualitative method; univariate statistics (managing data, frequencies, means, crosstabs, creating tables, charts, graphs and boxes; bivariate statistics (chi square, correlation); and multivariate data analysis (regression, coefficients and significance levels). The central goal of the courses is to provide students with the basic skills necessary to undertake meaningful political science research. Some students, however, dislike the methodology courses because of the fear of statistical figures and formulae.

In research and publications of scholars and Long Essay and theses of students, a combination of the four methods to the study of Political Science has been used as we will see in the paragraphs below.

The Historical Method

This method puts emphasis on the use of historical evidence for a proper study of political phenomenon. Its relevance lies in the fact that it does not only explain the past and draw dependable conclusions but also provide basic principles for interpreting the future (Marsh and Stoker 2010).

The Observational Method

This method entails close observation of facts under study and works on the cliché that “seeing is believing.” The researcher visits the research sites or areas and sees things with his/her own eyes and is enjoined to be critical and objective and not superficial based on subjective assessment (Box-Steffensmeier et al. 2008).

Comparative Method

This method involves the researcher arriving at certain conclusions after establishing comparisons between different political systems, institutions and ideas. It takes place along systematic inquiry of cross-national and cross-time similarities and differences (Gerring 2001).

The Case Study Method

This method emphasizes the collection of data from one or a small number of sites. Its importance lies in the isolation of a single or specific case for close examination and investigation that may lead to building and testing of hypothesis. It pertains to a single observation (or set of observations) on a particular dependent variable. Its major strength is the depth of analysis and the importance placed on a single event. It sometimes involves the use by the researcher of ethnographic, participant-observer and other qualitative methods. It is labour intensive and the obvious limitation is the sample size, external validity of the research and thus generalization of the outcomes (Shively 2005; Collier and Brady 2004).

The Combined Methods in Political Science in Ghana

Most publications in Political Science in Ghana have focused on politics, government, development and other facets at international, national, regional and local levels (Apter 1963; Kimble, 1963; Austin 1964; Owusu 1970; Pinkney 1972, 1997; Dunn and Robertson 1973; Austin and Luckham 1975; Price 1975; Staniland 1975; Le Vine 1975; Ladoucer 1979; Killick 1978; Oquaye 1980, 2004; Amonoo 1981; Chazan 1983; Pellow and Chazan 1986; Ray 1986; Rothchild 1991; Ninsin and Drah 1987, 1991; Boahen 1989; Hansen and Ninsin 1989; Rimmer 1992; Shillington 1992; Gyimah-Boadi 1993; Herbst 1993; Nugent 1995; Ayee 1994; Danso-Boafo 1996; Boateng 1996; Rathbone 2000; Aryeetey et al. 2000; Hutchful 2002; Tettey et al. 2003; Nkrumah-Boateng 2007; Ayee 2007a, b; Boafo-Arthur 2007; Gyekye 2008). They have largely used a combination of the four methods even though some are nuanced on either one or two methods. For instance, the works of Apter (1963), Kimble (1963) and Austin (1964) have used mainly a combination of historical and observational methods.

The use of the four methods is underscored by three basic features which have been addressed by the studies and the complexities and dynamics which they seek to explore. First, they focus on the nature and role of the state in Ghana at the national and local levels, ideology, political leadership, authoritarian rule, political instability, the poor state of the economy, the general failure of development and the often deteriorating material conditions of life for most of the population. Second, they advance a variety of explanations for the ineffectual nature of the Ghanaian state. These explanations include dominance by and dependence on international capital, adverse global trends, the inability of successive governments and the political system to overcome social cleavages, administrative incapacity to handle conflicts over resources and implement reforms, lack of scope for policy formulation and lack of participation in decision-making. Third, most of the studies not only attribute the weak nature of the Ghanaian state as the cause of the inability to implement public policies, but also focus on Ghana's economic decline and

stagnation as well as structural adjustment programmes and public sector reforms, especially decentralization and local government.

Publications on electoral politics, the dynamics of elections, the electoral process and the performance and prospects of democratic institutions and processes have also used a combination of the four methods (Jeffries and Clare 1993; Haynes 1993; Ninsin 1993, 1998; Gyimah-Boadi 1994, 1999, 2009; Oquaye 1995; Badu and Larvie 1996, 1997; Lyons 1997; Ayee 1997a, b, 2001; 2002, 2008; Bawumia 1998; Jeffries 1998; Nugent 1998; Lindberg and Morrison 2005; Boafo-Arthur 2006; Agyeman-Duah 2008; Arthur 2009; Daddieh 2009; Amoah 2009; Whitfield 2009). For instance, one cannot fully understand the outcome of the 2008 elections without looking back into the history of elections since 1992, the performance of government and other institutions to enable one make a more meaningful comparison. Similarly, one cannot make a scientific analysis of the 2008 elections without using the observational and case study methods.

Above all, even though the Long Essay, Independent Study and theses produced by undergraduate and graduate students of the Department of Political Science over the years largely used the case study method, they at the same time resorted to the historical and observational methods and on a few occasions, the comparative method, to ensure that the quality and reliability of the findings are not in doubt.

It is also instructive to note that the scholarly studies, Long Essay, Independent Study and thesis use a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods even though more nuanced to qualitative methods. Computing power and the speed of information transferability have made the use of Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS) by both researchers and students possible and it is common to run regression, for instance, on some particular dataset to show the causality between dependent and independent variables. In spite of the use of the statistical methodology, Ghanaian scholars and students have shied away from the use of the extensive quantitative analysis (such as modelling and game theory) or what is referred to as the “mathematization” of Political Science which is characteristic of research in the United States of America (Collier and Brady 2004; Gerring 2001). The extensive use of quantitative analysis in the US and to some extent, the United Kingdom is the result of the “exhortation to a more systematic and rigorous view of science which has led political scientists to turn to quantification and more sophisticated mathematical modelling. Thus the dominant view of science within political science has been drawn from physics, chemistry, and, more and more, mathematics” (Thomas 2005, pp. 863–864). Teaching and research in Political Science in Ghana have not been overly quantitative because of the belief that:

Political science’s quest for a common vocabulary and set of standards cannot be found in statistical inference; if political science is to have a unified methodology, that methodology has qualitative foundations. ... Many of the concerns associated with qualitative methods increasingly find expression in quantitative forms. Conversely, concept formation and theory building are just as important to quantitative researchers as to qualitative researchers. And while testing theory against evidence is one dimension of this process, it is not the whole (political) science. Nor is it the truly scientific part. (Thomas 2005, p. 863)

Empirical/Substance in Political Science

The empirical or substantive realm of Political Science refers to the study and teaching of real life phenomena regarding politics, political institutions, and political behaviour, that can be observed and verified and theorized and hypothesized about, with the gathering and use of data, whether statistical/quantitative or qualitative, as evidence to support or disprove hypothetical claims made. The acceleration, since the 1950s, of a move in Political Science towards more empiricism and the study of political behaviour began with the behavioural revolution of the 1950s spearheaded by several North American scholars, such as Talcott Parsons. This revolution or new school of thought emphasized use of the scientific method to develop hypotheses about empirical research questions. A great emphasis was placed here on operationalizing concepts, distinguishing empirical from normative claims, and analyzing evidence to test hypotheses.

Behaviouralism hoped to generate theories and generalizations that could help explain and even predict political activity, and placed greater emphasis on the political behaviour of individuals as opposed to larger political structures and on quantitative over qualitative methodology. While behaviouralism has had great influence on political science teaching and research around the world and even in Ghana, in the 1980s, a post-behaviouralist approach to the study of politics emerged, which rejected a grand theory of politics, and advocated a diversity of methods and political approaches, with particular focus on gender issues, culture, environment, and globalization (O'Neill 2007, p. 7). Currently, research and teaching in political science at the University of Ghana, for example, is basically influenced by the behavioural and post-behavioural revolutions, as will be exemplified below. Together, these two approaches to the study of substantive phenomena in political science have supplanted the preceding approach dominant in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—the traditional approach—which focused mainly on describing political systems and their various institutions.

The empirical or substantive aspect of Political Science includes research and teaching on the nature and role of the state in Ghana at the national and local levels, constitutionalism, political leadership, political economy, good governance and democracy, foreign policy, comparative and developmental politics, and globalization. Many of these substantive issues have almost become the *raison d'être* of teaching and research in Political Science as academics have increasingly sought to interrogate and understand real life/empirical phenomena as they have made imprints or impressions around the globe.

So for example, when the phenomena of ethnic and religious conflicts persisted in different regions of the world, but especially in Africa, many scholars sought to explain such persistence, in spite of the modernization theory prediction that as countries developed and their economies became more capitalist, they would increasingly become like the modern Western societies, becoming democratic and shedding off “primitive” characteristics and values such as ethnic and religious identities and the salience of these identities in political and social life. In the 1960s,

1970s, and beyond to as recently as the 1990s, the Biafran civil war in Nigeria, the civil war in Uganda, the civil wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone, and in Kosovo and elsewhere, have driven home the fact that ethno-religious conflicts have not waned with modernization as earlier predicted. Such questions elicited works like Harvey Glickman's *Ethnic Conflict and Democratization in Africa* (1995), and Eghosa Osa-gbae's work on federalism and ethnic politics in Nigeria (*Ethnicity and the State in Africa*). These works sought to understand the link between ethnicity and conflict, and how sometimes that conflict can derail democracy or stall it. In so doing they provided recommendations, through the findings, for the amelioration or prevention of such conflict.

In similar fashion, empirical developments also elicited counterpart courses that were taught in Political Science departments in different parts of the world. At the University of Ghana, for example, the number and variety of Political Science courses offered at levels 300 and 400 regarding ethnicity, society, and conflicts in Africa have increased since the comprehensive revision of the undergraduate programme in 2006. Whereas previously the only courses in the 1990s related to these issues were "State and Society in Africa" and "Regionalism and Ethnicity in Ghanaian Politics," in recent years and in 2011, "Identities and Conflicts in Africa," "State-Society Relations in Ghana Since Independence," "Conflict and Society in Africa," "Post-Conflict Peace-building and Transitional Justice," and "Politics of Identity in Ghana" are the relevant courses offered, and their popularity with students provides endorsement of the revision that was put in place.

Another empirical development of significance is the recent trend of political liberalization: what Samuel Huntington has called the "third wave" of democracy. This has inspired many scholars to seek to understand and explain the repudiation of authoritarian rule in Asia, Latin America, and in Africa, and to find the source or sources of this relatively rapid and unexpected democratization across so many regions of the world (O'Neill 2007). What factors will aid in the survival or breakdown of these initially fragile democracies? Elections, though just one criterion of democracy, have generated much interest in research and teaching on democratization in Ghana and at the University of Ghana, for example. Several scholarly works have sought to uncover the dynamics of elections in Ghana, at both the national and local levels, especially since our version of the "third wave" began with the Fourth Republic. These have helped to explain the electoral process in Ghana and the workings and importance of the electoral management body, the Electoral Commission, to a continual march toward democratic consolidation, as well as the voting process and pattern, election observation and its role in the democratic process, civil society's increasing confidence and role in the democratic process, and much more. Aye (1996, 1997a, b, 1998, 2001); Allah-Mensah (1998); Anebo (1998); Bofo-Arthur (1998, 2001, 2006, 2007); Debrah (2001); Drah (1993); Gyimah-Boadi (1998, 1999, 2000, 2001); Ninsin and Drah (1993); Ninsin (1996, 1998); and Oquaye (1998) are some of the faculty at the University of Ghana that have contributed to students' and the wider public's interest in and further understanding of the issues at hand. With regard to courses offered and taught at the University of Ghana on elections and democracy, a nice menu is available. This includes

“Electoral Politics and Democracy in Ghana,” “Political and Economic Reform and Democracy in Africa,” “Politics of Constitution Making in Ghana,” “Civil-Military Relations” (which can enhance and stabilize the democratic process), “Decentralization and Local Administration,” and “Governance and Leadership.” These are timely courses attending to timely issues but ones that transcend time as well. They are to ensure that students are well-acquainted with some of the most intriguing and pressing issues of our time—democracy, good governance, political stability, and political legitimacy. In comparison with the courses that obtained in the 1980s and 1990s (Introduction to the Study of Ghanaian Politics; Government and Politics in Ghana Since Independence; 1 & 2; Local Government Administration in Ghana), there is an improvement and a marked shift toward more of an empirical, substantive-based and specialized study of Political Science that is African, global, and not merely Ghanaian.

Interestingly, one of the pressing empirical issues for Ghana and Africa as a whole since independence has been the quest for development. Africa in particular, seems to have been on an “elusive quest” for growth and development for several decades. Scholarly works in and outside Ghana have sought to explain the lack of development, or the uneven development that has characterized many an African country for so long (Easterly 2002, 2006). This has also led to the specific delineation of Development Studies as an important sub-field of Political Science that deserves to be studied and analyzed. Questions about the concept of development and its indicators, as well as why some countries and regions of the world have developed and others have not invariably lead also to questions regarding the nature and role of the state in Africa and in Ghana. Owusu (1970); Oquaye (1980); Bofo-Arthur (2007); Hansen and Ninsin (1989); Ayee (2007a, b), Gyimah-Boadi (1993); Hutchful (2002), among others, have been concerned about the Ghanaian state and its role in development, and whether or not it has facilitated such progress in Ghana, albeit looking at different regimes and timeframes. In teaching also, at the University of Ghana’s Political Science Department, Development Studies has been introduced as a specific sub-field of specialization at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. The issue of development is so important for Ghana and Africa that an Introduction to Development Studies course has been introduced as a core course that every level 200 student has to take in addition to an Introduction to Comparative Politics course. In addition, several courses related to development are offered at levels 300 and 400 and are well patronized by students. Examples include “Theories of Development and Underdevelopment,” “Strategies of Development in Africa,” “Conflict and Society in Africa,” “Gender and Politics,” “Politics in Developing Countries (in different regions of Africa),” and “NGOs and Development in Ghana.”

Notably, research on the substantive aspects of Political Science abounds in Ghana. Political scientists have studied individual political behaviour as well as political institutions and the political dynamics, and these studies have imparted empirical knowledge and evidence regarding the different dimensions of political life and the state of politics in Ghana. For example, in *Voting for Democracy in Ghana, Vol. 1*, Ninsin (2006, p. 59) discusses the importance of institutional development to demo-

cratic consolidation in Ghana. He argues that “democratic norms are embodied in, and implemented by, an ensemble of institutions, including the multi-party system, an independent judiciary, free press, and the electoral system which are designed to implement them. Therefore the stability of a democratic order in any country is ultimately determined by the extent to which institutions like these are able to function in a sustainable manner.” He goes on to explain democratic consolidation as a stage where democracy has very high probability of sustenance or endurance. The institutional development of elections in Ghana is considered by Ninsin as a “major pillar of liberal democracy,” and he examines Ghana’s elections in 1992, 1996, 2000, and 2004 through an assessment of the quality and meaning of Ghanaian elections. He asserts that elections in Ghana have taken on a more valuable meaning, as they have become “a preferred, legitimate, and orderly means for changing government” (Ninsin 2006, p. 68). Such research, infused with an assessment of real, empirical examples of Ghanaian democratic institutions, benefits the student of politics, the scholar, practitioner, and politician alike, regardless of whether they hail from Ghana or another country.

In volume 2 of *Voting for Democracy in Ghana*, Boafo-Arthur (2006, p. 367) contributes to the student’s, researcher’s and the ordinary citizen’s knowledge and understanding of the current state of politics and democracy in Ghana in his chapter titled “Conclusion: Is Democracy on Course in Ghana?” He examines the conceptions of minimalist and maximalist democracy and comes to the conclusion that “whether it is liberal democracy in its Western connotation or minimalist or electoral democracy as found in many developing countries, hallowed democratic norms cannot be compromised. At the barest minimum, there must be free and fair elections and substantial guarantees for the liberties of the citizens” (Boafo-Arthur 2006, p. 374). He concludes that Ghana is on a steady course toward democratic maturity. For the institutionalization of democracy to occur, however, other critical variables than elections must be taken into account. Democratic institutions at both local and national levels must become more salient, vibrant, and efficient. Boafo-Arthur is of the view, nevertheless, that democracy is on course in Ghana because “both the elite and the masses agreed that democracy is the best form of government” for them (Boafo-Arthur 2006, pp. 376–377).

Ayee (2006, p. 81) defines political leadership as involving people who are in top decision-making positions in various public institutions, such as in the executive, legislature, bureaucracy and political parties. He adds that “above all, political leadership must have the capacity to create vision and turn vision into reality” (Ayee 2004, 2006, p. 81). Distinguished from traditional leadership, the student, practitioner, or researcher learns that political leadership has an advantage over traditional leadership in that it is associated with an office rather than a person, hence “it is far less likely to be abused or to give rise to injustice” (Ayee 2005, 2006, p. 81). Here again, the study reflects some of the empirical substance to be found in Political Science. Ayee (2006) evaluates political leadership and its contribution to democratic consolidation in Ghana based on six indicators: public office appointments; national reconciliation; the quest to achieve the objectives of the Directive Principles of State Policy and the Millennium Development Goals; political participation and

inclusion; relatively accountable and honest government; and trust. He concludes, after an empirical consideration of political leadership since the transition to civilian democratic government in 1993, that “in spite of party manifestoes and the Directive Principles of State Policy, political leadership is not seen to be adopting bold and pragmatic policies to promote social and political development and reduce poverty—policies that are necessary for securing (Ghana’s) young democracy” (Ayee 2006, p. 97).

In another study published in 2007, Ayee compares the political leadership of the National Democratic Congress (NDC), which ruled Ghana from 1993 to 2000, with the political leadership of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) from 2001 to 2004. Ayee (2007a, b, p. 167) illuminates the challenges to political leadership under Presidents Rawlings (NDC) and Kufuor (NPP), noting that these challenges (such as meeting expectations with meagre resources, grappling with continued dependence on an unfavourable international economic environment, incorporating a multi-ethnic and multi-religious population into a workable whole, etc.) affected their performance while in governmental power. Both leaders in particular were unable to deal with corruption effectively, and this created serious legitimacy problems for them (Ayee 2007, p. 168). One cannot doubt, from such studies, the empirical substance and relevance of Political Science to the politics of the wider world outside academia, in this case to the politics of Ghana and by extension, politics in other African countries.

Good governance and democracy are some of the terms that have become household names globally since the end of the Cold War in 1991. Therefore when it comes to teaching Political Science, the majority of courses tend to be those that have some empirical substance or relevance for real world political economy, foreign policy, and governance issues, for example. Political Science courses taught at the University of Ghana, and for that matter at the Methodist University College, the University of Development Studies and the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, for example, all combine an initial explication and analysis of the relevant theories of the particular field or area of political science being taught with empirical illuminations or disputations of the theories, as well as infuse as far as is possible, an examination of current hot topics that may have just cropped up in that particular area.

At the University of Ghana, Legon, for example, all first year Political Science students study a compulsory or core course titled, “An Introduction to the Study of Political Science” which introduces them to some basic concepts and ideas in the field of Political Science, such as the state, nation, power, authority, influence, legitimacy, sovereignty, government, democracy, and good governance. Tellingly, at the end of the course, students are expected to be able to explain the nature and scope of Political Science, explain the major basic concepts, and most of all, be able to apply the concepts to real life situations. Students are taught, for example, that *good governance* has eight major characteristics: it is participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive and follows the rule of law. It assures that corruption is minimized, minorities’ views are taken into account, and the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in

decision-making. Other readings for such a course include Harold Lasswell's 1936 classic, *Politics: Who Gets What, When and How?*, Afari-Gyan's (1991) *Understanding Politics* and G. K. Bluwey's *Political Science: An Introduction*, published in 2002. The latter two authors both taught and were faculty members of the Department of Political Science at the University of Ghana.

In the second year at the University of Ghana, Political Science students are introduced to Development Studies, Public Administration, International Relations, and Comparative Politics, all core courses which students are compelled to take. Here again, the empirical is emphasized although alongside the relevant theories that serve as strong underpinnings of the particular field of Political Science. For example, "Introduction to Development Studies" sets out to familiarize students with the meaning and scope of development, the development debate, analyses of the major theories of development, as well as contemporary issues concerning rural development, foreign aid, structural adjustment, poverty reduction, globalization, and the role of the state in development. Students are expected to be conversant with a wide array of development concepts and to have the capacity to critically argue, analyze and discuss development in both global and national contexts. Major texts used here include Michael Todaro's (2000) *Economic Development*, as well as articles by Andre Gunder Frank (1966) and Peter Bauer (1991). Students are encouraged to apply the theories of development to real life situations in Ghana and around the developing world and judge for themselves whether modernization theory or dependency theory best explains the current developmental issues played out in their countries. Another core course taught in the second year (Level 200) is "Introduction to Public Administration." This course also delves into the nature and scope of Public Administration, Principles of Administration, Theories of Public Administration, and Administrative Leadership, among other topics. It examines the conceptual and practical facets of Public Administration, examines the work of public administrators in many different kinds of organizations, and defines the political and historical context within which public organizations operate.

Interestingly, third year students at the University of Ghana have a wide variety of courses to choose from, given that they are able to choose the elective courses they like in addition to the core course (Ancient and Medieval Political Thought) that they have to take. The elective courses include "International Conflict, Conflict Resolution, and Human Rights," "Organization Theory," "Africa: The Political Economy of Colonialism," "International Organizations" and "Terrorism and Global Security." All these courses seek to bring to the student empirical issues that are quite contemporary and that must be grappled with once they emerge out of school and into the real world. The course on international conflict, for example, aims at introducing students to the nature, types, structure and dynamics of international conflicts and the mechanisms used to address them. In addition, it aims at keeping students abreast of post-conflict peace building strategies, the role of international institutions such as the International Criminal Court and the International Court of Justice in addressing human rights violations during transition periods, as well as the general role of culture in these endeavours. Case studies are employed to illuminate some of the concepts and theories that are taught. Likewise, the Or-

ganization Theory course examines the theories that help explain the functioning of organizations in the context of the make-up of the organizations, individual and group behaviour and the dynamics involved therein. What is key here is the fact that the examination of these theories is backed by practical explanations and experiences so that students potentially will gain substantive knowledge of organizational processes. The Terrorism and Global security course is an example of a course that was introduced into the Political Science curriculum to meet the increasing needs of citizens, students, and even practitioners with regard to better understanding this global phenomenon and what drives it. Students are taught that terrorism is about achieving political aims by using unconventional methods. The Terrorism student is expected to be able to understand the influence of politics on different terrorist groups including the processes that enable terrorist groups to emerge.

One interesting course that has been introduced into the curriculum (in 2007/2008) for fourth or final year students is the "Gender and Politics" course, which stemmed from the increased salience of gender equality and equity issues in public discourses in Ghana and around the world, as well as the need for a more systematic understanding of gender relations and the varied concepts and theories surrounding it. The gender course is taught as an elective under the Development Studies module. Therefore topics taught and analyzed include the role of women in politics, economics, and social development since colonial rule, and the international, regional, and national frameworks and protocols that mandate commitments to the question of gender. Controversial topics like affirmative action and the use of voluntary or mandatory quotas to increase the number of women in political decision-making positions are also introduced and discussed. The course adds empirical substance to students' repertoire of knowledge which is timely and most important to the quest of developing countries for development and democracy.

Finally, the Master of Philosophy level at the University of Ghana's Department of Political Science includes empirically relevant courses such as "The Making of Foreign Policy," "Patterns of Development Administration," "Public Personnel Administration," and "Methodology of the Social Sciences." Courses at this level are generally more comprehensive and analytical than at the undergraduate level. Nevertheless, like the former, they seek to infuse theory with practice and students with knowledge and understanding of the current trends and issues within their field. So for example, the course on Development Administration tackles, questions dealing with poverty and why it is a development phenomenon, whether endemic corruption in the developing world can explain the developmental challenges it faces, and what are the prescribed strategies for administering development in developing countries.

The conclusion drawn from the above discussion is that research and teaching in Political Science in Ghana have reflected to a large extent the vicissitudes of politics, political regimes and the state of political affairs in Ghana. This has resulted in an invariable interface between "real world" politics and political phenomena in Ghana, on the one hand, and political issues and concepts taught and researched in the academic world of Political Science, on the other, where one is affected by and learns from the other and vice versa. Thus, the utility of Political Science in Ghana

has not only been in teaching and researching political theories and concepts, but also in moving from theory to an analysis of how those theories are illuminated or disproven by the practical/empirical issues of the time. Such teaching and research have largely comprised a mix of influences from the behavioural and post-behavioural approaches. The thrust of the matter is that Political Science scholarship and teaching in Ghana have over the years, since the 1990s, but especially within the last decade, increasingly assumed specialized empirical character that is very much in tune with contemporary global political issues, but that is also very relevant for the African region and Ghanaian peculiarities as a whole. In this vein, students, scholars, governments, and the public, have lots to benefit from this quest to highlight, interrogate and explain the burning political concerns of our time.

Policy Relevance of Political Science

Policy relevance refers to academics conducting research, which is not esoteric but rather addresses itself to the contemporary requirements of policy. In other words, academics must choose research topics and methodology that are relevant to addressing issues and challenges facing their societies and to disseminate their findings to various so-called stakeholders. It also entails academics coming out of their “ivory tower” and engaging vigorously with society and its members and being problem-solving (Jones 2009; Jentleson 2002; Walt 2005).

The policy relevance of Political Science is contested across the world, particularly after the tragic events of September 11, 2001 in the United States. For instance, after the September 11 events, some political scientists were asked which of their models and theories should be turned to explain what happened and what should be done (Jentleson 2002). Even though the questions may be unfair, they, however, brought home the policy relevance of the discipline.

There are two viewpoints to the debate. The first viewpoint indicates that Political Science has limited policy relevance and therefore advocates bridging the gap between theory and policy. In the words of Jentleson (2002, p. 169):

Political Science... has produced and continues to produce scholarly work that does bring important policy insights. Still it is hard to deny that contemporary political science as a discipline put limited value on policy relevance—too little ... and the discipline suffers for it. The problem is not just the gap between theory and policy but its chasm-like widening in recent years and the limited valuation of efforts. The events of September 11 drive home the need to bring policy relevance back into the discipline, to seek greater praxis between theory and practice.

Jentleson concedes that he does not expect scholars to take up the agendas of think tanks, journalists, activists, or fast fax operation and that the agenda of the academy should be principally more scholarly. This notwithstanding, he emphasizes that “theory can be valued without policy relevance being so undervalued. Dichotomization along the lines of ‘we’ do theory and ‘they’ do policy consigns political science scholars almost exclusively to an intra-disciplinary dialogue and purpose, with con-

versations and knowledge building that while highly intellectuals are excessively insular and disconnected from the empirical realities that are the discipline's *raison d'être*. This stunts the contributions that universities, one of society's most essential institutions, can make in dealing with the profound problems and challenges society faces" (Jentleson 2005, p. 169).

Jentleson points out that the inability of political scientists to be policy relevant is itself counterproductive to the academy's own interest. He therefore admonishes that:

Research and scholarship are bettered by pushing analysis and logic beyond just offering a few paragraphs on implications for policy at the end of a forty-page article, as if a "ritualistic addendum." Teaching is enhanced when students' interest in "real world" issues is engaged in ways that reinforce the argument that theory really is relevant, and CNN is not enough. (Jentleson 2002, pp. 169–170)

Jentleson has also been supported by Professor Joseph Nye, who complained in the *Washington Post* that the reason why International Relations scholars were not picked to serve in the Obama administration was that the profession has withdrawn to the ivory tower. He then chided his colleagues to make themselves more policy relevant in the future (Nye 2009).

The second viewpoint sees policy relevance of Political Science as tyrannical and a "double-edged sword" as well as the policy economy of research funding (Jones 2009) for a number of reasons. First, the imperative of making Political Science as policy relevant creates distortions that are injurious to academic freedom because it encourages academics to study certain things, in certain ways, with certain outcomes and certain ways of disseminating their findings. To Jones, this so-called "encouragement is more or less coercive, backed as it is by the allure of large research grants which advance one's institution and personal career, versus the threat of a fate as an entirely marginal scholar incapable of attracting research funding—nowadays a standard criterion for academic employment and promotion" (Jones 2009, p. 128).

Secondly, given that organizations funding policy relevant research has pre-defined notions of what is relevant, academics risk being drawn into policy-based evidence-making, rather than its much-vaunted opposite, and that they will tend to be selected by the policy world based on whether they will reflect, endorse and legitimize the overall interests and ideologies that underpin the prevailing order.

Thirdly, academics are not problem solvers as demanded by being policy relevant; rather they are critical theorists. This is borne out by the fundamental distinction between "problem solving" and "critical" theory (Cox 1981). Problem solving theories ultimately endorse the prevailing system by generating suggestions as to how the system could be run more smoothly while critical theories, in contrast, seek to explain why the system exists in the first place and what could be done to transform it. Most policy makers want academics to be problem solvers, since policies seek to solve problems, but this does not necessarily mean that this should be the role of academics (Cox 1981; Jones 2009). Fourthly, policy relevance imperils the space academics are supposed to provide to allow them to think about the foundations of prevailing orders in a critical, even hostile fashion.

To this viewpoint, therefore, the key question of being policy relevant is: relevant to whom? To the proponents, therefore, Political Science should be relevant to:

One's research community, students and so on and should be more than enough justification for academic freedom, provided that scholars should [*sic*] their responsibilities to teach and to communicate their subjects to society at large, and thus repay something to the society that supports them. But beyond that, we also need to fully respect work that will never be policy relevant, because it refuses to swallow fashionable concerns or toe the line of government agendas. Truly critical voices are worth more to the progress of human civilization than ten thousand Deputy Undersecretaries of State for Security Assistance, Science and Technology. (Jones 2009, p. 130)

The two viewpoints on the policy relevance of Political Science are also at play in Ghana. The first viewpoint sees Political Science as not being policy relevant. This is attested to by the fact that none of the growing private universities in Ghana has Political Science as part of their curriculum. The discipline of Political Science is not seen as demand-driven and has not skills and competencies and therefore the graduates cannot be employable.

In addition to this, there seems to be an aberration of Political Science given its practice by politicians. There is also a lack of clarity between what political scientists do and what politicians do. The usual question which most students of Political Science get when they are asked what course they are offering in the university is: Are you going to be a politician? Indeed, there is disconnect between political scientists and politicians since both of them operate at a different level. Political scientists focus on the norms of politics while politicians focus on its symbolism. In the popular mind, politics is closely associated with the activities of politicians or political parties. Politicians are often seen as power-seeking hypocrites who conceal personal ambition behind the rhetoric of public service and ideological conviction. They are seen as self-serving, two-faced and unprincipled people rather than serving the public interest. This perception has become common probably as a result of the intensified media exposure of incidents of corruption, dishonesty and other rent-seeking activities as well as arbitrariness and abuse of power.⁵ This rejection of the personnel and machinery of conventional political life has led to the use of derogatory phrases such as “machine politics,” “politicking” and “office politics.” Such an image of politics by some Ghanaians may be traced back to the writings of Niccolo Machiavelli, who, in *The Prince*, developed a strictly realistic account of politics which drew attention to the use by political leaders of cunning, cruelty and manipulation. Such a negative view of politics reflects the essentially liberal perception that as individuals are self-interested, political power has become corrupting, because it encourages those in power to exploit their position for personal advantage and at the expense of others (Aye 2009).

In spite of this negative image of politicians, which some people have also extended to political scientists, given the issues and challenges surrounding development, democracy and good governance, there should be the need for both political scientists and politicians to find a common ground for interaction and networking.

⁵ *Ibid.*

The second viewpoint is that Political Science is policy relevant on the following grounds:

- i. Two of the leading think tanks in Ghana, namely, the Centre for Democratic Development (CDD) and the Institute of Democratic Governance (IDEG) are run by political scientists.
- ii. There are leading examples of policy-relevant scholars of Political Science who are/were in public service. They include the late Professor Kwaku Folson, who was the Director of the Centre for Civic Education under Kofi Busia's Progress Party government; Dr. Kwadwo Afari-Gyan has been the Chairman, Electoral Commission since 1993; Professor Mike Oquaye was the Minister of Energy under Kufuor's New Patriotic Party government and Second Deputy Speaker of Parliament; Professor Kwame Ninsin, represented the University Teachers Association of Ghana (UTAG) in the Constituent Assembly which drafted the 1979 Constitution; Dr. Kofi Frimpong, who was the Director-General of the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation and the first host of the popular radio programme, "What Do You Know?"; Mr. Chris Hesse, who was the first Chairman of the National Commission for Civic Education in 1993. Recently, a member of the Political Science Department, Dr. Nicholas Amponsah, served as a member of the Constitutional Review Commission set up by the late President, Prof. John E. A. Mills to review and make recommendations on the 1992 constitution.
- iii. Some former students of Political Science are/were in public service. They include F. P. Kyei, former Inspector General of Police; K. Babaaku-Mensah, Secretary to former President John Mills; and Baba Jamal, the former Deputy Minister of Information and currently Deputy Minister of Local Government and Rural Development.
- iv. Majority of committee clerks of Parliament are former students of Political Science. Some of them developed this link with Parliament when they served as members of the Political Science Students Association (POSSA) which organizes the Mock Parliament as part of its Week celebration.
- v. The Political Science Students Association (POSSA) is the most vibrant student body at the University of Ghana. During its annual celebration, it organizes seminars at which politicians and businessmen address burning issues on governance and development. In one of POSSA's fund-raising exercises, which took some of its executive members to the Castle, Osu in the late 1980s, a then member of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) in response to a request for funds to celebrate POSSA Week remarked "You do not give money to arm your enemies." This is in reference to the perception of successive governments in Ghana that the Department of Political Science is always anti-government of the day.
- vi. The Department of Political Science has published books on the 1996, 2000 and 2004 elections, which have become the authoritative publications being quoted by academics, politicians and the media.

- vii. Given the nature of the discipline, some members of the Department have either given public lectures or participated in radio and television talk shows to address national issues.
- viii. Curricula transformation which has been undertaken over the years is also a pointer to preparing the students to make rational and knowledgeable choices in their daily lives and prepare them to be versatile in the job market. This also involves assigning the students practical assignments and a new pedagogy that blends theory with empirical issues. Admittedly, the primary objective of a curriculum in Political Science is education for citizenship. The preparation of students for careers in politics, law, teaching, public services and foreign services, though vitally important, is secondary to the task of equipping them to discharge the obligations of democratic citizenship, which grows constantly heavier in the modern world.

This may seem a modest list; however, the heart of the matter is that the policy relevance of Political Science in Ghana can no longer be swept under the carpet. The discipline has therefore lived up to expectation as one which is concerned with the study of the state, society, government, politics and development and one that is essentially a study of human behaviour, choices and resources.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the future of Political Science does not hang in the balance. It has a clear trajectory which needs to be sustained and consolidated. Whether one likes it or not, issues about the state and its capacity, good governance, society, power, government, reducing poverty, globalization and achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) will continue to be on the development agenda for many years to come. The future of the discipline of Political Science therefore lies in its ability to contribute to the debate on “publicness” and institutional process, policy design; mitigating social inequalities and identities; and addressing the question “Why is the state engaged in the provision of goods and services in an era of neo-liberalism?” If this is done, there will not be any doubt that the discipline has contributed to the progress of human civilization and engaged in relevant teaching, research and community service which are not remote from the needs and concerns of average citizens.

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Chapter 10

Changing Perspectives in the Didactics of International Affairs in Ghana

Linda Darkwa and Philip Attuquayefio

Introduction

The discipline of international relations has been dynamically influenced by various epochal transformations and events in world and national affairs since its reported origin in 1919 after the end of the First World War. The Second World War, the end of colonialism and the emergence of newly independent nations, the Cold War, Globalization, and the grim events of the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the US have all exerted influence, albeit in relative proportions, to the discipline of international relations. Such influence has manifested in global animosity animated by the ideological superpower rivalry, improved levels of international co-operation, widespread incidents of intra-state conflicts and the increased relevance of non-state actors, among others. Consequently the flux of international relations has been engineered and reengineered through the passage of time. This has also invariably affected the study of international relations.

Notable aspects of the evolution of the study of international relations are the country and regional permutations applied to the discipline over the years. One of the earliest perspectives in this regard is the English School of International Relations. Buzan suggests that although the School developed through four main phases, there were three commonalities, namely “Realism, Rationalism and Revolutionism.” Put differently, the three categories could be described as power, institutionalization of shared interests and universalist cosmopolitanism—concepts that have shaped the development of IR theory till date.¹

The influence of the English School is not surprising considering the role that Europe played in the origins of the discipline. Although this is not the focus of the chapter, suffice it to say that the European concert of power, the application

¹ For a fuller discussion of the influence of the English School on the development of international relations, see (Buzan 2001).

of which led to the fall of the Hapsburg Empire, and consequently, the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, created the modern state system which preceded contemporary interstate relations. Additionally, the fact that the discipline emerged after the First World War gave Europe a good leverage in influencing the epistemological directions of the discipline even if it only lasted till the start of the hegemonic dictates of the US after the Second World War. Contemporary IR scholars like Crawford² observe this leverage of the English perspective in International relations. Similarly to the English influence is what has been described as an American School of International Relations emerging largely from the US-Policy influenced perceptions of the discipline of international relations. Waever³ is for instance categorical that international relations is an American Social Science also avers that the result of significant authorship in international relations has been the school of international relations that is largely influenced by US policy.⁴

Thus, from the above, although people like Porter⁵ have suggested the insignificance of national or regional influences as a determinant in the intellectual development of ideas and approaches to the study of international relations, these influences have largely held sway since the formal commencement of the discipline during the inter-war years of the early twentieth century mainly in the North.

Due to the visible absence of the South in the period of the development of IR theory,⁶ epistemological imperatives emerging from the South have largely been ignored in the study of international relations.⁷ Nowhere is this more noticeable than in Africa. Jones,⁸ for instance, draws attention to the consistent marginalization of Africa within the study of international relations, arguing that the consideration given to Africa in IR has focused on the implications of Africa's statehoods on international society rather than the influence of international society on African states and people. Ironically, even before it entered into the comity of nations, Africa has provided content for IR discourse in many settings; providing different types of commodities for trade with Europe, being the supply hub of the slave trade and later becoming the theatre for imperialist rule; the platform for proxy wars, the subject for scientific studies and in more recent times, the source of global competition for resources. The missing link appears to be the lack of a well-documented interrogation of the evolution of the discipline. The absence of a tracking of the discipline continues to obscure unique socio-cultural or economic context that inform the epistemology of international relations within the specific context of African countries.

² Crawford (2001).

³ Waever (1998).

⁴ Smith (2000).

⁵ Porter (2001).

⁶ Africa was not present during the development of the Westphalia State system and as a result, neither formed part of the content that influenced theory development nor the subjects considered for the analysis of the developed theories. It was not until the end of the Second World War and the struggle for independence that Africa became a subject of concern to the State system.

⁷ Mgonja and Makombe (2009).

⁸ Jones (2005).

In the case of Ghana, the earliest manifestations of the discipline were arguably within the first decade of independence. Since then, there have been changing perspectives in both its study and practice. In the absence of a detailed trajectory, however, the level of development of the discipline within the social science is almost rendered negligible save for occasional references within the country's foreign policy-making process—a process that in itself subsumes the discipline of international relations, perhaps rather than the other way round. By reconstructing the trajectory of international relations in Ghana, we expose the mutation in perspectives on the discipline and accompanying influences on its epistemological imperatives in Ghana. Our quest is not only to draw attention to the development of the discipline within the academic ambit of the social sciences, but also lead the way in discussions over strengthening the relevance of the scholarship of international relations in Ghana. Generally speaking, these will contribute toward a task to avoid the misrepresentation of the history of the discipline at least within the context of the development of the social sciences in Ghana. In doing this, the chapter explores the origin and scope of the discipline and the various epochal transformations from the wider systemic level. It also traces the trajectory of the discipline and the various perspectives that influenced its study in Ghana.

Evolution of Theory and Practice in International Relations in Ghana

The structured teaching of international relations in Ghana may be traced to the immediate post-independence period when the establishment of a Ministry of Foreign Affairs necessitated the instruction of Foreign Service Officers (FSOs) in the theory and practice of international relations. Originally, like other professionals of the time, the trend was to send FSOs to train in Great Britain, notably in the London School of Economics. However, over time, it became imperative for the country to provide instruction on international relations. Thus, in the 1970s, efforts were made to educate the staff of the MFA in Ghana. At its inception, a post-graduate diploma was instituted by the University of Ghana to provide instruction within existing faculties, on various aspects of International Relations. Consequently, the FSOs undertook courses in Public International Law and Trade and Investment Law at the Faculty of Law; Political History of Ghana, International Relations and the Evolution of the International System at the Department of Political Science; the Economy of Ghana and International Economic Relations at the Department of Economics and the Basics of Nuclear Science at the Department of Physics.⁹ Since they were not admitted to a particular class, there were inconsistencies in the levels at which the FSOs were admitted to the various courses. For instance, while they

⁹ Information obtained from conversation with Ambassador D.K.Osei, a member of the 1979 batch trained at the University of Ghana and currently serving as a Diplomat-in-Residence at the Legon Centre for International Affairs.

were allowed to join the level 300 class of Public International Law at the Faculty of Law, they could join the level 400 Economy of Ghana class at the Department of Economics. Thus, although this arrangement appeared germane to the training needs of the FSOs, it was anomalous in the context of the existing structure of university education and therefore engendered challenges, particularly as regards classification and certification.

In 1989, the University of Ghana and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs concluded negotiations for the establishment of a dedicated Research and Training Centre for International Affairs. Originally christened the Legon Centre for International Affairs, the name was changed to the Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy in 2010. The change in name was necessitated by the need to better reflect the Centre's focus on diplomatic training as the means for external engagement. At its inception, the Centre was charged with three main activities: post-graduate level education of FSOs, practical training of FSOs through seminars, workshops and short courses, research and publication in the area of international affairs.¹⁰ It is imperative to state that although the LECIAD is the only Centre of teaching and learning dedicated to research, training and study of international affairs at the post-graduate level, aspects of international relations, international economics, international law, international finance and international conflicts and conflict resolution are taught as part of a variety of programmes at various levels in tertiary institutions in the country and within various departments at the University of Ghana.

As an academic unit within the University, the Centre was primarily designed for staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs although it was envisaged that after its first year of existence, it would be opened to staff of allied public services such as the Ghana Immigration Service, the Police Service and the Ghana Armed Forces.¹¹ The Centre was also expected to allocate one-third of its intake to students from other African countries and up to five students from other regions of the world.¹² From an initial intake of nine students (all drawn from the MFA), the Centre now has an average yearly intake of 38 students on the main campus and about 20 students at the Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College. It has also developed a reputation as a Training Institution for diplomats from the sub-regional organization, ECOWAS, as well as for civilian personnel in peacebuilding and good governance from all over Africa. As the research and training school of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Centre is also mandated to provide a platform for the engagement of the Foreign Service establishment to interrogate and recommend foreign policy options for the executive.

At its inception, the Centre offered courses in International Relations, Public International Law, International Economic Relations, Science and Technology in the Modern World, Public Administration, International Institutions, Regionalism: History, Theory and Practice, Topics in International Relations Theory,

¹⁰ Excerpt from Council Minutes 5(13)/88–89.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² LECIA, A Brief. On file.

and Philosophy, Morality and International Affairs. The first three courses were compulsory. Students were however at liberty to choose one of the others which were electives. In addition, all students had to study and pass a proficiency test in French, German, Spanish, Russian, Arabic, Swahili or Portuguese. The Centre also hosted weekly guest lecture series on topical contemporary international issues. This lecture series usually featured experts from various fields relating to international affairs. The topics discussed reflected the international climate at the time and therefore enhanced students' appreciation of current developments in international affairs.¹³

Developments in the discourse on international affairs as well as the availability of Faculty with the right capabilities made it possible to increase the number of courses from which students made choices. They include International Relations, International Law, International Economic Relations, Issues in International Politics, United Nations Law, Diplomatic Communication, Diplomatic Practice, Gender and International Affairs, Ghana's Foreign Policy, American Foreign Policy, International Conflicts and Conflict Resolution and International Humanitarian Law. Changes in the language component of the programme have also been influenced by emerging or persisting relevance of influential state actors. These have included Japanese, Chinese, Spanish and French.

A trajectory of the teaching of international affairs in Ghana reveals a significant influence from North America and Europe. This is primarily attributable to the fact that most of the early faculty and practitioners of international relations received their education in either North America or Europe. Additionally, the curriculum and literature used in the teaching and study of international affairs have had substantial influence from North American and European faculty and authors. The content of the various courses have therefore been modelled along the routes of the epochal transformations in the global system.

This notwithstanding, the curriculum of the Centre has also been constantly adapted, albeit at a largely informal level, to reflect the discipline's state of evolution to ensure that students of the Centre, most of whom are diplomats and personnel from allied institutions receive a good blend of theoretical soundness and practical relevance for the conduct of international affairs. The process of adaptation has not always been vertical and formal because of the complex processes of altering academic courses and syllabi. A lot of the changes has therefore been

¹³ Some of the 1989–1990 topics for the lecture series included “The Significance of the African commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights,” “The Functions of Diplomatic Missions: The Reporting Function,” Negotiating with Transnationals,” International Protection of Human Rights: The Role of NGOs,” Nigerian Foreign Policy: Aims, Methods, Prospects,” “Problems in Relations between West African States,” “The Effectiveness of UN Peacekeeping,” “The International Civil Servant,” “UNDP: Policies, Procedures, Effectiveness,” “The International politics of Southern Africa,” “International Commodity Agreements: Cocoa,” US Policies in Africa,” “Current Affairs in Eastern Europe: the East German Experience,” “The Making of Ghanaian Foreign Policy,” “Multinationals in the Oil Industry: The Royal Dutch Group,” “International Dimensions of Science,” “Population: International Issues,” “Crisis and Change in US Foreign Policy Toward Africa, 1958–1989,” “The Principles and Practice of Japanese Foreign Aid,” “China’s Independent Foreign Policy of Peace,” “The Third World and International Trade.”

driven horizontally through content generated during lectures and the discussions on current affairs in the various classes. For instance, after the birth of the AU and the introduction of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) with its Peer Review Mechanism, it became imperative for students of the Centre to be aware of it so as to be able to utilize it in their work. The scope of the course on Regional Integration was therefore expanded to include elements of the NEPAD in the curriculum. Similarly, the course on Gender and International Relations introduced elements of Gender Sensitive Budgeting to ensure that students were exposed to the dynamics and became better informed about it. Similarly, on the main campus, the syllabus on International Humanitarian Law has been reviewed to include Protection of Civilians and the Responsibility to Protect while at the Ghana Armed Forces Staff College; the syllabus also includes Protection against Conflict Related Sexual Violence and Sexual Exploitation and Abuse.

Research by Fellows at the Centre has also generally followed the trends in global politics and its resultant processes in Africa. In the last decade, these thematic areas have included Peace, Security and International Institutions, Political Economy, International Relations, Post Conflict Development and Regionalism. The publications churned out of these thematic areas have particularly focused on African and Ghanaian perspectives. It is, however, observable that most of the research publications have tilted towards explanation of phenomenon rather than predictive analysis and theory development.

Conscious of the need for knowledge dissemination, LECIAD launched the *Legon Journal for International Affairs* to provide an outlet for the publication of African research. The journal, which publishes biannually, is multi-disciplinary and provides a platform for scholars from various departments to publish their work. Unfortunately, students do not have a similar outlet for publication and no student has as yet published in the journal.

Epochal Transformations in the teaching of International Relations in Ghana

The didactics of international affairs at LECIAD is unique because despite the limitations in locating Africa's contribution to theory and content development, the issues that make it an object of study and subject of the numerous prescriptions are very much highlighted in teaching. However the lack of theory development by African scholars has meant that the challenges in and prospects of Africa is explained through existing theories, making it somewhat challenging for informed predictions to be made on the state of Africa and the challenges thereof. As mentioned earlier, despite the fact that Africa contributes to the content that shapes international relations theory, the content is collected within a pre-defined space and analyzed through Euro-American lenses. In effect, the literature utilized for teaching and research tends to reflect North-American and European perspectives.

The 1990s, however, witnessed a significant shift in the teaching and practice of international affairs in Ghana. The resulting dynamics from the changes in the international system had significant repercussions on almost all developing countries. The ripples of that change altered the political landscape of African countries, resulting in policy adjustments and the outlook of states' external relations. Although the transformation was evident, the abrupt manner in which the Cold War ended left many African states little time to re-engineer their structures of support and develop resilience to the shocks that resulted with the changing dynamics. As a result, a number of states were caught unawares with the backlash of the end of super power politics in the world. The result was disequilibrium in several African countries. In West Africa, ailing economies, abject poverty and repression borne out of dictatorships resulted in various types of conflicts. In some countries, there were demands for democratization—which was presented as a panacea to the challenges of under-development, poverty and repression—which was backed by Western countries; in others, the severe weakness of the state and its institutions led to a complete breakdown of law and order, resulting in intra-state armed conflicts. It was to these challenges that scholars of international affairs had to evolve options to guide practitioners.

At the outset of the challenges, there were very few, if any, guides on options for responses. The absence of African focused international relations theories meant that the Western oriented predictions were not particularly useful to addressing the challenges confronting the continent. For one, the armed conflicts on the continent were neither as a result of Huntington's predicted clash of civilizations nor a problem from hell. Rather, as would be concluded in the end, these were the manifestations of interplays between extant fault lines and external influences. The failure of the international community to effectively address the challenges mentioned above left Africa burdened with evolving practical solutions to the mayhem that threatened to spread. However, as mentioned earlier, the absence of African influences in international relations theory meant that there were almost no academic prescriptions to follow. As a result, practitioners led the way in the formulation of responses, leaving scholars to evolve explanations for the actions employed.

The explanation of practice behaviours were undertaken within the existing framework of international relations theory and as such, there has not been a fundamental shift in the framework for teaching although the guiding philosophy of teaching has been revised to give volume to Africa's experiences and African voices. However, as indicated above, LECIAD seeks to generate content to develop the capacities of African diplomats and personnel of allied institutions to adequately respond to the new challenges confronting their nations and the continent. The ensuing paragraphs examine how the transformation of institutions and development of norms in the region and on the continent have influenced the changing perspectives of the teaching of international affairs in Ghana.

Curriculum

A significant part of post-graduate training in international affairs relates to being alive to current events. Thus, the post-graduate student of international affairs must be an avid consumer of news—both local and foreign. S/he must be able to engage in objective discourse(s) on both domestic issues as well as international relations. Above all, s/he must carry herself/himself at all times as a distinguished member of the public. While some of these have to be taught, a great deal of these skills is imbibed through observation. In view of the above LECIAD provides an ambience that promotes both active and passive learning. The Centre offers courses in International Relations, International Law, International Economic Relations, Regionalism and Integration, International Conflicts and Conflict Resolution, Ghanaian Foreign Policy, Issues in Ghanaian Foreign Policy, Issues in International Politics, Law of Diplomacy and International Institutions, The Law of the United Nations, International Trade and Development, International Finance and Developing Countries as well as American Foreign Policy. Other courses include Science and Technology in the Modern World, International Humanitarian Law, Gender and International Relations, Public Administration and Research Methods.¹⁴ There is also a Wednesday Seminar Series which attracts practitioners from various fields of endeavour that has implications for international affairs. Through that, experiences from the industry are brought to bear on the experiences of the students. The Centre also offers courses in French, Spanish and Japanese.

Being an academic programme, the Centre faces a challenge with the introduction of new courses. This notwithstanding, a number of methods have been employed to ensure that new developments are incorporated into teaching at the Centre. While new courses have been introduced in some instances, the scope of some courses have been widened to incorporate new developments in the field. In the 2008/2009 academic year, four new courses—The Ghana Armed Forces, the Ghanaian State and the International System, Security and the African State, Conflicts and Conflict Management in Africa and Globalization: States, Non-State Actors and Issues were introduced at the GAFSC to cater for the particular needs of the students. Currently, in view of developments in the area of international affairs, the Centre has begun the process of introducing three new Master of Arts programmes which would provide specialist training in their designated areas. They are MA in International Affairs and Diplomacy, International Trade and Finance and Peace and Conflict Studies. In addition to these and as mentioned above, individual courses have also expanded their scope to cater for new areas. For instance, after the birth of the AU and the introduction of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) with its Peer Review Mechanism, it became imperative for students of the

¹⁴ The Centre also has other courses of study which are currently not on offer because of the unavailability of resources. These include: Applied Field Methods, Topics in International Relations Theory, Comparative Politics, Political Development, Comparative Public Policy, Area Politics, International Institutions, History, Theory and Practice, Global competitiveness and Development, Politics of Structural Adjustment, and Globalization.

Centre to be aware of it and to be able to use it in their work. The scope of the course on Regional Integration was therefore expanded to include elements of the NEPAD in the curriculum. Similarly, the course on Gender and International Relations introduced elements of Gender Sensitive Budgeting to ensure that students were exposed to the dynamics and became better informed about it. Similarly, on the main campus, the syllabus on International Humanitarian Law has been reviewed to include Protection of Civilians and the Responsibility to Protect while at the Ghana Armed Forces Staff College; the syllabus includes Protection against Conflict Related Sexual Violence and Sexual Exploitation and Abuse.

Although all members of Faculty incorporate emerging issues in their field into their curriculum as to when it becomes necessary, the course on Issues in International Politics straddles all the other disciplines and addresses cross-cutting and critical emerging issues such as nuclear politics in the twenty-first century, terrorism, globalization, religious fundamentalism, cyberspace politics, international security, global governance systems and Middle East politics, among others. While this course provides a bird's eye view of the issues which influence international relations and guide the direction of States' behaviours which are discussed by other courses, it is an elective, which means that students who do not sign on to it do not get the benefits it offers.

A critical part of the curriculum has to do with the practical aspects of diplomacy. At the vanguard of LECIAD's diplomatic training is the Diplomat-in-Residence for a career diplomat from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Diplomat-in-Residence uses a variety of practical sessions including seminars and dinners, to offer students the experience of diplomats. The end-of-year dinner, for instance, aims at providing students an opportunity to gain insights into appropriate dress sense, initiating conversations held during cocktails, the politics of cocktails and the art of making conversations at such functions. At the dinner, students are taught the tact of seating, how to propose a toast, the use of the full complement of cutlery at dinner and the general ethics of dining. The platform of the end of year party also provides an opportunity to teach students cultural sensitivities and verbal and non-verbal methods of communication during dinner.

Teaching Methodology

Faculty at the Centre employs a mix of teaching methods. These include advanced teaching and supervisory methods such as lectures, seminar type deliveries, and activities that promote students' active participation in the learning process. Students are often placed in groups of five or seven and assigned a reading or practical assignment which they are expected to present to the class. This is very useful as students get the opportunity to conduct in-depth research on at least one topic in the course. Student-led seminars are also a common feature of pedagogy at the Centre. The class presentations and student-led seminars are designed to provide students to also learn the art of public speaking and the use of power point presentations. Guest

lecturers are also invited occasionally to deliver seminars on topical issues within a particular subject area. Such seminars allow students to better appreciate the relevance of the theories learnt and the dilemmas that arise in the application of the theories in practice. Some members of Faculty have also negotiated the participation of students in specialized meetings of various organizations such as ECOWAS and their organs to expose students to the workings of such organizations.

Dissertations

Student dissertations provide a mirror through which the changing perspectives of international relations may be viewed. Thus, at the inception of the Centre in 1989 with the end of the Cold War in sight, student dissertations focused on Conflict Management in Africa in the 1980s, the prospects of Non-Alignment in a Multi-Polar World and Africa's Debt Management and Recovery. However, the intractable armed conflicts of the 1990s in West Africa and inaction on the part of the United Nations created dilemmas for sub-regional leaders. As lives and properties were being destroyed, the United Nations issued resolutions that offered very little practical help. The inaction of the UN in the face of such carnage revealed the gaps in existing United Nations security arrangements. Although collective security is the bedrock of the United Nations, its primary focus was on inter-state rather than intra-state challenges. As a result, it was not particularly easy to identify the tools for addressing situations in which the state, which is expected to be the guarantor of the security of the people had itself become the main protagonist undermining the peace. In the face of Liberia and Sierra Leone, it became evident that the strict applications of the theories of non-interference, regional organizations' use of pacific settlements and the non-use of force except in situations of self-defence, were not particularly useful when the Security Council was unwilling to act. West African leaders, notably Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal, Guinea, Mali, The Gambia, convinced of the need to act to protect the civilian population in the theatres of war—Liberia and later Sierra Leone, decided to send a team of military observers into Liberia. Although the force was sent in as a monitoring team, it quickly metamorphosed into a peace enforcement mission. It is worthy to note that this was the first time that a regional organization had utilized force without prior Security Council authorization to protect civilians.

The varying degrees of instability and insecurity in member states made it difficult to attain the objectives of integration as envisaged by the drafters of the Treaty of Lagos that set up the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). The need for stability became a *sine qua non* to integration and therefore led to a shift of focus from economic integration to peacemaking. Although the integration effort was never abandoned, the processes took a back stage. Although Ghana and other countries in the region had contributed troops for peacekeeping at the request of the United Nations, they were now mandating a mission by themselves, without Security Council authorization. This meant that the countries had to provide the

logistics and finance to undertake the activities. The actions of ECOWAS received both criticism and praise on their own merit but also led to interrogations on the moral and legal rights of the leaders in the sub-region, some of which were under dictatorships, to intervene in other countries. The unfolding events were reflected in the teaching curriculum as a course on international conflicts and conflict resolution as well as international humanitarian law was added to the course curriculum in 2002.

The concerns mentioned above were reflected in the dissertations submitted by students in the 1993/1994 academic year and beyond. The first specific study on ECOWAS's response to the armed conflicts in the sub-region was presented in the 1993/1994 academic year. Subsequently, a number of dissertations on the ECOWAS response and its implications were submitted to the Centre.¹⁵ Despite the demonstrated interest however, it was not until the 1998/1999 academic year that someone broached the controversial topic of the declining concept of non-intervention as had been demonstrated in Liberia. This is most probably as a result of the lack of interest in the subject by Faculty, time constraints as the MA is only a 12-month programme and funding for the field work was not available. In the twenty-first century, student dissertations have focused on regional institutions and assessment of compliance with human rights, governance and democracy instruments developed in the twentieth century and their implications for citizens. Some attention has also been paid to assessing the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals.

The concept of the Responsibility to Protect which had been the underlying rationale for the ECOWAS intervention became a cardinal point in the Constitutive Act of the African Union which became the successor of the Organization of African Unity. At the end of the apartheid rule in South Africa, the OAU had served its objective of ridding the continent of colonialism. The challenges of the twenty-first century revealed the inadequacies of the OAU to effectively address Africa's contemporary challenges. The transformation of the OAU to the African Union was therefore to provide it with the normative and legal frameworks to be better able to handle the challenges confronting the African continent. Although the African Union inherited most of the structures of the OAU, it also provided additional legal and normative frameworks for the maintenance of continental peace and security. For instance, Article 4(h) of the Constitutive Act makes provision for intervention in the event of war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity while Article 4(j) provides states with the right to request intervention to restore peace and security. The provisions of Article 4(h) provide yet another norm setting in the international arena, especially in relation to the protection of persons against human rights violations by their states. It is worthy of note that unlike the ECOWAS intervention where there was little academic input, the change from the OAU to the AU received

¹⁵ In the 1993/1994 academic year, was a dissertation titled, "Regional peacekeeping: A Case Study of ECOMOG Operations in Liberia 1990–1994." In the 1996/1997 academic year, dissertations submitted included "The United Nations High Commission for Refugees and Refugee Management: The Case Study of the Liberian Refugees in Ghana," "Regional Efforts towards Peacekeeping in Africa: The Case of ECOMOG in Liberia" and "International Concern for Conflict in Africa: A Case Study of the US Response to the Liberian Conflicts."

considerable attention at the Centre, students researched on lessons learnt from the OAU and presented dissertations that provided signposts for the African Union.¹⁶

Extension Activities

The reputation of LECIAD as the University of Ghana's flagship Centre for international affairs is mainly as a result of its extension activities. One of the core extension activities of the Centre is the provision of in-service training for the staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. To this end, the Centre organizes seminars and workshops on topical issues and training workshops to enhance the skills of personnel of the Ministry. It also organizes conferences to discuss the implications of new developments within the international community in general and Ghana in particular to generate foreign policy options for government. The Centre also facilitates the development of position papers on international affairs and has been requested to prepare speeches and provide speaking notes for the government.

A unique attribute of the Centre is the symbiotic relationship between the Centre's research and its extension activities. This relationship means that the extension activities are mainly driven by the findings and recommendations from the research outputs. As a result of this, the Centre, in partnership with the International Training Programme for Conflict Management (ITPCM) of the Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna in Pisa Italy, established a training arm—the International Training Programme for Peacebuilding and Good Governance (ITPPGG) to train African civilian personnel for peacebuilding activities. This was in response to the dearth of African civilian professionals with requisite knowledge and experience on working in post conflict situations. The ITPPGG which became the first such training programme in West Africa and among the first in Africa, offered foundation and specialized courses for peacebuilding such as Human Rights in field operations, Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration, the protection of vulnerable groups, Election Management, Monitoring and Observation. The Centre has provided Faculty for the development of various components of the African Standby Force (ASF) and was instrumental in the development of the civilian component of the ASF. It is a member of the African Peace Support Trainers' Association (APSTA) which is a chapter of the International Association of Peace Support Trainers Association (IAPTC).

The Centre's reputation as a training Centre of Excellence in the sub-region and Africa is well acknowledged and its expertise on training has been sought by the ECOWAS and the United Nations. In preparation for deployment, the United Nations requested the ITPPGG to provide training for its personnel to Eritrea. Similarly, ECOWAS requested the Centre to train its Panel of the Wise and political

¹⁶ Some of the dissertations include "An Appraisal of the OAU's Approach to Conflict Management and Resolution (1990–2000)," "The OAU in Retrospect: Lessons for the African Union," "African Unity: Political and Economic Challenges for the Future," "The Principle of Non-Interference in Inter-State Relations: Contemporary Trends and Challenges for the African Union."

affairs desk officers of the various Ministries of Foreign Affairs in the sub-region. In a bid to strengthen its African Standby Force (ASF) arrangement, the African Union sought to conduct a Training Needs Analysis (TNA). Similarly, in recognition of its curriculum development capability, the Centre has on occasions been requested to develop training curriculum for sister organizations.

In addition to the above, the Centre has been engaged in outreach programmes to demystify the perception of the practice of international relations as an elitist area and to educate the general population on Ghana's international relations. The outreach programme also aims at developing the interest of students at the senior secondary school level in the study of international affairs and to this end, organizes model multilateral summits for the participating students. The outreach programme also aims at popularizing the international agreements to which Ghana is state party, to enhance the knowledge of the target audience of the existence of certain instruments and above all, inform them of the opportunities and prospects contained therein. During this period, instructional material in the form of leaflets, pamphlets and briefs are provided for the literate general public.

Conclusion

There is no prescribed course of study at the undergraduate level which prepares individuals for employment in establishments that deal with international affairs. Whether it is in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a Foreign Service Officer, as the external relations officer of the security services or even as the international relations officer for a private company; the courses at the undergraduate level that provide the closest kind of preparatory instruction are political science, international relations and the study of foreign languages. Although these are useful, they are woefully inadequate for persons who may have to address issues of administrative and consular services, engage in negotiating agreements on trade, border demarcation and maritime delimitation, migrants, refugees and health, among others. In recognition of the functional needs of the students at the Centre vis a vis the constraints of time and other resources, the Centre's didactic approach provides students with the opportunity to learn through both formal and informal platforms. Transformations in the relations between states, enhanced cooperation and accelerated transportation and communication have created both opportunities and challenges in international relations. The mutable dynamics of international affairs makes it imperative for students and practitioners of international affairs to be abreast of developments in the field and have the skills to effectively craft responses to emerging issues which challenge the theories and practice of the discipline.

The teaching of international affairs in Ghana has since the immediate post-independent era been influenced by the dynamics of international relations. This undoubtedly suggests that any claim to being static will be detrimental to the growth of the discipline. To maintain relevance, the discipline must maintain sufficient flexibility to accommodate emerging needs arising out of the transformations in

global affairs. Additionally, while maintaining interest in broad thematic areas of international affairs, it is also important to engender some level of specialization in the teaching of the discipline. This is to facilitate in-depth study of areas which would have otherwise warranted mere brushwork interest. As noted above, one of the challenges to the development of the discipline in Africa is largely the absence of scholarship and African perspectives to influence the epistemological directions of the discipline. To make noteworthy inputs into this frame, scholars of international relations in Africa and Ghana in particular must not just engage in useful scholarship but must communicate such scholarship to world class journals, conferences and other notable platforms. One area where scholarship must focus is in theory development. In this regard, it is worth noting that due to their roles in defining content, such attempts at theory developments will be absolutely critical to changes. Since theory explains phenomenon, theory development would provide an opportunity to analyze emerging issues especially as it relates to Africa, in a new light. The world cannot talk of “African solutions to Africa problems” without analyzing the problems through African lenses.

Students of international affairs must have access to relevant literature on the various subject areas to ensure that they are attuned to the conversations on issues within the discipline. However, one of the main challenges with the teaching and studying of international relations in Ghana is the dearth of literature and other learning resources in the field. This poses fundamental problems to international affairs research in the country. While classic books have their place in international affairs, relevant current books are also essential. There must therefore be a good blend of literature to engage students.

As mentioned above, studying for international affairs requires practical training. This has been missing in the didactics of international affairs at the Centre. Internships, industrial attachments and study visits could be useful in augmenting the practical aspects of the teaching of the discipline as it would enhance students’ appreciation of the application of the issues taught. The Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy will be 25 years in 2014. As it steps into the future, it is critical that it provides the space for Ghanaian scholars and students of international affairs to set the agenda of international affairs in Africa and begin to tell their stories through Africans’ own worldview.

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Chapter 11

From Library and Archival Studies to Information Studies: A Convergence

H. Akussah and A. A. Alemna

Introduction

Library and Information Science education in Africa started in Egypt where the first academic studies in library sciences was established in 1951 at Cairo University. This was a 4-year evening study offering a diploma in librarianship and archives. Presently, the Department of Library and Information Sciences at Cairo University offers undergraduate courses in librarianship and archives, and M.A. and PhD in Library Science. Among developing countries Egypt was the second to establish post-graduate studies in library science, after India (Halwagy 1992).

In West Africa, the Department of Library, Archival and Information Studies (LARIS) at the University of Ibadan was the first Library School. It was opened as the Institute of Librarianship in 1960. Its establishment was made possible by several grants from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The Ibadan Library School has thus played a pioneering role in the development of the library profession not only in Nigeria, but throughout Sub-Saharan Africa (Alemna 1994).

The three basic responsibilities of a university library and archival school have been identified by Aguolu (1985) as:

1. production of qualified librarians;
2. serving as a centre for research in library and information science and the profession's "think-tank"; and
3. provision of further education for experienced and other practicing librarians.

These responsibilities accord with the basic role of a university in a developing society—teaching, research and public service. In discharging these responsibilities, human beings and mechanical devices are used to make the whole process efficient. The people should be well trained and equipped with the requisite skills to enable them discharge their duties creditably. Recent advances in technological

H. Akussah (✉) · A. A. Alemna
Department of Information Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana
e-mail: hakussah@ug.edu.gh

developments have led to the introduction of computers in libraries to assist the staff in their daily work. These factors have to be considered in planning library school programmes.

Pre-Independence Library and Archival Education in Ghana (The Ghana Library School)

The first formal library school in West Africa was established in Accra, at the Achimota College in the then Gold Coast, in 1944. This was a joint West African effort whose objective was to meet the personnel requirements of the libraries in the three British colonial territories comprising the Gold Coast, Nigeria and Sierra Leone. Thus, in library education as in public library development, Ghana was a pioneer in the sub-region (Kisiedu 1999).

The school was established as a result of a survey commissioned by the Carnegie Corporation, and Ethel Fegan who had undertaken the survey in 1942 arrived in 1943 with Kate Ferguson to run the school. Fegan had planned for the course to last 3 years. However, it did not survive the first session. Twelve students—six from the Gold Coast, four from Nigeria and two from Sierra Leone, sat for the LA Examinations. This initial library education programme was, therefore, firmly tied to the Library Association of U.K. system of training.

Various reasons have been advanced for the abandonment of the school, the most cited of which is that there was no real demand for librarians at the time (Evans 1964).

Library and Archival Education in Post-Independence Ghana (The Department of Library Studies)

The Department of Information Studies began as the Department of Library Studies when the Ghana Library School was moved to the University of Ghana in 1965. Its origin, however, dates back to September 1959, when Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the Prime Minister, met Miss A. Elise Walker the then University College Librarian at a ceremony and told her about his desire to establish a library school in Ghana (Evans 1964). Miss Walker, however, advised the Prime Minister that the library school should be located on the campus of the University College. Miss Walker therefore proceeded to discuss the issues with Sir Arku Korsah, then the Chairman of University Council and later with the Principal of the College, Dr. A. H. Stoughton. She argued that post-graduate courses in librarianship were vital and that when it came to providing these courses the best place would be the University College, at Legon. The Ghana Library School was then located in Accra as a separate institute in 1961

and it was the wish of Miss Walker that the school be re-located on the university campus. Before her final departure from Ghana, she reiterated her plea and urged a relocation of the school (Evans 1964).

The university later thought it was necessary to develop Professional Studies apart from purely academic ones. In this respect, establishing library studies in Legon promised to be a significant development. Therefore in November, 1963, the new University Librarian, John Dean, got involved in informal meetings with the Director of Ghana Library Board and the Principal of the Ghana Library School about the desire of transferring the library school to the university.

By November, 1964, approval was given after a series of meetings by the university authorities. The library school was, however, moved to the university in October, 1965 and was renamed the Department of Library Studies. The new Department later spent about 2 years consolidating its position and formulating plans for the future. This was also in regard to the content and level of courses to be provided (Evans 1964).

The B.A. Library Studies Programme (1965–1967)

The new Department was established in 1965 within the Faculty of Social Studies. The library profession in Ghana had a stake in the success of this new academic enterprise not merely as a “factory” for producing professional personnel but mainly because the image of the profession was at stake. In its new university setting the Department had to achieve credibility and it was felt that this could only be done by proving that librarianship was a viable academic discipline. It was considered that the achievement of this recognition rested on combining librarianship and “academic” subjects in the curriculum to provide a sound general background education as a basis for satisfactory professional education. The first of the 3-year degree courses was therefore entirely academic, non-professional, and students took first year’s studies in arts subjects (Boye 1986).

The BA Library Studies programme was dissolved in 1967 after graduation of ten of its initial intake of 12 students. The programme’s early abandonment has been attributed to several factors, including structural ones and prejudiced traditional professional opinion. Bengé (1967) explains that structurally, the programme proved difficult to administer. The combination of “academic” and professional subjects resulted in a timetable which he described as “rigid, difficult to construct and impossible to modify.” This affected the arrangement of visits to and practical work in libraries and led to a situation which amounted to loss of control over the students and the courses they pursued. As regards prejudice from established traditional sources, the fact that first degree library courses in the United States of America had been discredited as inferior, and the lack of precedent in the British tradition (which was still influential locally), were important factors in the decision to discontinue the programme (Kisiedu 1999).

Post-Graduate Programmes

The year 1971 saw a further extension in the activities of the Department when an MA degree in Librarianship was approved by the university. The first MA student was admitted in 1972 and successfully completed the course in 1973/1974 (University of Ghana 2000, Prospectus 1985–1986). The development of programmes at the post-graduate level exhibited characteristics of experimentation and programme fluidity. First, a two-year Graduate Diploma programme replaced the BA programme in 1967 only to be replaced, itself, with a one-year programme in 1969. This one-year diploma programme proved to be the most enduring of all the Department's programmes. Candidates had to possess a good first degree in any subject area.

In addition to the Graduate Diploma programme, several programmes at the Masters level were set up and changed or phased out at various times between 1972 and 1975 and even beyond. Their combined target was professionals in management positions (who already possessed the Graduate Diploma qualification) and the objective, to produce a cadre with research potential that would empower them to investigate Africa-specific information problems and promote the development of indigenous professional literature (Kisiedu 1999). The Master of Philosophy (MPhil.) degree in Library and Archival Studies was approved in 1978.

Undergraduate Certificate/Diploma in Librarianship

In view of the persistent demand in the country for librarians at sub-professional level, a one-year Certificate course in Librarianship was added to the programme of the department in 1970. The curriculum was later enriched to make room for another year from the Certificate level to a Diploma level in 1977/1978. The Certificate course was, however, dissolved in 1992, so that the Department now runs a straight 2-year Diploma courses in Library Studies and Archives Administration.

The Department of Library and Archival Studies (DLAS) (1976–1999)

In developing countries the impact of national archives and records management systems on economic and social development, on planning, on public administration and on scholarly research is becoming more and more recognized. It was with this purpose in view that the UNESCO with the financial backing of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) decided to establish a Regional Training Centre for archivists, to serve the countries of English-speaking Africa as the Dakar Centre serves those of the French-speaking Africa (Prospectus 1985–1986). On the

basis of a thorough exploration of the local conditions in the various countries of the region—in particular with regard to the level of the existing archival institutions capable of offering the required counterpart services and in-service training facilities, and university institutions with which collaboration could be established, it was decided to mount the Regional Training Centre at the University of Ghana and to affiliate it to the already flourishing Department of Library Studies, subsequently now re-styled the Department of Library and Archival Studies. And the international support ceased on 31st March, 1981 (Prospectus 1985–1986).

In 1974 two courses in the Archival field at professional and sub-professional levels—Graduate Diploma in Archival Studies and Certificate in Archives Administration—were approved by the University; but after a delay of a year the Centre eventually opened its doors to the two courses in the academic sessions of 1975. At the initial stages UNESCO provided a certain number of fellowships to qualified students, but now governments and foundations support the students.

The Department has been the only major Centre in Ghana for the education and training of librarians, archivists and other information professionals and their supporting staff. It has produced a large number of professional and sub-professional librarians and archivists for libraries and archives in Anglophone Africa.

Information Studies 2000 to Present

There is no doubt that advances in technology; particularly from the 1980s have had tremendous impact on information centres and their services all over the world. Logically, the training of human resource for Libraries, Archives, Records Centres and other information services were also greatly impacted. As a consequence, several international bodies began to provoke the issue of review of training programmes to conform to changing circumstances.

Mokhtari (1994) observed that as far back as the mid—1970s, the synchronization of the education and training of librarians, archivists, documentalists and information scientists had been a topic of discussion by the United Nations (UN), United Nations, Educational, Scientific Science and Culture (Unesco) and the International Federation of Library Associations and Institution (IFLA) and on other platforms. This same position was articulated by Pemberton and Nugent (1995) when they made allusion to how trends in economic technological and higher education were conspiring to demand convergence in the education of information professionals (librarians, records managers, archivists, information scientists, information technology analysts and others).

In tune with compelling changing trends, Akussah et al. (1999) observed in a study that curriculum of the then existing programmes of the DLAS had to be broadened. They went on to recommend the change of name of the Department to reflect the broader Curriculum to be adopted. They went further to suggest “Information Management” or “Information Studies” as a replacement for DLAS.

Antwi-Adjei (2010) citing Crowbold (1999) intimated that most library schools had begun changing their names to accommodate both internal and external pressure. The new names ranged from Information Studies through Information Management to Information Science.

Reinforcing the need for a paradigm shift in the way of working at library and archival education in the world, Yakel (2004) pointed to the collapse of the barriers between institutions such as libraries, museums and archives as a result of the introduction of digital technology. The need for interoperability and interrelationships between varying information sources was becoming evident. In the view of Yakel (2004) which was shared by Dadzie (2008), integration of education in information related disciplines is one means of dealing with the low patronage.

The Beginning

In the year 1999, the Department of Library and Archival Studies in response to the need of her Diploma products to further their professional career through relevant degree programmes (Akussah et al. 1999), embarked upon a restructuring exercise that culminated in the introduction of a 4-year degree programme for the second time (Academic Board minutes 1999). It will be recalled that a Bachelor of Arts in Library Studies Programmes was introduced in 1965. This programme was dissolved in 1967 due to several factors. The title of the approved new degree programme in 1999 was BA Library, Archives and Information Studies. The first batch of 41 students (University of Ghana 2000–2009, Basic Statistic 2000) was drawn from holders of Diploma in Librarianship and Archives Administration from the University of Ghana. This cohort of students entered at Level 200 (2nd year) and for that matter took the degree in 3 years as per university admission regulations (University of Ghana 2000; Handbooks for Bachelor's Degree 1999).

The year 2000 saw an equally dramatic change in the history of the Department when the Academic Board of the university approved a proposal for a change of name from DLAS to the Department of Information Studies (Minutes of Academic Board Meeting 2000). As a consequence, the title of the BA programme was changed from Library, Archives and Information Studies to BA Information Studies.

The BA Information Studies Programme

The programme was designed as a general purpose integrated programme which introduces its products to all aspects of managing information. The programme affords all students the opportunity to offer core and compulsory courses which cut across all aspects of information management. Some of the core courses relate to Management; Information Technology; Research Methodology; Systems Analysis;

Information Sources; Preservation of Information Resources; Information Systems and Public Relations. In addition, students could offer free electives in the traditional library; archives administration and records management disciplines. There are as well, electives in technology related courses such as programming; automation and telecommunication, among others.

Products of the BA Programme

The products of the Information Studies degree programme are expected to fit into any work environment where there is the need to manage information in addition to the traditional library, archives and records management units. This indeed will satisfy what Yakel (2004) refers to as the “push by clients for increased interoperability and interrelationships between dispersed information sources.” In other words, a product of this programme should be able to, with little difficulty, put systems in place to harness all the different types of information in an organization while ensuring easy access and usability. Currently, there are two levels of admission into the programme. The first is the Senior Secondary School Certificate and equivalent qualifications (admitted to the first year). The second level of admission is for candidates holding relevant Diploma certificate (admitted to the second year). Candidates admitted to the BA Information Studies programme are expected to offer additional courses in other subjects from the beginning and in the final year concentrate on Information Studies only. It needs to be pointed out that contrary to expectations, the Bachelor in Information Studies programme does not make its products professional librarians or archivists but rather equips products with broad-based knowledge and skills which will enable them organize any form of information in organizations and in society at large. In this direction, particular emphasis is placed on Information Technology courses. With this emphasis, products are given adequate grounding in the use of technology to organize and manage any form of organizational and societal information.

Graduate Programmes

Surprisingly, developments and changes in the post-graduate programmes did not keep pace with the dynamism that came along with the change of name of the Department. The first dramatic change was the conversion of the Graduate Diploma in Library and Archival Studies to the Master of Arts in Library and Archival Studies in 1998. This conversion came along with a revamped and expanded curriculum which included courses in Information Technology. The entry requirements remained the same as those for the Graduate Diploma. The good news here was that there was going to be available a critical core of Information Studies degree holders from which to select graduate entrants.

The 2-year MPhil programmes also experienced some boost in the direction of enrichment in course work component and content. Though the title of the programmes remained the same, the curriculum was improved with the introduction of a strong component of research techniques and some technology related courses. It was not until the year 2011 that a major restructuring of the graduate programmes was undertaken to bring them in tandem with the change of the Department's name.

The New Graduate Programme

In 2010, with the support of International Network for the Availability of Scientific Publications (INASP), the Department of Information Studies embarked on a major restructuring of the MA and MPhil programmes. The outcome was the collapse of the MA and MPhil programmes into one with a new name MA/MPhil in Information Studies. Under this new programme, all candidates are admitted to the MA in the first instance and depending on performance, some may be upgraded at the end of the course work to continue and write a thesis for the second year to earn an MPhil while the rest finish with an MA degree in twelve (12) months. Approval of the new programme was granted in 2010 by the Academic Board of University of Ghana and the implementation began in the 2011/2012 academic year.

The major differences between the new and the old graduate programmes are the fact that the course work component of the old MA and MPhil have been merged and thus making it more formidable and also that the name of the programmes have changed from Library and Archival Studies to Information Studies.

Impact of Changes on Student Intake

There is no doubt that the change of name of the Department from Library and Archival Studies to Information Studies and the introduction of the degree and new graduate programmes have had tremendous impact on student intake since the year 2001. Studies by Amuzu (2004), Dadzie (2008) and Antwi-Adjei (2010) have pointed to a steady rise in student numbers, particularly for the degree programme. With a humble first batch number of forty-one (41) in 2000, the degree enrolment rose to one hundred and sixty-three (163) in 2005, two hundred and forty-eight (248) in 2006, three hundred and seven (307) in 2007, five hundred and forty-one (541) in 2008, and five hundred and fifteen (515) in 2009 (UG Basic Statistics, 2005–2009). According to Dadzie (2008) the Information Studies programme became and probably is still one of the most preferred choices of students in the Humanities, and thus confirming the ideas of other scholars like Crowley (1998) that name changes of academic departments and programmes can result in the influx of students.

Impact of the Department on Research and Publications

The impact of the Department on research and publications in the area of Information studies is reflected in the record and trends of publications by faculty in the Department. Before the establishment of the Department, the major work on Librarianship in Ghana was the book by E.J.A. Evans, a British librarian who worked in Ghana. This book, titled *A Tropical Library Service: The Story of Ghana's Libraries* was published in London in 1964. For over a decade, it served as a major source of information on librarianship in Ghana.

From the middle of 1970, Ghanaian professionals have produced important publications in the areas of libraries, archives and records management. These professionals mainly from the Department of Information Studies have published in journals and books (local and foreign). Notable among them are:

S.I.A. Kotei, Publishing and the Booktrade

C.O. Kisiedu, Academic Librarianship

A.A. Alemna, Library Education

H. Akussah, Preservation Management

P. Akotia, Records Management

E. Adjei, Medical Records

P.S. Dadzie, Information Literacy

M. Adams, Archives Administration

S.N.B Tackie, Children's Literature.

Academic linkages overseas have not only provided the Department with much needed books and equipment, but have also served as an avenue for staff to improve upon their knowledge of new ideas, technologies and skills in the information profession. Notable among these linkages are those with the University College, London (UCL) and the Mortenson Centre, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, USA.

In the area of research and publications, therefore, the Department of Information Studies can proudly boast of carrying out most of the publications on information studies in Ghana.

Impact on International and National Levels

The Department of Information Studies at the University of Ghana has made some impact at the international level in the information profession. As the pioneer Archival Training School in English-speaking Africa, the Department served as a training centre for a number of Archivists serving in various positions in some African countries.

Faculty members have served as External Examiners/Assessors in universities in Africa and beyond. A member of the faculty was also in a team that established

Records Centres in Gambia and other countries. At the national level, a team from the Department assisted in establishing the Public Records and Archives Administration Department (PRAAD) which has been staffed mainly by products of the Department.

The Department is also adequately represented on the Board of the Ghana Library Authority (formerly Ghana Library Board) with a member of the faculty as a former Chairperson of the Board, and the National Archives Advisory Board.

The Department also has active representation on the Ghana Library Association and the International Federation of Library Associations and institutions (IFLA). Presently, a member of faculty is the President of the Ghana Library Association (GLA) (2012–2014).

Apart from the international and national assignments listed earlier, the Department continues to assist individuals, ministries, departments, agencies and financial institutions in the establishment of their libraries, archives and records centres and also in the training of their staff.

Conclusion

It can be seen from the review above that the Department has gone through a lot of transformation up to its present stage. Most of the changes in the curriculum were done to provide for the future needs of the Library and Archival profession in Ghana. However, it must also be accepted that the demands of the job environment for information professionals are continuously changing, thereby requiring more adaptations in the curriculum of the Department.

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Chapter 12

Critically “Trending” Approaches to Communication Theory and Methods of Inquiry in Ghana

Kwasi Ansu-Kyeremeh

Introduction

This chapter is a response to the centrality of theory and method in the search for accurate description, explanation and prediction of communication as a social phenomenon in Ghana. Essentially, the chapter critically examines the form and substance of changing traditions in communication theory and research within the Ghanaian context. It probes, for example, the implications of the expanded space for free expression following liberalization of media. The critical trending traces applications of communication theory and method, revealing a latent incidence of continuity in change; that, in essence, the more things change the more they remain the same.

The main issues discussed include conceptualizing communication as “mass communication” or “media” to the exclusion of other and equally important communication approaches, modes and forms. The technologically mediated interpretations of communication have been inspired by, and in many cases are still derived from eurocentric theoretical perspectives including the modernization theories as espoused through, for example, technological determinism. Among other perspectives such as diffusion of innovation theory, they are ostensibly and fallaciously (Ugboajah 1984, p. 105), projected as the panacea catalyst for fast-tracking national development.

It is also noted, regrettably, that the Ghanaian and African experience with communication theory and research is a replication of western norms. It has included concepts of individualism unfamiliar to the African milieu, as building blocks of theory to explain the African setting. The practice is inconsistent with a fundamental recognition of context or perspective or the reflection of the prevalent values and norms embedded in a culture as referent for the communicative act (Boafo and Wete 2002; Odhiambo et al. 2002). There is an apparent reliance on structural functionalist traditions to the virtual exclusion of political economy and even the semiotics tradition as justifiable approaches of inquiry.

K. Ansu-Kyeremeh (✉)

School of Communication Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

e-mail: kansuk@ug.edu.gh

Communication or Communications

Communication as an omnibus term is in many respects amorphous (Odhiambo et al. 2002). Among the many interpretations of communication are the spheres denoted in professional practice by bodies such as the African Council for Communication Education (ACCE), International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR), and International Communication Association (ICA). Organized programmes and courses of study (Odhiambo et al. 2002) provide another frame for interpreting communication in the attempt to develop an overarching understanding. Fiske (2002), for example, prefers “communication studies” as a discipline.

Articulations of communication are so many and varied it is obvious that no single definition would easily be developed. Without doubt, scholarly and professional organizations in their own way drive such interpretations. An examination of structures and activities of IAMCR and ICA suggest areas and themes by which communication may be researched, theorized or critiqued. A professional organization such as IAMCR has 15 divisions and 16 working groups for examining it. ICA, on its part, has a total of 21 areas (16 divisions and 5 special interest groups).

Without attempting to discuss everything that is communication, this chapter is restricted to the study of communication in the most general terms to be inclusive of communications. Even then, a relationship between the concepts—communication (content/process) and communications (the technological aspects), would still be important. It must also be said at this point, that going by the traditions of the social sciences, communication theories may be classified into the dominant paradigm, critical and post-modernist approaches.

With miniaturization, digitization, multimedia and convergence,¹ communication seems to be assuming broader use and application without the “s.” The technological developments suggest medium-specific theories may require rethinking. In the African context, the restriction of the definition of communication to the technologically mediated formats (which exclude indigenous systems) constrains an understanding of communication in development efforts.

Communication and Traditions of Social Thought

The theory and method of communication is informed by the traditional social science disciplines such as philosophy, sociology, psychology, political science and economics. It is, actually, not unusual for theory and method textbooks in communication to often begin with philosophical foundations of knowledge. According to Miller (2002), there are issues of ontology or investigations into the nature of being or the nature of reality. Epistemological questions about the creation and growth of knowledge or what we can know is another. Axiology or value-free

¹ Internet TV is now on the market in addition to the multiple and multitasking functions of the mobile phone.

research bordering on the study of knowledge is yet another philosophical underpinning in communication studies.

Severin and Tankard (2001) also note the socio-psychological roots of communication theories such as those that engage cognition, persuasion and perception while Taylor et al. (2004, p. 7) discuss “psychology-based solutions to media uses and effects”. Society, or the communication context or host culture is central to a number of the communication theories described by DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach (1989) and Berger (1995). In advertising, the “interference theory” (Keller 1991) and the terms “primacy” and “recency,” as in “order effects” originated from the social psychology works of Lund and Asch, among others, as observed by Weinberg et al. (2004).

The political economy of communication (Mosco 2009) is an omnibus or overarching theory that combines aspects of politics and economics. A grounding of any or a combination of these disciplines, therefore, leverages communication theory and methodology. Indeed, to define communication is to beg “a multitude of psychological, aesthetic and sociological questions,” and issues of the “psychology of communicant” (Gordon 1987, p. 673). The study of communication, thus, appears best approached or researched as a “multidisciplinary inquiry” (Odhiambo et al. 2002, p. 14).

Miller (2002) proceeds to group communication theories into two broad categories: “theories of communication processes” and “theories of communication contexts.” The categorization almost follows the earlier sketching of process and effects of mass communication by Schramm and Roberts (1977). It is a case of mass communication, a limitation to mass and not accommodating of African indigenous communication systems.

In essence, “communication has appropriated for itself a central role in societal cohesion, integration or change” (Odhiambo et al. 2002, p. 8) in the study of society as organized through the other fields of social science or the study of society. Its strong affinity with other fields of social inquiry and perhaps even its dependence on concepts emanating therefrom, is underscored by Gordon’s (1987, p. 673) contention that:

a communication expert may be oriented to any number of disciplines in a field of inquiry that has, as yet, neither drawn for itself a conclusive roster of subject matter nor agreed upon specific methodologies of analysis.

The Dominant Paradigm

The “two constellations” of social theory: the structural functionalist perspective and the neo-Marxist critical approach underpin the formulation and explication of communication theory and methods of inquiry. The theory and method of communication are the driving determinants of its applied modes and forms. Many trace the beginnings of communication theory to mathematical linear models developed by Shannon and Warren (1949) and others, in some cases in response to the question posed by American political scientist Harold D. Lasswell (1948): “Who said what,

to whom with what effect?" The Lasswellian paradigm was later to be adopted as a framework for newsgathering and reporting in the 5Ws and H (who, what, whom, where, when and how).

Fiske (2002) outlines other models and describes them. Some draw their frame of discourse from the Aristotelian logic of meaningful interactions between individuals, as collectively largely lacking predictive, descriptive and analytic powers. They tend to describe the process of communication by isolating its constituents as source, encoder, message, channel, decoder and receiver. A feature that distinguishes models from theory is that they can be diagrammatically represented with arrows directing from one constituent to another, sometimes not just linear but cyclical.

Later, a group of theories developed out of these models which postulated positive social change engineered by communication media which were said to have modernized society and, therefore, became known as modernization theories. Among them were the interpretations by Inkeles and Smith (1974), Schramm (1964), McLuhan (1964) later rehashed by Rogers (1969) in his diffusion of innovations and Schramm and Roberts (1977).

The pervasive nature of the process and effects approach to communication earned it the accolade of the "dominant paradigm." The dominant paradigm reflects a quest for description and explanation of the presumed predictive power of communication phenomena in the organization of society. Communication was projected as a catalyst and animateur in fuelling and hastening the processes of development, especially in nonwestern cultures described at various stages as underdeveloped, low income, developing or Third World. A fundamental assumption in the dominant paradigm is Daniel Lerner's (1958) seminal work, the passing of the traditional society. Obviously, Ghanaian and African societies were "passing," and became the target for ceaseless programmes, projects and campaigns supported by international governments and organizations spearheaded by UNESCO.

Critical Approaches

Taylor et al. (2004) note shifts and dilemmas in the postulation of communication theories. Sooner than later, the dominant structural-functionalist approaches to defining and projecting communication (communication for development or development communication) in positivist interpretation began to attract criticism. Criticisms which began in the 1960s gained currency in the 1970s. It was the period both non-western and western scholars such as Inayatullah (1967) and Stuart Hall (1982) observed western cultural hegemony, including Gunder Frank's (1966) development of underdevelopment. Gathering steam in the 1970s and 1980s it continues with contemporary postmodernist (Mumby 1997) analyses such as Bourdieu's (1984) culture as commodity and globalization in its globalization posture and interpretations. Critical views include those of Hamelink (1983), Fuglesang (1984), Habermas (1991), and Servaes (1984) and his collaborators' articulations of participatory communication. Recently, Appadurai (1999) identified mediascapes among

five key waves driving the world economy; the others being ethnoscapas, financescapes, ideoscapes, and technoscapes.

Indeed, the strong theoretical commitment to westernizing the non-western as promoted by Rogers (1962) and Lerner (1958, 1967) was criticized by many including Hutton and Cohen (1975) who faulted Rogers (1962), in particular, for not attempting, to justify the central role cultural factors play in communication (Ansu-Kyeremeh 1992). Others such as Bourdieu (1984) see communication more as cultural commodity governed by the laws of social relations.

In development communication, often associated with communication contexts such as Ghana, there has been the poignant Freire (1981, p. 130) challenge of “all development is modernization, [but] not all modernization is development.” Ansu-Kyeremeh (2004) recently posed the question of the longevity of the concept as a field of study given its association with societies in transition.

“Africanness” in Theory

In his “consciencism” philosophy, Nkrumah (1978, p. 78) observed, “our philosophy [as African people] must find its weapons in the environment and living conditions of the African people.” Nkrumah (1978) had earlier proposed Western and Islamic experiences in the African attitude he feels “must be purposeful.” He further observed “a connected thought” which incorporates all three (western, Islamic and African) but for “this unification to take account, at all times, of the elevated ideals underlying the traditional African society” (Nkrumah 1978, p. 78).

Implicit in the criticisms against the dominant modernization theories is their inability to sufficiently address the African and other non-western cultural contexts. Ugboajah (1984) was blunt in his response to the decision by the government of the United States of America to withdraw from UNESCO in 1980. The US was dissatisfied with attempts by the UN body to redress imbalances between the communication-rich and communication poor countries with a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) agenda. Ugboajah (1984, p. 105) wrote:

... dubious theories of the ‘passing of traditional societies,’ of urbanization leading to modernization, of westernization leading to civilization, of metropolitanism leading to development and adoption of innovations, of high correlation of radio sets, television sets, copies of newspapers and cinema seats with certain population units leading to economic and social progress in a society. Such research theories and concepts succeed in selling costly equipment, ‘expertise,’ and more propaganda but resulted in revolutions of rising frustrations and a trend toward socioeconomic deterioration in Africa and many Third World countries, with neither development nor modernization in sight.

Ugboajah (1984) could have added that it was as if massification and individuation of the community-oriented African social system would yield societal cohesion and harmony with a unified sense of purpose for pursuing growth and development. Pratt and Manheim (1988) had obviously misrepresented the close links between members of the African community in “groupthink” implicit in Obeng-Quaidoo’s

(1987) focus group data collection method, or lack of individual independent thinking.² Kwansah-Aidoo's (2011) analysis could similarly have been a little more Afrocentric.

The critical literature of the 1970s and 1980s also captured views, contentions and empirical evidence of assertions by those proposing westernizing the continent and her people in ways that would clearly be seen as un-African. Rogers (1969) had described communities of the African typology as characterized by mutual distrust, belief in limited good, familistic, lacking innovativeness, fatalistic, and lacking in deferred gratification (Hutton and Cohen 1975). Hutton and Cohen (1975) described such analysis as simplistic and ignoring the possible range of variation of peasant economies other than those Rogers (1969) considered. Even today, Africa is lumped together as a retarded society despite the many levels of economies from low income to upper middle income, including South Africa's BRICS³ status.

Perhaps, to include the African context in communication theory, recently, Taylor et al. (2004, p. 20) proposed a "paradigm shift" in communication education in Africa; advocating "transformation" from "media-centred curriculum emphasis ... towards greater embrace of the human communication disciplines." Nwosu (in Taylor et al. 2004, p. 18) had earlier touted, iterating Nkrumah (1978) that:

... the need to understand how Africans interpret reality must become the indispensable starting point for studying communication in different contexts in Africa.

Yet, the trio's "paradigm shift" hardly challenges the non-incorporation of African originality or anything radically or substantively African such as "indigenous knowledge and knowing," in the theory or method of communication.

The Akan system of thought, small as it is within a larger African context, but with its matrilineal social construction, provides alternative thinking frames to the western patriarchal individualistic thought systems. Not much is known about it in gendered communication analysis where it could be crucial in helping understand communication better. Beginning from distinguishing between *nyansa* (wisdom) and *nimdee* (knowledge), a deeper analysis of concepts and constructs within the Akan contextual backdrop, such as *tie* (listen), *ma me nka asem bi nkyerewo* (let me tell you something), *kɔkakyere no se* (convey to her/him), *ka* (say it), *kanaante* (say it to her/his hearing), *kasakyere no* (advise her/him), *bɔamaneɛ* (state your mission) are all situations of communication or acts of communication. An analysis of their nature, form, intention, expectation and result would suggest what communication is or how it should be understood in that context.

The criticisms against westernization which expose its limitations in describing, explaining and predicting the communicative act, themselves lack the Africanness that would complete its universalness and deepen understanding despite the efforts of Ugboajah and others. There is thus, largely, a muted Africanness in the whole enterprise and industry of understanding communication. In fact, there is little to say against a view that Africa is a captive consumer of communication technology and is constantly striving to bridge the digital divide that is created within the comity

² Contested by Ansu-Kyeremeh (1995, pp. 193–201).

³ BRICS represents the High Middle Income economies of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa.

of continents. Africa is largely a client continent (excepting only the small enclave of South Africa) and may continue to be so for a long time without anything like an African communication as distinct from simply communication in Africa. It is unacceptable to insist upon an African “mass” and “technological” condition to be able to describe, explain and predict her communication.

Africans themselves have probably been the problem. Wiredu (1984, 1998), for instance, contests how philosophical is African philosophy. Odhiambo et al. (2002, p. 8) reiterating the dominant paradigm of the passing of traditional society (Inkeles and Smith 1974) postulate technology accelerated inevitable and unavoidable “breakdown of traditional authority upon which the kinship systems of traditional African societies depend.” They proceed to predict the emergence of “new communities with new defining characteristics.”⁴ This is globalization theory. It is true there might not be a single village in Africa without a single mobile phone. The problem is that issues of penetration of communication technology are treated as if they provide the wherewithal for African development as in the messianic World Summit on Information Society (WSIS) enthusiastic agenda of a move from digital divide to digital opportunity.⁵

Not enough African philosophy or posturing pre-empts any argument that societies may develop in any other way such as Gandhi’s centripetally structured enculturation or Gavua’s archaeological viewpoint of “normative and adaptive” thesis⁶ and not the concomitant cultural erosion that is associated with linear progression of societies predicted by the dominant paradigm. For example, ownership interpretations may vary within the western and African contexts.⁷ Consistent with the linear progression paradigm, to a question asking whether there was “African economics,” internationally acknowledged economist Paul Collier⁸ answered no. But one will argue that the Akan practised competition within cooperation in *nnɔboa* and *abusa* systems of economic organization do not exactly fit into western economic concepts and models. The Akan system defines production as consumption; that one cannot consume before producing and that economic chaos could be expected from the defiance of that basic law.

All said, as shown already, the dominant positivist theoretical and methodological formulations tend still to reinforce analytical approaches to communication inquiry that end up deepening the incongruous application of those theories in the Ghanaian/African context. Evidence of critical perspectives advanced to unearth the “hidden” indigenous communication forms and seek a fusion of the indigenous and the technology-based systems for optimal communication is hard to come by. In other words, little attempt has been made to generate theories and methodological designs that would encourage Ghanaian/African knowledge as a contribution to mainstream western normative orders that tend to dominate, or even interchange with, “universal knowledge.”

⁴ Social media communities have emerged in recent times.

⁵ The relevant documentation is available at <http://itu/wsis>.

⁶ Conversation with Senior Lecturer Dr. K. Gavua in the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, Tuesday, July 8, 2012.

⁷ The unorthodox way in which METRO TV and JOY FM were handed frequencies to broadcast is unlikely to exist in any western context.

⁸ Also authored by Collier (2008).

Indeed, one is unsure why in an African setting a communication researcher may want to isolate mass communication (M'bayo et al. 2012) from other forms of communication for study when the former hardly functions in isolation of the others.

Having bought into the “passing” of the traditional African society, African and Africanist researchers have contributed to progressively diminish whatever African concepts and notions that could have helped shape theory and method. Thus, today's state is that of no one knowing what exactly is left of indigenous or autochthonous African communication that can still be appropriated to enrich the universal while debunking westerncentric theory.

The Experience

In addition to a review of the general literature of communication theory and method, graduate student research and scholarly publications by faculty of the School of Communication Studies, University of Ghana, were examined to provide context to the discussion and analysis. The objective was to verify the claim of the nonexistence of theories and methods that reflect ‘African communication values’ (Boafo and Wete 2002, p. 4) as well as the relative underrepresentation of the political economy and semiotic frameworks for theory construction and the indigenization of methodological approaches of communication studies. In addition, course outlines, reading lists, course content and curricula for communication programmes provide further evidence of what pertains or is the status quo or trend in the use of communication theories and methodological designs.

Faculty Research and Publication

The ideological leanings and theoretical cum methodological gravitations of SCS faculty in their research and publication seem far more towards the dominant positivist paradigm of fixing context to fit the medium than questioning the very existence of the medium and its relevance to the context. Ansu-Kyeremeh and Karikari (1998), though, attempt a political economy interpretation of the application of communication technology by the colonial administration. They observe, for example, that “British administrators found it [the telegraph] to be a useful tool for their activities” (Ansu-Kyeremeh and Karikari 1998, p. 6). Ansa had earlier noted that radio followed the flag serving the purpose of the colonial and the local comprador elite class (in Ansu-Kyeremeh and Karikari 1998, p. 4). Ansu-Kyeremeh (1992) also identified some cultural aspects of constraints on village education by radio. The closest Ansa (1979) came to any radical interpretation of western theory and method in the critical 1970s was his insistence upon “localization” of shortwave radio, in those days, to bring radio closer to the people through FMization.

Obeng-Quaidoo (1985, 1987) and Amoakohene (2004, 2005), emphasizing a need to contextualize the application of (the westerncentric) method in Africa, identify the FGD as one approach that responds most effectively to the group-oriented

decision-making of African communities. Obeng-Quaidoo (1985, p. 111) holds this view because of the “non-individuality of the African.” This, however, still leaves the question of what is the African mode of knowing and understanding of social forces for the description, explanation and prediction of phenomena. Indeed, whether there could be an African theory and method seems to have been avoided. Amoakohene (2005, p. 186) states: “Focus groups are the most suitable research methods for Africa.” In reality, she joins the chorus and confirms the trend of the dominant paradigm of western-originated mainstream theory applied to Africa and thereby, somehow, closing the door to finding an answer to Afrocentric theory and research.

A number of Gadzekpo’s works (Gadzekpo 2009; Newell and Gadzekpo 2004), framing included, have tended to be, eclectic with elements of historiography and gender-focused cultural studies. Thus, overall, the intellectual output of the SCS faculty appears to be token criticisms of portions or aspects of the dominant paradigm rather than a radical attempt to postulate a shift in paradigm.

Perhaps, the only seeming shift from the dominant paradigm have come from SCS founding professors Hachten (1971), in a rather veiled attempt, and Ripley (1978) (in the School’s first professorial inaugural lecture). Ansu-Kyeremeh’s (1997, 2005, 2008) (including in the second of the School’s professorial inaugural lecture) “indigenization,” seems little more of a shift. The perspective draws on the existence of indigenous communication to posit thought and approach to describing, finding explanations and possibly predictive qualities for the non-technology mediated communication that occurs and pervades communities, especially within the rural environs. He even attempts gendered interpretations (Ansu-Kyeremeh 1997) of these systems which Wilson (2005) believes through diachronic and synchronic approaches could form hybrids with technologically mediated formats for maximized communication. Key in the articulation of indigenization is democratized communication enabled by centripetal (periphery-centre) directional communication rather than the western propounded centrifugal (centre-periphery) communication systems. Research emanating from the SCS is, thus, essentially normatively and axiologically framed in: “this is what it ought to be,” or hardly questioned acceptance of the western experience and the status quo.

Reading Lists

Given the background of faculty engagement with theory and method in research and publication, it is not surprising that items on student reading lists would exhibit the characteristics of the dominant paradigm. Babbie’s (2009) seminal publication on social science research methods is constant on the reading list, while Twumasi’s (1986) work on methodology is a loner.⁹ As noted by Bofo and Wete (2002) prescribed readings are largely European and North American. Works of Latin American and the Caribbean radical thinking, such as Gunder Frank’s (1966) development of underdevelopment, Walter Rodney’s (1972) *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*

⁹ Not that it provides any radical African alternative.

and Paulo Freire's (1981) grassroots oriented theoretical postulations (anchored in ontology) hardly feature on reading lists.

This is contrary to Asian attempts (Ito 1990; Dissanayake 2006; Rama 2008); and the fact that nonwestern thought systems are generally missing from mainstream theory and method as observed by Inayatullah (1967). Marx himself only mentioned Asiatic people, and not once Africa in his writings. Neo-Marxist theoretical approaches are thus as anti-African as the dominant paradigm. Today, only South Africa is mentioned in Africa country profile for Internet television.¹⁰

Programme Labelling

In the works by Taylor et al. (2004) and Odhiambo et al. (2002) are identified communication education programmes mounted under certain labels. Among the labels are: mass communication, media and cultural studies, communications, journalism and media studies, mass communication, journalism, advertising and public relations. Degrees and diplomas are awarded in communication arts, journalism, mass communication, or media and cultural studies.

The label, School of Communication Studies at the University of Ghana metamorphosed over a period of 13 years. In 1972, it began as the Institute of Journalism and Mass Communication. Then in 1974, it was changed to Institute of Journalism and Communication Studies. In 1985, it was renamed School of Communication Studies to "reflect the wide variety of media-related courses that had been introduced into the School's curriculum."¹¹ Currently, the School's programmes lead to the award of Master of Arts (MA), Master of Philosophy (MPhil) and Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) degrees.

Student Research

One way of demarcating the various theoretical perspectives is to follow authors such as Griffin (2000) and Miller (2002). In a content analysis of 54 graduate research output including diploma project work (27), master of arts dissertation (20) and master of philosophy thesis (3) from 1977 to 2011, it was found that 42.3% of them were guided by a single theory while 37.8% of them were eclectic with their theoretical frameworks developed from two to three theories. That single theory was the 'uses and gratification theory' which appeared 33.3%. About one in five (19.2%) of the works, though, were descriptive accounts that had no underpinning theories. Only 11.5% of the works had a chapter devoted to developing a theoretical framework. This is understandable since majority of those examined were graduate diploma projects and MA dissertations which usually would not require a stand-alone chapter on theory.

¹⁰ Sheehy (2012).

¹¹ See brochure, "School of Communication Studies, University of Ghana, Legon" (2012).

Table 12.1 Theoretical emphasis of SCS student research (1977–2011)

Em Griffin		Miller	
Categories/groups	Scs research (%)	Categories/groups	Scs research (%)
Interpersonal	15.7	Message production	1.9
Group and public	3.9	Message processing	11.6
Mass communication	76.5	Discourse and interaction	3.8
Cultural context	3.9	Developing relationships	1.9
		Organizational	3.8
		Processing & effects	38.5
		Media and society	32.7
		Culture & communication	5.8

The studies were in the areas of interpersonal communication (15.3%), public communication (6.8%) and mass communication (78.0%). They were overwhelmingly (91.9%) in the realm of process (18.2%), effects (14.5%) or combination of process and effects (61.8%). Critical/cultural theories underpinned only one in twenty (5.5%) works. The research approaches were mainly quantitative (67.9%) or qualitative (18.9%) with few (13.2%) employing a mixed method approach. Surveys (44.8%) dominated, followed by content analysis (36.2%), in-depth interviews (13.8%) and only two (3.4%) case studies. Print journalism saw more study (40.0%) than the other areas of specialization in the School’s curriculum. The other areas were: broadcasting (34.0%), public relations (12.0%) and advertising (8.0%). A small number of studies (6.0%) were mixed or situated within more than one of the areas.

Extension

From a lean faculty of two in 1974 (University of Ghana 1973–1977, 1991; Agbodeka 1998), the School has progressively developed its faculty in an ebb and flow pattern. In 1981, it seemed to have reached its highest level at seven full-timers. Faculty strength began to shrink soon thereafter with the intensified exodus of Ghanaian academics to Nigeria, back to three in 1993 but picked up to five in 1994. It peaked at eight in 2005, comprising two associate professors, three senior lecturers, and three lecturers.

Dr. Paul Archibald Vince Ansah was the School’s first Ghanaian Associate Professor and substantive director. The School produced its first full professor, Dr K. Ansu-Kyeremeh, also its second substantive Ghanaian director (2000–2005) in April, 2006. Currently it has a more settled faculty of six on full-time, comprising an associate professor, a senior lecturer, two lecturers and two assistant lecturers. There is also a full professor on contract. As a professional training institution, it has always had a strong presence of part-time instructors recruited from among experienced practitioners from the fields of journalism, advertising and public relations.

With that kind of faculty staffing, the School has been actively involved in promoting the media agenda beyond theory and research. A key aspect has been helping to deepen Ghana’s western democracy by training practitioners, collaborating

with others in good governance surveys (Institute of Economic Affairs 1996, 2000) and a groundbreaking public opinion survey during the 2000 elections. In further fulfillment of its extension responsibilities, the School once edited and published the *Media Monitor* for the National Media Commission (NMC). Professors and lecturers in the School have held and continue to hold membership of local professional organizations such as the Institute of Public Relations, Ghana (IPR, Ghana) and the Ghana Journalists Association (GJA), as well as the continental organization, African Council for Communication Education (ACCE). Faculty is equally active in international groups such as the International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR) and the International Communication Association (ICA).

The School's faculty members have equally been participating in media policy formulation and implementation by serving on the NMC as members. One was on the Court of Governors of the Ghana-India Kofi Annan Centre for Excellence in ICT. They were actively involved in developing a National Communication Policy and United Nations negotiations towards the World Summit on Information Society (WSIS).

Appearances by faculty members on radio and television programmes, as hosts or guests, to discuss crucial national issues is commonplace. Some faculty members have been newspaper and magazine columnists. Examples include Paul Ansa's "Going to Town" (*Ghanaian Chronicle*),¹² Audrey Gadzekpo's "To the Powers that Be" (*Mirror*), as well as Ansu-Kyeremeh's "Ordinary talk" (*Media Monitor*) and "My Beef" (*Daily Guide*). Kwame Karikari once wrote a travelogue for the *Accra Mail*.

A summary of the School's experience (combination of curriculum content, faculty/student research and publication, student reading lists, programme labelling and extension) is, thus, a perspective of communication theory and method steeped in western interpretations and short on Africanness. The evidence is communication as necessarily requiring techno-deepening.

Looking Ahead

Since the School's establishment in 1972, theory has moved on from its modernization roots through political economy to post-modernism. With technology steadily triggering transformation of means, forms, formats, and systems of communication at a very high speed, one can imagine construction of theories being equally transformative. A theory such as cultivation is television specific. Today, the multichannel television with capacity for simultaneous viewing of different programmes on different channels could complicate cultivation analysis. Multitasking as aided by multimedia and convergence poses its own challenges in audience research. Social

¹² Some were published as *Going to Town* (Ghana Universities Press, 1996), edited by Audrey Gadzekpo, Kwame Karikari and Kwesi Yankah.

media, in their current forms, may not also easily lend themselves to interpretation based on the theories established before their advent. Suffice it also to speculate that any social media specific theories are likely to quickly outlive their relevance given that those communication forms continue to be rapidly transformed by technology.

Positivist theoretical and methodological formulations have tended to and still do reinforce approaches to the understanding of communication in the African context. It all ends up deepening incongruity in their application. The African society is characterized by a fracture of dualism that is constantly creating friction and tension as the forces of modernism and the forces of the indigenous clash in competition for influence. A clear challenge in method is individualism versus communalism or the choice of household or individual as survey unit. Indeed, the complex nature of the individual’s relationship with others suggests none of survey or in-depth interview or FGD is capable by its independent self of assembling enough data for the understanding of communication.

What is required, then, is a search for critical evidence of the “hidden” indigenous communication forms and seek a fusion, according to Wilson (2005) diachronically or synchronically, of the indigenous and the technology-based systems. In other words, the generation of theories and methodological designs that encourage Ghanaian/African knowledge as a contribution to dominant mainstream western-biased knowledge passed as “universal knowledge” is necessary.

Acknowledging that culture is both context and content, Wilson (2005, p. 238), concludes that, although communication ought to be viewed “as the expression and reflection of the culture of any society” Africa’s case is “where media and cultural imperialism have taken over.” Wilson (2005) had earlier proposed diachronic and synchronic approaches to communication in Africa for effectiveness,

The traditional way of looking at feedback as instant or delayed response to the attention or knowledge of the communicator may need to give way to impact or action based on the social communicator’s message (irrespective of the communicator’s intention) without, necessarily, the knowledge of the communicator. Indeed, it may not be far-fetched to contemplate the shrinking by technology of the boundaries between personal and impersonal modes, forms and formats of communication to the point of a blurred demarcation. A development like that has the potential of convoluting theories based on technology. In SKYPE, cues, even from unstable pictures, transcend the telephone.

Accelerated miniaturization which enhances portability (initially a newspaper and magazine attribute), and convergence by always advancing technology are fast shrinking the personal and impersonal divide of communication theory. One is unsure whether this convergence implies more, or maybe newer or fewer theories, for example, cultivation as television-specific theory.

It is now, probably more than ever, evident that the medium may not necessarily give birth to the theory because of the fast pace of change in communication technology. It is such that media-specific theories (such as television and cultivation theory) seem to be diminishing in utility. A theory becomes redundant when a specific medium with which the theory is associated atrophies in use and influence. And one is unsure if hacking is noise or dissonance. Surely, the more communication diversifies, the more theories get generated and morphed.

Intention as a condition for communicator to communicate needs reexamination. For example, updating Facebook status requires security features to determine enabled access. Accessing a wall thus becomes more of unintended than intended message impact. The communicator may not have the least idea of who will be accessing what is placed on a wall. Privacy in intention is regulated using password security features.

Eventually, the expectations are that for theory, an advancement of perspectives that would strive for explanations of the Ghanaian or African experience are most likely to be limited whereas western originated and oriented theories are the most likely to be extant in the literature. Even western critical theories are not likely to have been adopted as frameworks for studies. And non-western, such as Asian perspectives, are likely to be similarly absent. Granting a relationship between theoretical perspectives and the methods that are employed to confirm or refute hypotheses formulated from their tenets, the possibility of continued domination of western methodologies driven by technological change cannot be discounted.

Thus, no matter what has happened, the dominant thought is still that technologically mediated communication is the ultimate communication tool. If it is not working, there is something wrong with its context. To fix the communication problem, then, is to fix the context. The challenge is to come up with postulations of the African knowing and understanding framework for communication. Theories are culture specific. You cannot develop a cultivation theory in a culture where there is no television. They are perspectives of contexts of the socio-culture. A universal theory must accordingly be grounded in a universal culture.

A framework that considers the centrifugal and centripetal forces of communication using dialoguing as a method could be a starting point for an African-sensitive description, explanation and prediction of the communicative act. Indigenization could serve as a guide by which the appropriate principles and tenets could be isolated. Its method could be dialogical, permitting interviewer-interviewee questioning exchange. Africa's exclusion from the universal is epitomized in the Akan proverb: *ƐkaaneaɔkɔAburokyirenko a ankaAbibiremabɔ* (The wish of the one in Europe is the collapse of Africa). By not aggressively pursuing an African communication theory, African scholarship may be disingenuously exporting facts and experiences for others to construct theory.

A contributor to a BBC business discussion programme (Saturday, November 17, 2012) advanced a "co-creation of wealth" notion by matching access and opportunity, suggesting a cross between market and intervention. Production and distribution are more efficiently aligned or linked. Possible relationship between the bipolarity of "taxing the wealthy" versus "making the poor people richer" is hypothesized. Applied in economics of communication, such ideas are likely to be closer to a competition in cooperation approach to arriving at the communication product as different from pure market (commercial radio) or pure interventionist (state-owned radio) approaches.

The thinking envisages a kind of communication product that is being the combined effort of owner and staff in parity measurable terms. Possible sources of concepts of indigenous African philosophy to inform communication theory and method are embedded in signs, symbols, syllabery, ideographs and proverbs which are seen

as a source of indigenous African knowledge by Olutayo (2012). Indeed, expanding the scope of the indigenous beyond Akan to other Ghanaian and African experiences would help firm up a philosophy behind the development of theory and method.

The anticipated creation of new departments to encourage specialization specific disciplines by the School¹³ could encourage greater diversity and radicalism in research approach in the School and initiate a beginning of an infusion of the African thought system into theory and method geared towards an African experience inclusive universal communication thought system for understanding communication. As the theory and method diversify contextually and locally, so can an enrichment of the global be expected. A doctoral (PhD) programme which begins in January 2013, offers even greater possibilities.

Summary

The main objective of this chapter has been to provoke debate on the theory and method of communication in the Ghanaian context. The evidence indicates a preponderance of the dominant paradigm in theory and research in faculty and student research. It observes a rooting of the theory and methodology of the discipline of communication studies in the social sciences. Also evident was less application of western critical theories as frameworks for communication research in Ghana. Non-western theoretical perspectives, such as of Asian origin (Confucius inspired curbs that have yielded “consensus journalism”), were similarly absent. Granting a relationship between theoretical perspectives and the methods that are employed to develop, confirm or refute hypotheses formulated from the tenets of theory that guide research or constructed from research, the possibility of a domination of western-centric methodologies could not have been discounted. Looking ahead, a new theoretical framework, a thought system, that helps describe, clarify, explain and predict as well as guide methodology of communication research in the Ghanaian/African context (rooted in words and symbolic expressions) is as desirable as it could complement the universal understanding of the phenomenon of communication.

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¹³ Planned departments/units include Broadcasting or Radio and Television, Journalism, Strategic Communication, Public Policy Communication and Media Studies.

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Chapter 13

African Studies: Evolution, Challenges, And Prospects

Brigid M. Sackey

The Uniqueness of African Studies

The Institute of African Studies (IAS) has the mandate to research, teach, and disseminate knowledge concerning African and African diasporan cultures (African Studies) at the University of Ghana, Legon. Affiliated to both the humanities and social science disciplines, African Studies seeks to equip students with the “knowledge about the peoples and cultures of Africa through past history and through contemporary problems” (African, ‘The African Genius,’ 1963) from African perspectives.

The Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana is unique for several reasons. First and foremost it is considered one of the first, if not the *primus inter pares*, to handle all African Studies programmes comprehensively in African universities, focusing on researching and teaching of the discipline. The idea of African Studies was mooted during the planning of the University of Ghana in 1948/1949. As Agbodeka (1998, p. 60) writes, “it was among the departments grouped under the Faculty of Arts in 1948/1949 academic year as the School of African Studies which should not be confused with the Institute of African Studies established much later.” Secondly, it is distinctive because it was formally opened on 25th October, 1963 by the president of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, himself, who also laid the framework or policy for the sort of institution it should be, outlining even its content, scope, methodology and purpose in a speech dubbed: ‘The African Genius.’

In ‘The African Genius’, he recalls the “years of bitter political struggle for our freedom and independence,” from which “our Continent is emerging systematically from colonialism and from the yoke of imperialism” and he appeals to the Institute to make a conscious effort to restore “the personality of the African”, which was stunted in the process of the named historical events.

B. M. Sackey (✉)

Centre for Social Policy Studies (CSPS) and formerly of the Institute of African Studies,
University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana
e-mail: Bsackey@ug.edu.gh

On methodology, Nkrumah instructs:

First and foremost, I would emphasise the need for a re-interpretation and a new assessment of the factors, which make up our past. We have to recognise frankly that African Studies, in the form in which they have been developed in the universities and centres of learning in the West, have been largely influenced by the concepts of old style “colonial studies”, and still to some extent remain under the shadow of colonial ideologies and mentality. (The African Genius)¹

One essential function of this Institute must surely be to study the history, culture and institutions, languages and arts of Ghana and of Africa in new African centred ways. (‘The African Genius’)

The foregoing indicates that the foundation of the Institute was well prepared and laid. It highlights Nkrumah’s special interest for African Studies and his intent to have this interest imbibed by Ghanaians and Africans in general. As the leader of Ghana’s independence from British colonialism and a campaigner (or freedom fighter) for the total liberation of Africa, this intention was not surprising, having himself experienced what it means to live as an African in Europe and America and the (mis)conceptions these foreign peoples had about Africa. Zeleza (2009, p. 116) substantiates Nkrumah’s African consciousness aptly as he writes: “Nkrumah was schooled in the civil rights struggles of the segregated diaspora and the nationalist struggles of colonial Africa, and he was passionately committed to Africa’s regeneration in all spheres.” He also buttresses Nkrumah’s role and passion for African Studies in the decolonising processes through the acquisition of self-knowledge as follows:

The emancipatory mission of African studies was unambiguously articulated by Ghana’s first President, Kwame Nkrumah, when he opened the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana.... and when he addressed the first Congress of Africanists in Accra in 1962. Nkrumah, a Pan-Africanist, urged his academic audience to produce genuine knowledge about Africa through scientific and academic rigor—knowledge that would promote Africa’s development and transformation—and to share their discoveries with the rest of the world Zeleza. (2009, p. 116)

Enabling Factors for the Rise of African Studies

The establishment of African Studies in the 1960s came also as no surprise as it fitted into the context of a general global agitation for change. The 1960s was a historical epoch *par excellence* in every aspect of life. In America, the Civil Rights Movement was surging; racism changed dramatically in various ways. Changes involved the passage of bills into laws and the general attitude of the American people. Racism was largely based on white people’s hatred towards blacks until

¹ See also Nkrumah’s books: *I Speak of Freedom; Africa Must Unite*, 1998. and *Consciencism 1964*, and *Neo-Colonialism 1961* www.marxist.org/subject/african/nkrumah/neo-colonialism/ch01.htm accessed April 2011).

the 1960s, when several major events increased animosity and saw sustained responses also from Black people towards Whites.² Additionally, the students' strike of 1968–1969 forced the establishment of the departments of Black Studies and that of other minority groups in America, beginning with San Francisco State University (SFSU). The Black Student Union at SFSU drafted a political statement, "The Justification for African-American Studies," that would become the main document for developing African-American studies departments at more than 60 universities,³ and by extension African Studies as the fundamental component of African-American Studies.

The 1960s saw also the western world's Women's Movement metamorphosed into different Feminist Movements questioning the ideal social order of things (Tong 1989.) It was an era of the beginning of "rejection of meta-narratives (large scale theoretical interpretations purportedly of universal application (Harvey 1989, p. 9)." This includes the monotony of universal modernism's vision of the world, generally perceived as positivistic, rationalistic; belief in linear progress or [evolution], absolute truths, standardisation of knowledge and production (see Harvey 1989, p. 9).

In France, the global student revolt that grew throughout the 1960s was fuelled by the crisis of imperialism and its increasing brutality in trying to crush revolutionary and anti-colonial movements, and the expansion and changing nature of higher education gave students a far heavier social weight as a group. The French revolutionary communist youth organisation was fomented in the Latin Quarter in Paris,⁴ the same location where African and the Caribbean students in France in the mid 1930s had re-vitalised the Negritude Movement, among who was the West African, Leopold Senghor (Bell 2002).

In terms of ideology the idea of postmodernism began to crystallize as scholars and artists from various disciplines focused their analytical gaze more systematically on the concept and the phenomena it sought to capture. To some, postmodernism simply came to be identified with the 'attitude' of the 1960s counter culture or the new 'sensibility' of the social and artistic avant-garde (Zeleza 2003, p. 233).

For Africans in the continent, the 1960s marked a terminal date of the colonial period when several African countries attained independence from colonial rule thereby ushering in new African identities and ideologies. Some of these ideologies include the pride and emphasis on the essence of blackness or African Personality; the decolonising the mind of colonised Africans (Wa Thi'ongo 1994; Rodney 1982; Nkrumah 1965; Nyerere 1968). It was an era when Africans, particularly, philosophers, began to analyse and interpret philosophy from their own perspectives. Reviewing works by African philosophers who, according to Mudimbe (1991, p. 45), "proclaim the reality of an African tradition as a canon of truth and knowledge. They believe that there is an African tradition in itself and consider themselves as the interpreters of this particular experience" (See also Moore 1994; Zeleza 2003).

² <http://www.cyberlearning-world.com/nhhs/project/racism6.htm>.

³ <http://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/1742/African-American-Studies.html>.

⁴ See also <http://www.dsp.org.au/node/168>.

Antecedents of African Studies in Ghana

Prior to the establishment of the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana there were few Western universities that offered Programmes in African Studies/Courses about African people or studies on African affairs, classified under the category of studies called Area Studies which generally refers to the study of specific geographical or culture of the world, using multi-disciplinary approaches. In Europe, for example, the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), London, UK founded in 1916, focuses on the study of Asia, Africa and the Middle East. African Studies has a long, fascinating history in the former Soviet Union. Before the Revolution of 1917, Russia's African scholarship consisted of translations and writings on Ethiopia and South Africa and was strongly anti-British and pro-African. Soviet African studies started in earnest in the 1920s and underwent several phases (Zeleza 2009). The spread of African Studies programmes centres, departments, institutes began after World War II. For example, the Afrika-Studiecentrum, Leiden, in the Netherlands was founded in 1947 and in America Melville J. Herskovits of Northwestern University Evanston, USA established a **Program of African Studies** there in 1948.

There is no doubt that the Second World War and the Cold War had a profound impact on the development of area studies, and that the end of the cold war brought in new contexts but area studies or African Studies certainly antedated both wars (Zeleza 2009; Melber 2009). A debate on the history of African Studies has been challenged lately by "Afro-centric orientations" but also by "European-based scholars beginning to occupy more discursive space" (Melber 2009, p. 186). Rebutting the history of African of Studies in America, Zeleza in his publication, *Rethinking Africa's Globalisation* (2003) contends that the establishment of African Studies was pioneered by African-American scholar-activists from historically black colleges and universities long before it got co-opted by historically white universities after World War II. It was W.E.B. du Bois who laid the foundations of Black Studies or African American Studies in America through the Atlanta University Conferences held from 1898 to 1914. These conferences under the auspices of W. E. B. Dubois marked the inauguration of the first scientific study of the conditions of black people.⁵

In most of these western universities mentioned above, however, African Studies was not a stand-alone discipline but integrated with other area studies, including those of Asia and the Middle East. Many authors, both Africans and non- Africans, from various disciplines have questioned the approach to African Studies as a subjugated one because it was studied within other disciplines such as, ethnology in continental Europe, or anthropology, history, philosophy, African Affairs or Area Studies (see Onunwa 2010). Early exposé or depictions of Africans in the western world tended to please the muses of the *Zeitgeist*, that is, they were made to fit the perceptions of the epoch in which they lived. At the universities, the discipline's content was still very much of a travelogue, and its method generally that of an armchair approach.

⁵ <http://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/1742/African-American-Studies.html>.

African Studies in Ghana

African Studies at the University of Ghana (then the University College of the Gold Coast) was one of the programmes to be included in the university curricula. According to Agbodeka (1998, pp. 60–61), the idea of African Studies, precisely a School of African Studies, evolved in the early stages of the planning of university education in the 1948/1949 academic year. The proposal to establish an African Studies programme was probably a response to “the age-long pressure for inclusion of African Studies in the curricula of proposed African universities” (Agbodeka 1998, pp. 60–61). Initially, the School of African Studies would be a research institute concerned with the study of African languages, traditions and culture which would systematically and gradually generate suitable material to teach an undergraduate course as well. In this endeavour, Agbodeka continues, Kofi Abrefa Busia, with a D.Phil in Social Anthropology was employed in 1949 to start the School of African Studies. It was proposed that the School should consist of three divisions: Sociology, Archaeology and African languages. The School which was housed in the current Sociology Department was short-lived and was closed in 1950. This closure did not end research on African Studies. J. H. Kwabena Nketia sustained the idea of African Studies when he continued to research into African traditional Music, Folklore and Festivals. In this way, African Studies research continued to flourish under the research fellowship of J. H. Kwabena Nketia which enriched the material Busia had gathered earlier (Agbodeka 1998, p. 61).

African Studies (AFST) in its current niche at the Institute of African Studies (IAS) located at the main entrance to the university owes its existence to President Kwame Nkrumah in 1961, as stated above. Nkrumah had visualized *ab initio* what the new discipline should be. It was to be “a many-sided Institute of African Studies which should fertilise the University, and through the University, the National, and [Nation].” It was to be a discipline that “identified with the aspirations of Ghana and Africa. In that way Ghana would make its own specific contribution to the advancement of knowledge about the peoples and cultures of Africa through past history and through contemporary problems” (The African Genius 1963).

Not only did the ‘the African Genius’ lay the foundation for the Institute’s methodology but also the relationship between students and faculty. “In order that the students may obtain the maximum benefit from their education in our Universities, it is imperative that the relationship between them and their teachers should be as free and easy as possible. Without this close interaction between mind and the common fellowship of a University, it will be impossible to produce the type of student who understands the larger issues of the world around him.” (‘The African Genius’ 1963, p. 25).

However, the appointment of Thomas Hodgkin, a British man, as the first head or director of the newly reconstituted African Studies with J. H. Kwabena Nketia as Deputy Director, at the first instance may seem ironical if not a defeat of purpose considering the vehement advocacy for an African-centred institution. How could the directorship of a British in a country still being weaned from colonialism and

imperialism be able to achieve this objective? Perhaps, this could be understood in the sense that Ghana as an emerging state had not much experience in running universities which was a foreign concept in the country. Nonetheless, Nketia⁶ explains that the position was for three tactical reasons. Firstly, the university was still predominantly white (only one-third of the faculty was African according to the African Genius) and thus the choice was rightly so. Secondly, being a white man he could relate better with his fellow white men and convince them as well as attract foreigners to the Institute and University as a whole. Thirdly, Hodgkin was an Africanist with regard to his research experience in Islam in Africa; his own philosophy also made him suitable for the position at IAS. Nketia spoke of him fondly about his relationship with him. Hodgkin did not stand in his way; he gave him chance to work freely, consulted him and copied him with every correspondence about the Institute. Soon the headship gave way to Ghanaian leadership and J. H. Kwabena Nketia became the first African or Ghanaian director. Nketia had been among the research fellows recruited into the short-lived School of African Studies. He therefore integrated the knowledge gathered into the new Institute of African Studies. Nketia not only incorporated and his body of research into IAS but also upheld the African- oriented approach to the study of the discipline as the African Genius had perceived.

Initially, Nketia's Music and Related Arts Department became the nucleus for African Studies courses (AFST). Later, the need by the Department of English for a place to perform British drama and plays gave him the impetus to establish a School of Performing Arts to be operational to produce and act African plays instead, an idea which according to Nketia was also shared by Nkrumah. This gave birth to the School of Performing Arts which then became the undergraduate wing of the Institute of African Studies. The idea of a national dance company was also born and established while orientations to African Studies as a whole or what Richard Greenfield called "an assembly of Africa-centred courses at the undergraduate level"⁷ became a mandatory for first year students at the university. Following a long reign of male leadership, female research fellows at the Institute gained assertive visibility and were elected to the directorship. From 1998-date there has been four successive female directors of IAS: Irene K. Odotei, Takyiwaa Manuh, Brigid M. Sackey and Akosua A. Ampofo.⁸

Teaching of African Studies in Ghana

The Institute of African Studies (IAS) is a multifaceted semi-autonomous organisation. It offers programmes in African Studies at the graduate and undergraduate levels at the University of Ghana. The IAS also offers orientation courses for special

⁶ Personal conversation with the 91 year old JHK Nketia, Emeritus Professor of African Ethnomusicology and First Ghanaian Director of IAS, at his residence in Accra, 19th November, 2012.

⁷ See a minute in a letter from Richard Greenfield, senior research fellow and administrative secretary at IAS to the Finance Officer on 14th January, 1970. See File No. IAS/CONF.3, Institute of African Studies- Financial Autonomy.

⁸ Irene Odotei and Brigid M. Sackey were directors in acting capacity.

admission students from other institutions and agencies as well as foreign students (Study Abroad Programmes). In fact, the Institute is the first point of call for many international visitors and dignitaries who want to acquaint themselves with African culture. Some also specially request short courses that would introduce them to Ghanaian cultural values to help them apply themselves to ‘culturally correctly’ comportment during their sojourn in Ghana. Aside the well-sourced Institute’s library that “supplements the Africana collection of the Balme Library”, the Institute manages the Ghana Dance Ensemble—a resident professional dance company which was started in 1962 by the then Ghana Institute of Arts and Culture to link the University of Ghana with the national theatre movement. (See also IAS Website, University of Ghana Homepage and Undergraduate Handbook).

Table 13.1 represents a view of the courses and enrolment in African Studies which may be taken at all levels (100–400) but before graduation.

Graduate Programme

The Graduate Programme admits students to MA/MPhil/PhD degrees. Aside a compulsory multi-disciplinary Research Methods course, the Graduate programme at the Institute has five specialised areas or sections namely:

- Societies and Cultural
- History and Politics
- Language and literature
- Religions and Philosophy
- Music and Visual Arts

Undergraduate Programme

The undergraduate programme in African Studies is compulsory for every student who is admitted to the University of Ghana, Legon. African Studies is among the compulsory courses now called University of Ghana Required Courses (UGRC) formerly classified as FUE (First University Examinations). It was therefore taken in the First Year when the Bachelor’s Programme at the University was of 3-year duration. Following Ghana’s education reforms at the basic/primary and secondary levels in the 1980s which consequently increased the duration of the Bachelor degree programmes to 4 years, and the Ministry of Education request for a shift from a British model of a three-term academic year to a two-semester system more characteristic of American higher education in 1992, African Studies became a Second Year or ‘Level 200’ course, meaning it was offered in the second year instead of the first. With the inception of the UGRC programme, IAS undergraduate programme has reverted to its original status as a Level ‘100’ (First Year) course.

It is imperative for every student who enters the University at the Bachelor’s level to obtain a ‘pass’ mark in African Studies before graduating. Indeed, this policy

Table 13.1 IAS Level 200 Courses UGRC 220 Introduction to African studies, 2011/2012 Academic Year

	Course module/title	2008/2009	2009/2010	2010/2011	2011/2012	2012/2013
1	Appropriate technology for rural development	625	655	446		
2	Africa and the contemporary modern world				40	134
3	Africa and the diaspora	603	710	453	80	87
4	The social framework of economic development	564	627	864	210	175
5	Our African heritage through literature	563	604	250	23	16
6	Chieftaincy and development	601	665	474		196
7	African popular culture: festivals and funerals	636	652	477	150	218
8	Culture and development	599	658	455	180	198
9	Issues in Africa's population	577–		457	130	49
10	African art				20	16
11	Philosophy in African cultures				50	65
12	Gender and culture					205
13	Gender and development				91	194
14	African drama	667	648	409	80	
15	African music	1,117	1,317	1,248	150	45
16	African dance	714	1,026	969	130	43
17	Twi	470	472	500	80	50
18	Dagbani	536	563	350	50	20
19	Ewe	398	320	350	20	23
20	Ga	653	700	800	120	46

also obtains in subsequent and all existing the state-owned or public universities in the country and a 'pass' in the African Studies course is a pre-requisite for obtaining a university degree from these institutions in any subject be it English, Sociology, linguistics, history, geology, chemistry, medicine, etc.

Changes in the Teaching of African Studies

African Studies was much a part of anthropology in the sense that this discipline had been its predecessor and even continued to be its mentor after its semi-autonomous status. Though methods of research were anthropological and sociological, team work as well as individual research oriented, the qualitative method had the upper

hand. Through the field research data, for example on music and funerals by J. H. Kwabena Nketia and African dance forms by Mawere Opoku, theories from African perspectives were formulated. Their approaches are African oriented as they use and interpret African data through African lenses.

At the onset of African Studies, courses for undergraduates were not optional. There were no electives and students had to take all the courses offered for 1 year after which they took examinations.

The following insights were given by Albert Awedoba a professor and alumnus of the Institute of African Studies. In the 1960s, there were no options and students had to take all the courses offered at the undergraduate level. The topics were taught by faculty from all departments of the University, and accordingly each had his or her style. Everybody sat in the same class, and class sizes were large. "In my day, about 800 sat in." Then options were introduced and individual lecturers from the IAS were assigned to teach them. Initially (in the 1980s) the classes were reasonable—150–300, but they grew with the increase in University admissions. No public address systems were provided and the work of the lecturer was not an easy one.

In the 2006–2007 academic year, the university of Ghana administration embarked on a comprehensive action to ensure that the university would retain its national prominence in Ghana and among the leading universities in sub-Saharan Africa. The effort was inaugurated by assembling a review team of national and international experts to examine all phases of university operations (see Agyei-Mensah and French 2010, pp. 32–35). One of the areas that needed most attention was the large uncontrollable class sizes (between 800 and 1,000 students in one class), among many others things, including a lack of teaching logistics.

The changes in the university as a whole affected all disciplines though in African Studies while the graduate programme remains intact the mandatory undergraduate programme has undergone drastic structural and teaching changes. Since 2011–2012 academic year African Studies is now taught under the University of Ghana Required Courses (UGRC, formerly FUE) where the classes are smaller and the interaction is more effective. The introduction of options afforded a choice, and students selected those options they liked (see Table 13.1 above). It has been argued that the reasons for these selections were sometimes academic, but sometimes merely the personality of the lecturer and his or her perceived generosity with examination grades is a decisive factor.

Change is inevitable and Nkrumah was aware of this when he opened the Institute of African Studies. "The Institute of African Studies should work closely with the people—and should be constantly improving upon its methods for serving the needs of the people—of Ghana, of Africa and of the world. Teachers and students in our Universities should clearly understand this." (The African Genius 1963). The positive aims of the changes were to foster a better accommodation and management of the huge class sizes of the undergraduate programme in African Studies and thereby enhance teaching and enable scholarly work. However, the status of African Studies, which used to be a stand-alone discipline, in my opinion, had been compromised as the new African Studies Programme has been hooked to Liberal Studies

creating thus a new programme called: “Liberal and African Studies (UGRC).” Thus African Studies which was established with much enthusiasm and vitality to stand out and serve a specific purpose has been relegated to the background. With this change the study of Africa, one may argue, seems to have reverted to its colonial European status. Such a position in modern times may not only make Nkrumah ‘turn in his grave’, but put the discipline of African Studies and a whole continent on its head and give credence to the protagonists of neo-colonialism.

Comparison of African Studies at UG and UCC

African Studies at the University of Cape Coast (UCC), which started as African and General Studies (DAGS) makes an interesting and significant comparison with the mandatory courses at Institute of African Studies, (IAS) of the University of Ghana (UG) in relation to its programme structures and transformations. The Department of African and General Studies (DAGS) of the University of Cape Coast, which was set up in 1963 had under its purview three units namely General African Studies Programme, Information Retrieval (InfoRet) and Communication Skills (CS) and was located at the Faculty of Social Science until 1994. The general expectation was that African Studies was multi-disciplinary, but since it was more inclined towards the humanities, it should be relocated in the Faculty of Arts. Hitherto, African Studies as an academic degree awarding course was read at the post graduate level at the Institute of African Studies (IAS), University of Ghana, Legon and shared by both Faculty of Arts and Faculty of Social Sciences. Indeed, the need to make the study of African Studies more accessible at undergraduate level was the overriding consideration for the introduction of the BA African Studies degree programme in the 2003/2004 academic year. Following the final disintegration of DAGS, Communication Skills also became a fully fledged department.

Thus African Studies at UCC has two programmes at the undergraduate level, the General African Studies Programme (ASP) which is equivalent to the mandatory African Studies at the IAS, (AFST, now UGRC) University of Ghana and other public universities and a B.A Degree (AFS) course at the undergraduate level which IAS, Legon, does not offer. Just as UG the courses in UCC the ASP courses are read by every fresher with the exception of the BA African Studies students. It is a two semester course that attracts three credits, two in the first and one in the second semester. Students must obtain three credits in African Studies. Some of the courses complement as well as supplement those taught at the mandatory level at IAS, though a survey of courses at the two universities shows that UCC has more course choices that are also more inclined to local global events than IAS courses. For example, Religion in Africa Sexual and Domestic Violence, Philosophy of Education: African Traditional Education Perspective, Conflict Management and Prevention, Comparative Analysis of Economic Development in Africa and the Caribbean, The African Family and Cultural Impact of Tourism are uniquely taught at UCC.

BA degree (AFS) in African Studies has areas of specialisation namely:

- Socio-Cultural
- History and Politics
- Language and the Arts

African Studies degree programme at UCC has the following mission statement, which as follows, also reflects in the designation and all course contents available at DAS:

To equip students with indigenous knowledge of Ghana and Africa broadly defined to include inherited ideas, beliefs, values, legends, mythology, institutions and practices, science and technology. The goal is to nurture in the youth of Ghana and Africa the desire and the skills to fashion home-grown solutions to Africa's problems.

Currently, the B.A. African Studies Programme feeds the Graduate programme at IAS as its products continue to do their post graduate degrees at IAS, Legon. It appears that while African Studies is being promoted in UCC, African Studies at UG is losing the glamour with which it was established.

Challenges

The Place of African Studies in Academia

Since its emergence the position of African Studies in the academia has generally become contentious. Some have described it as belonging to the category of Area Studies while others place it within the context of postcolonial studies, as its emergence coincided with post colonialism. They think decolonisation created African Studies as a new terrain for knowledge; others deny African Studies as a postcolonial subject discipline. Rita Abrahamsen (2003) has summed up this debate and concludes by advocating a collaboration of postcolonial studies and Africa Studies.

According to Melber (2009, p. 187), the challenge starts with the efforts to define the subject and reach a common understanding. According to an US-American survey "mainstream Africanists across the spectrum of U.S. higher education appear to be divided with respect to what constitutes 'African Studies'", quoting Alpers and Roberts 2002, p. 13, who summarize what African Studies is according to rankings:

1. Study of sub-Saharan Africa (22 %);
2. Study of the entire continent of Africa (33 %); and
3. Study of the people of Africa, both in Africa and the Diaspora (41 %).

Alpers and Roberts sum up African Studies to be a study "about peoples, both on the continent of Africa and abroad, rather than about a continent called *Africa*" (original emphasis). In this context one could not but agree with the idea of an "invention" of Africa (Mudimbe 1988) or the "manufacturing" of Africa (Zeleza 1997) just as Edward Said (1979) believes *Orientalism* or Asian Studies was created by the west. Said defines orientalism as "a [European] way of coming to terms with the Orient that is based on the Orient's special place in European Western Experience". "The

Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience and is indeed part of European material culture (Said 1979, pp. 1–3).” Zeleza (1997) is strongly convinced that studies of Africa, from colonial times to the present, as well as the solutions arising from them, have in fact contributed their fair share to Africa’s crises; be they man-made or natural, were in fact manufactured by the studies. Sean Hanretta, a historian who studies Islam in West Africa at Stanford University corroborates this view when she says that “Colonialism” defined what it meant to be African.⁹

It was within this background that Nkrumah sought to make Africans write their own history because according to an African saying: Unless lions write their own stories, tales of hunting will always glorify the hunter.

According to Alpers and Roberts 2002, p. 11:

Despite the intellectual enthusiasm surrounding the launching of Area Studies after World War II and the underlying pressure from Washington to support these fields for purposes of national security, African Studies as an interdisciplinary initiative always has struggled to maintain its legitimacy against the dominant academic, if not intellectual, constraints of established disciplines. (Alpers and Roberts 2002, p. 11)

The idea of African Studies was ridiculed and dismissed as a legitimate academic pursuit and one of the biggest contention that has plagued African Studies is “Disciplinary scepticism” which argues that the study is “not linked to the prevailing theoretical trends in the social sciences” (Alpers and Roberts 2002, p. 11; Abrahamson 2003, p. 210).

That colonialism defined what it meant to be African in my opinion places African Studies in both colonial and postcolonial realms because Africans are still the “other” and still under the scourge of colonialism in new ways. Western academics could not imagine how people they have colonised and still look upon with denigration could produce a discipline that should be seen to be on par with those of the colonisers. Nkrumah foresaw this prejudice as neo-colonialism and as a result proposed an Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana which would use an African approach to African Studies, “an Institute of African Studies that would study Africa from the African’s own perspectives”. (The African Genius 1963).

Perspectives of University of Ghana Faculty

Ironically, the idea of African Studies not being comparable with the other academic disciplines is also shared by Ghanaian lecturers in the University of Ghana, and indeed African Studies is ridiculed to date. They share the western idea that it is not academic enough because the graduate programme (M.A) was rushed or was started too soon as the Institute did not have competent faculty members. To these, the institute should have done research for a few years to build up sufficient data to inform its Master’s programme. Also, lecturers from different departments were forced to teach the undergraduate F.U.E course in African Studies: “You will be in

⁹ <http://multi.stanford.edu/features/africa/>.

your department and they bring in these requests and the next term you go and give lectures and at the end of the year you are required to put down one question.”¹⁰ Again in reference to the teaching of F.U.E African Studies someone who described himself as dogmatic argued that “the F.U.E in African Studies is not serving any useful purpose. At the moment the university is primarily a social studies university and.... a large number of students are in the Faculty of Social Studies and these courses in the Faculty of Social Studies are already very much African oriented”. Therefore, the idea of African Studies was greeted with agitation and antagonism by some university of Ghana faculty who did not appreciate it. Some have argued that if they had to duplicate their teaching by participating in undergraduate African Studies then they might as well develop and teach the courses in their own departments. Neither did they welcome the mandatory policy attached to the discipline. Some of the leading opponents included the historian Albert Adu Boahen, B. H. G Folson (Political Science), K. E. de Graft-Johnson (Sociology) and Kwamena Dickson of the Department of Geography. They argued that since the university is an African university it presupposes that its orientation in every department should be automatically African. They, therefore, did not see the necessity of an Institute of African Studies teaching African languages, literature, history, religion etc. Others wanted African Studies to be reduced to only a research institution.¹¹ Interestingly, Kwamena Dickson’s senior brother, Kwesi Dickson, later became Director of African Studies in the 1980s and he apparently did not resist his appointment.

Nketia had to vehemently oppose the sentiments against the Institute as a stand-alone, autonomous and directly funded by the state and above all its African-centred approach. According to him, he was not in favour of an “Oxbridge Institute of African Studies” as was being proposed.¹² What was wrong with pursuing an African approach at the Institute of African Studies in Africa? Ngugi wa Thi’ongo (1994) undoubtedly suggests a decolonisation of the mind of indoctrinated Africans that reject everything African; their customs, beliefs, marriages, languages, and even their names as inherently inferior.

Perspectives of Students

Students’ perceptions about African Studies as a mandatory programme for first year students have been mixed. Some think they have to familiarise themselves with university education in general before doing special subjects like AFST. It was ob-

¹⁰ Series of Interviews conducted by K. A. Busia into African Studies to consider the scope of its work and objectives; how it should be organised, and also to consider its relations with other departments of the university. Retrieved from Archival File titled: Review-Institute of African Studies: Interviews by Dr. K. A. Busia (no date, no file no).

¹¹ Series of Interviews conducted by K. A. Busia into African Studies to consider the scope of its work and objectives; how it should be organised, and also to consider its relations with other departments of the university. Retrieved from Archival File titled: Review-Institute of African Studies: Interviews by Dr. K. A. Busia (no date, no file no).

¹² See Report of the Interim Committee for African Studies at the University of Ghana.

served that the majority of students do not appreciate the mandatory African Studies courses until later in life. This is because most of them did not have fore-knowledge about it being compulsory. Out of the 100 students interviewed 21 of them representing 21% had a fore-knowledge that African Studies (AFST) popularly called 'Afro-Studs' was a mandatory course for all undergraduate entering the university. They found out because they made initial visits to the university to make enquiries in the overall programmes offered. Others made enquiries from other alumni or from their siblings who have had university education at Legon. Still others never made enquiries of any form because they live in towns and villages far away from Legon.

Below are some of the reactions of students who were aware/unaware of university policy on African Studies and some reasons for choosing particular courses some which were based their pre-assessment on how easy they thought the course would; others choose courses they already have a background in:

I got into a state of confusion

I thought it was a course that wouldn't contribute to my main aim at the university, that is, to study accounting. I contacted friends in higher level and sought their opinion for less demanding AFST courses.

I had no choice since it was a requirement to qualify for a first degree.

I was curious to know more of African Literature

I was already there and so I had to do it

Well there was nothing I could do

It added to what I already knew.

I had some background in Literature which made African Literature easy for me.

I chose African Music because it was a practical course which complemented the semester's course.

I chose African Drama and Culture and Development. Drama comprised poetry, rhythm and dancing and it was interesting.

I chose music because I like to sing.

I wanted to know about things I didn't know before.

I chose Dance because dance has no theory; only practicals.

Every Freshman feels it is an initiation or 'rites de passage' that imparts knowledge of the African roots. But seeing University students indulge in especially drumming and dancing rather than cerebral [intellectual] work makes it demeaning.

Some of the students ridicule African Studies because of the "dance aspect of it." Yet, ironically African dance is the most preferred choice of students as shown in Table 13.1. Asked how they feel when people demean African Studies one student replied: "indifferent because I did the same thing; another felt "sad"; "It's creativity is said to be "all brawn and less brain"; "It is because of prejudice"

A research fellow and one of the pioneers at Institute of African Student reminiscing his reaction to do the compulsory African Studies course says:

Resigned it, but also felt it was an opportunity to learn something new. It was great to be in the university in those days, and to have the opportunity to learn. So, if part of the package included Afro Studs, so be it. We did not object to the General Paper at Sixth Form, so why should I object to Afro studs! It was a great feeling to walk up the Legon Hill in quest of knowledge like the scholars of ages gone by. But I must say some of the lectures were not exactly what you hoped to get. Some of the students were also rascally and tried to mess the lecture with obscene remarks.

From the questionnaire most students choose courses they think are easy for them to make the required pass mark which also tallies with Table 13.1 above. These include African Dance, African Music because in their view African Music did not require that much theoretical work since it was a practical course. However, this view about the course not being theoretical is incorrect because the course outline for the AFST 280 African Dance clearly indicates that “the course is in two parts: lectures deal with the theoretical aspects of dance and practical session aimed at providing first-hand kinetic experience in selected African Dance Forms”.¹³ Perhaps the idea of its being ‘cheap’ is that everybody thinks they know how to dance since it is part of our daily activities. Also the course outline only requires students “to attend a one hour lecture or practical dance session per week.” They did not realize that course was about the scientific or academic study of dance as well as getting a broader knowledge about other forms of dance in Ghana and Africa that would broaden their horizon.

The languages course restricts students who are native speakers of a particular language to a different language other than their mother tongue; so for example, a Twi speaker will not be allowed to study Twi but another language (Ga, Ewe, Dagbani). Those who choose languages did so either for fun; for pride in knowing another language of Ghana; to understand their partners or spouses from other ethnic groups, among others.

Perspectives of the Public

The public have also ridiculed African Studies. The public argue that they expect students to learn “proper” disciplines that would fetch them employment after studies in order not to become a burden on the family and society. Others think culture is something they grow up with and have knowledge of it already from the home and so do not see the relevance of it at the university.

The public viewpoint affirms that of the academia which refers to AFST courses as “Afro Studs” (also *dondology*—studies in drumming and dancing—when the School of Performing Arts used to be an integral part of the Institute of African Studies). The reason was that the work of the Institute was mistaken to comprise cultural dancing, music and drumming, things that students thought also by the public were not deserving of a place on the University curriculum. There were drumming rehearsals by groups like the Ghana Dance Ensemble in the open or under the shades of trees. Students thought it was all practical with very little theory. They could not see the difference between what was supposed to be happening at the IAS and what uneducated people in the rural communities did for entertainment.

¹³ See Institute of African Studies Programme, 2006/2007, Level 200, p. 41.

Relevance of African Studies

Relevance- Students Perspectives

This brings us to the question of the relevance of African Studies today. How relevant is African Studies in contemporary times? What benefit does it have specifically for science students? Should it be maintained on the university curricula?

Generally, most of the students think African Studies is relevant but should be well structured to reflect current and relevant issues in African and Ghana. Below are some of their views:

It is useful for reminiscence.

It is a waste of time because it is non-scoring [no—credit course]. I think getting a ‘credit’ instead of a ‘pass’ for it will make it more appealing

It ensures cultural independence in a globalised world.

Helps students appreciate their roots, their cultural environment and how they can use their academic knowledge to improve society.

It equips students to reason from an African perspective.

A benefit accrues from learning about local culture. This knowledge helps students to fit into the society where field work may be conducted for research activities.

The following response came from a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) with MA students in Social Policy Studies of the University.

Coming from the rural setting, I chose the Appropriate Technology (Approtech) course. It taught me how we could use readily available material for our houses that are not expensive.

Yes, Approtech is good for the nurses. They like it a lot.

Culture has a role to play in Technology, science and communication.

We need to know our culture. Our children don’t know our cultural values but based on that we can analyse what can be improved and what to throw away. Foreigners also come to learn our culture so why should owners of the culture not study it?

Pure science is all part of society.

The way Issues in Africa’s Population lifts your horizon into what is happening in other African countries is instructive. Modernisation and culture are integrated but we can leave out what is outmoded.

Music exposed me to my own culture, to understand it better. For example, some songs we used to sing as children became more meaningful after being taught how to analyse them in the AFST course.

AFST is good. Africa and the Diaspora course taught me about Rastafarianism and it helped me do away with prejudice because I now understand their religion.

African Studies is relevant because it teaches us about our worldviews. You can talk about a people well if you know their world view: perceptions, cultural beliefs and practices.

People think western life is unique and Africans don’t know about Human Rights. This is wrong; we practice and promote Human Rights. Professor Gyekye’s book on African cultural values tells us that human rights are innate; we are born with them.

Relevance- Lecturers Perspectives

Generally, African Studies faculty, both at UG and UCC, agree that the object of African Studies is to give students a grounding in their own cultures, especially

people who may never be given that opportunity (e.g. Science students) following a normal, university education. University education was too foreign centred the Institute of African Studies was established to do Africa centred research and teach from a multi-disciplinary approach. There was much ignorance and that is why there is the need for African Studies. Indeed, there is still much ignorance about the whole discipline which leads to its denigration and even rejection as students responses have clearly indicated. In this regard, the university must endeavour to have orientations for aspiring students before admission, and not after admission as has generally been the practice.

Preservation of practice traditional institutions structures and practices within the broad framework of peaceful co-existence, freedom, fairness, justice, equity and moderation will promote governance on the continent (UCC view).

The study of African Studies that teaches the knowledge and basic understanding of African peoples to realize that science and technology derive from the environment and cultural space for its applicability, sustainability and growth rids the continent of the mis-education of the past (UCC's view).

UCC information on the relevance of AFST indicates that the in-depth and sustained study of the corpus of indigenous knowledge forms in Africa enables peoples of African descent to improve upon and tell the African story from an Afro-centric perspective. This way we can ensure the sustainable development of the continent's human and material resources.

A study of African Studies that enables students to know and understand their roots, inherited past traditions, norms and lore re-define the African personality

Inculcation of time honoured African values of truthfulness, humanness, rectitude and honour should redefine youth immorality and indiscipline and ultimately ensure a more just and orderly African society.¹⁴

I put the question on the relevance of African Studies today first to my own colleague research fellow at IAS and I appreciate the barrage of counter- questions I received that set me thinking about my own thoughts on AFST, especially religion, which seem to be congruent with his. He asked: "The relevance of AFST today? Is this not Africa? Is AFST not studies about Africa? Are we not Africans? We all have a duty to learn about our backgrounds and our current aspirations. It is important to remember." His answers made me recollect my impressions about so-called African Traditional religions when people try to demean it. These are a body of tried and tested indigenous religious beliefs and practices them that have shaped our lives till today. With or without foreign intrusion and influences we still believe and practice aspects of these overtly or surreptitiously, or as a last resort to solve problems which confront the contemporary technology affecting Africans. Contemporary courts cannot deal with, or give redress to questions bothering on justice (customary issues such as witchcraft accusations). Therefore, many dissatisfied citizens seek remedy at the traditional courts, religious shrines, and spiritual/pentecostal/charismatic churches that understand the African cultural complexities; and it works

¹⁴ I am indebted to Douglas Nnuroh and Dr. Wilson Yahoh (Head of the Dept of African Studies University of Cape Cape) for the information on UCC African Studies).

for them (Sackey 1991, 2001, 2006; Mbiti 1975). How would such people find appeasement—even if a temporary psychological one as critics of African beliefs and practices would make believe—if all our customs and traditional institutions were made mockery of and scraped in favour transformation and globalization? These are some of the cultural issues that, though rooted in the past, are manifested on daily basis in Ghana and other African countries. AFST should be concerned with these African realities that we live with. Here, a contribution by a medical officer at the Korle-Bu Teaching Hospital in Accra and an alumnus of the University of Ghana is illustrative. He told me even though he enjoyed African Studies when a student he is now appreciating it more in his profession as a medical doctor. He says he gets patients who complain of “pains all over the body; no medicine seems to help. Such people attribute their sickness to witchcraft or other evil spirits. I understand these patients because of my background in African Studies.”

Other faculty responded to the weight of African Studies in contemporary times. Some argued that while AFST courses broaden our knowledge about African and local cultural issues, it is important to understand that they comprise the culture of the people of Ghana which is useful to learn. They comprise the cultures of the people of Ghana and all students are part of it. Some responded that students do not read beyond their area of studies which is why it is important. For example, it offers those in the natural sciences at least knowledge about aspects of the disciplines in the humanities and social sciences. Since African Studies has both social science and humanities components science students get something from each of these. Also, African Studies teaches courses on health, e.g. traditional medicine, which is of great benefit to science students. “In fact if we don’t enforce African Studies in African universities, we would be mis-educating our students.”

Also, they get exposed to social and cultural issues—issues that many would otherwise have taken for granted. Many are ignorant of issues that have an important bearing on their lives and their professions. AFST, therefore, helps to make even the science student a more rounded professional. Even science too has to be made relevant to culture and the society’s needs.

AFST now, UGRC, is multi-disciplinary. It provides learning opportunities for students beyond their mother disciplines and this cannot be a bad thing.¹⁵

Some students took it for a joke. They saw it as “Afro Studs”—something not really worth the bother. Some, it would seem realised the importance of the subject years later after graduation. Again the illustration by the medical officer above affirms the idea that students tend to appreciate their world view better when they are out of school and are faced with the realities.

I had the privilege of teaching one these Afro-Studs, precisely AFST 250 *Festivals and Funerals* for one semester of 2008/2009 in the academic year when the regular lecturer was incapacitated. It is one of my most memorable African Studies courses in relation to students’ attendance, attention and reactions. Despite the large class size of over 800 students, I allowed the class to be interactive and students

¹⁵ Personal interview with Professor Albert Awedoba, IAS, March 2012.

could interrupt the lecture at any time. With the help of visual aids I projected aspects of funerals that are performed in private, for example certain rituals, tensions and conflicts that accompany the preparation of the body and the various roles played by family members, students who have had such experiences nodded in agreement as they understood the meanings and symbolisms in funerals they had observed. Others shared their own experience with the rest of the class. Remarkably, the majority of students has never had such exposures and was interested to know more. This shows that funerals in African societies are not 'children's business' as students are considered not grown up enough in these matters, and they appreciated the seriousness attached to the correct performance of the rituals.

The Institute also has made strides in both academic and infrastructure. On infrastructure is noteworthy that the new one storey edifice currently harbouring the Institute of African Studies came into being through the efforts of one of the female directors, Professor Irene Odotei (2000–2004). IAS was starved of funds after the overthrow of Nkrumah. However different directors tried to make a head way in whatever they could to keep the institution running but of remarkable performance in my assessment is Professor Irene Odotei who made a striking and enduring impact. During her tenure, there was what I call a research boom at the institute as she managed to get external funding for so many research projects and get all research fellows on board. For example, the *Asafo* project which investigated the history and role of traditional military forces (*asafo*) was funded by NUFU research donors from Norway. Another aspect of the NUFU funding saw a collaboration of academia and the public (notably chiefs and queenmothers) to explore both current and traditional perspectives on the chieftaincy institution. Professor Odotei also received financial support from Ford Foundation of the USA that enabled research into the passing and funeral rites the late Asantehene, Otumfuo Opoku War II as well the installation of his successor, Otumfuo Osei Tutu II, the present Asantehene. These fundings produced at least three books and journal publications and several workshops. These books include, *Chieftaincy in Ghana*, *The King has gone to The Village*, and the *King Returns*. As at the time of writing this chapter, the IAS was planning an international conference with the theme: "Revisiting the First International Conference on African Studies," which was held in the University of Ghana, Legon in 1962. The IAS has linkages with Europe and North American universities from where students from these continents come to the University of Ghana to specially have courses on African Studies for them. Above all, foreign universities continue to open African Studies departments as a way of teaching new course designs that tend to correct previous erroneous depiction of Africa.

The Institute also has outreach programmes to basic schools in the country who patronize the Institute's museum of rare cultural heritage collections. Mention must be made of the Manhyia Palace Archives of the Asantehehe in Kumasi, Ghana, that is administratively under the management of the IAS. These are a few of the events that are evident of some of the prospects and continued advancement and usefulness of African Studies in contemporary times.

African Studies and Nkrumah's African Genius

The questions whether African Studies (AFST) has lived true to the mandate it was given by President Nkrumah as espoused in his "The African Genius" attracted mixed responses. Some faculty members believed it had; while others did not because Ghanaians still think everything from the western world is better (education, material goods, even food) than in Ghana or Africa. Some faculty and students were not even aware of the famous "The African Genius" that Nkrumah espoused at the official opening of the Institute of African Studies. Neither were they aware of changes in teaching methods.

Interviews with former and current research fellows of the Institute of African Studies recounted the impact of the semi-autonomous status of the institution on its establishment as a great incentive and drive for their work. Funded by the state, African Studies started in earnest with a big bang whereby with available source of funding by government research fellows embarked on field work with great enthusiasm and academic accuracy. Invaluable ethnographies on various aspects on African Studies: Stool Histories, Family Studies, Music, Folklore, festivals, funerals, religions. This status of the Institute generated some jealousies among other faculties.

The near self-sufficiency or financial autonomy of the Institute died when Nkrumah was overthrown in a military coup in 1966. Funds, therefore, became scarce for anything Nkrumah started and this affected the academia and especially the Institute. Since regular, flowing funding was the backbone and survival of any endeavour or project, the overthrow of Nkrumah thus marked the beginning of the declining research zeal in Africa Studies and in the country as a whole. The idea of African Studies and antagonism by other faculty of the university of Ghana faculty who did not realize the prominence that had been hitherto been attached to studying Africa in a grand style had also resurged.

"Afro Studs" was continually being ridiculed because the work of the Institute was mistaken to comprise cultural dancing, music and drumming, things that students thought were not deserving of a place on the University curriculum. There were drumming rehearsals by groups like the Ghana Dance Ensemble in the open. Students thought it was all practical with very little theory. They could not see the difference between what was supposed to be happening at the IAS and what uneducated people in the rural communities did for entertainment.¹⁶

Nevertheless, many voices want AFST to continue as a mandatory course for undergraduate, though some liberals think "we should not ram things down people's throats." At the same time, an argument for the university's concept of holistic education should apply. In this respect, "we the University still hold the view that a more rounded education can be afforded our students by making UGRC compulsory."¹⁷

¹⁶ Personal interview with Professor Albert Awedoba, IAS, March 2012.

¹⁷ Personal Interview with Professor Albert Awedoba, IAS, March 2012.

The Way Forward

If there should be any prospect for African Studies in the future, we must make concerted efforts to understand its historical, sociological and psychological background. We must be conversant with the meaning of African Studies from the perspectives of Africans, though many westerners and non-westerners would want to be part of it because they focus on issues about Africa both past and contemporary as the debates; above have shown. Ours is to make our perspective clear to our students, communities, societies, and nation.

First what is an African Approach to African Studies? What is an African approach? There are non-Africans who study African Studies but they do so from their perspectives. “We are in the culture and we probably look at African problem in a different way, from our cultural background.”¹⁸

An approach to a study depends on how the material is collected and how it is interpreted. Regardless of Nkrumah’s vision African studies was still looked at with a British lens by some Ghanaians. An African takes its culture differently; his orientation is African in the sense that his data is interpreted from his own epistemology and experiences. His data is not subject to fit European theories however, it is however un-academic it might seem to outsiders. Self-knowledge of his culture, country and environment should be key determinants. Oral histories method was initiated by African historians and has withered the storm.¹⁹

Ghanaians who continue to apply erroneous designation used by the West to African Studies must be taught to desist from them. These include terms such as fetish priest, juju, and animism. Kofi Asare Opoku (former Professor of African Religions and Philosophy, IAS) in a conversation bemoaned this practice and argued that, when for example, the western concept of quantum physics says energy is never destroyed, we accept it but when Africans say, “*nyimpa wu a nna owui*,” to wit the dead are not dead, we tend to dispute that. To him there is no difference between the two ideologies. Energy links different things and libation for example is one method of keeping energy between the dead and the living intact. This brings to mind the concept of libation in African cultures. Libation is a recognition of a reality and African scholars, including Idowu 1970; Mbiti 1975; Sarpong 1999; Opoku 1978; Hountondji 1996, among others, have spent much time in debunking foreign misconceptions and attempted to educate Africans about the value of their endogenous knowledge and their epistemology but these are yet to sink into the colonised African psyche as foreign religions, technology, globalisation seem to draw us into their realm the moment we feel we are getting nearer to our African destination or direction.

¹⁸ Personal Interview with Emeritus Professor in African Studies, J. H. Kwabena Nketia, at his residence in Accra, October 2012.

¹⁹ Personal Interview with 91 year old Emeritus Professor J. H. Kwabena Nketia, Emeritus Professor of Ethno-musicology and first Ghanaian director of the Institute of African Studies at his residence in Accra, October 2012.

Conclusions

Not all university programmes are professional oriented. There are professional as well as non-professional disciplines. Some give broad knowledge to advance and prepare oneself for life; they enable one to understand and operate in one's society effectively. A medical doctor who has done African Studies will be better placed to understand the aetiology of his or her patients better in order to make a more accurate diagnosis. Through social transformations and new life styles many Ghanaians may be inclined to alienate themselves from their cultures, yet they live within the very cultures they shun

African studies should lead to the desire of Afrocentricity that fashions home-grown solutions to Africa's problems. The clarion call is that imported development paradigms that ignores the social structure will not and cannot work in Africa. (UCC)

Much depends also on the leadership. Some directors of the Institute have facilitated outreach programmes with chiefs because chieftaincy is one of the enduring indigenous institutions which is still not without a myriad of changes and enduring problems. An academic encounter and approach to chieftaincy will help sustain this time-tested institution which is proudly African. Historical military institutions like the *asafo* have also been brought to the limelight in a series of university workshops and conferences at the Institute to highlight their functions in peaceful times. Again, the future depends on the authorities, leadership of the IAS, and the university in general. Additional courses, that are problem-solving oriented could be sought to address issues such as expensive funerals that most people complain about, the problem of growing filth, child abuse, domestic violence, etc. How these were dealt with successfully in the past and whether some of the methods could be adaptable to current situations. Biographies of Great Africans of the Past should be reconstructed to serve as role models for students and young persons in general. There should be more efforts to teach about the family at the undergraduate level because the concept of family is changing drastically in the world including Africa.

However, much still needs to be done by way of seeking more interaction with the community. Nationwide the Institute could do something, for example, organise short courses for civil servants or teachers in the field of teaching courses in African Studies at the basic and secondary levels so that we could relate research to the context of application.

In fact African Studies could go on forever if we adhere to the African Genius which has given the blueprint to the epistemological deductions of African Studies. There is much hope for the discipline because so long as Africans exist there would be African Studies. Nonetheless, we must justify its existence through innovation as times would demand, without compromising its African-centeredness, and in order to do this the Institute must strive to generate its own internal funding since depending on external grants definitely compromise African interests, to some extent.

I would end on a more exciting note using the words of Melber (2009, p. 197) that in spite of all its world-wide challenges and ridicule, "African Studies and, in particular, scholars within African Studies, are very much alive and kicking. Their

interests and goals, motivations and self-understanding seem to be open for a variety of controversies, divergences and misinterpretations. Such ambivalences might even be a desired result of a non-homogenous, multi-disciplinary area such as the one called African Studies.”

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Chapter 14

Evolution and Development of Development Studies in Ghana

Philip Duku Osei

Introduction

The term, development, an important word in the name of the discipline of Development Studies, has since the evolution of development policy as part of the study of social and economic progress of countries and people, spawned several theoretical analysis since the time of Adam Smith in the 1700s (Jolly 2002, pp. 15–16; Escobar 1995). In preparing of this chapter in the middle of 2013 there is still no universally accepted definition of the term. (2002, p. 1) notes that the term “carries with it an extensive baggage of connotation and potential for misunderstanding.” As Clarke puts it, it is a word that refers to “a bewildering range of complex activities” both in the academe and in development practice. As an organized field of study, Development Studies was never a single disciplinary pursuit and it also bore different labels, one of which is international development studies. For as Loxley notes (2004, p. 1), “International Development Studies (IDS) focuses on developing countries per se, examining issues of global applicability of common concern to all regions; is interdisciplinary in nature; fosters studies at the international, national, and sub-national levels and is at once theoretical, policy-oriented, and empirical. While IDS programmes have a clear commitment to an inter-disciplinary approach, they each have different ways of accomplishing it.”

From the end of World War II and in the days of terminal colonialism, there were developed at the University of Manchester in the UK and Princeton in the USA studies in the Politics of Developing Areas Development Studies and Sociology and economics of Developing Areas. In 1958, Arthur Livingston is credited with having pioneered the establishment of the Institute for Development Policy and Management at the University of Manchester. The establishment of schools or institutes of development studies within universities in the advanced industrial Economies

P. D. Osei (✉)
Institute of Social and Economic Studies,
University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica
e-mail: philip.osei@uwimona.edu.jm

including some of the early ones in the UK like the Institute of Development Studies in Sussex, the Development Administration Group at the University of Birmingham in the UK and others, led to an initial grouping of multi-disciplinary teams of academicians to subject development in the newly independent countries to rigorous analysis.

Since those initial efforts at developing this field of study, this multi-disciplinary field has evolved into a multi-billion dollar industry encompassing academic studies, development practice and development advisory and research. There has also been a professionalization of the field, with development studies associations having been formed including the UK/Ireland Development Studies Association (DSA). There have also been African and international associations set up to address research in development studies. They include: Europe: *European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes* (EADI); Latin America: *Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales* (CLACSO); Asia: *Asian Political and International Studies Association* (APISA); Africa: *Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa* (CODESRIA) and *Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa* (OSSREA); Arabic world: *Arab Institutes and Centres for Economic and Social Development Research* (AICARDES).

Development Studies (DS) in Ghana had been very much at the centre of the development of the discipline in the newly independent states in the so-called Third World since the mid-twentieth century. Indeed, Ghana is one of the earliest locations (or social laboratory) where development studies and its practice started, when the late Sir Arthur Lewis, the Nobel Laureate for Economics extended his advisory work to Africa. In those days, development was conceptualized more in terms of economic development (Rostow 1960; Lewis 1954, 1955). Sir Arthur Lewis, then a Professor at the University of Manchester was the first economic advisor to the independent Ghana in 1957–1958 under the auspices of the United Nations. He conducted studies into Ghana's industrialization and financial policies and advised the Nkrumah Administration (Princeton University Library). His reports on the Volta River Dam Project and industrialization were hailed as being helpful in laying down the foundations for the use of applied knowledge to the development circumstances of Ghana. Lewis helped to draw up Ghana's first 5 Year Development Plan (1959–1963). The early years of development studies in Ghana were therefore practice-led and it was indeed, an extension of colonial economics. Lewis, as one of the pioneer authors on economic development on the newly independent states, had also advised the British Colonial Office on economic development issues in 1944 and did his first consultancy in the then Gold Coast in 1953.

This chapter attempts to map out the development and evolution of Development Studies as an academic endeavour, tracing the history of the discipline, the ideology and philosophy underpinning its growth in Ghana, the methods that have been used in delivering the programmes that have been taught under its auspices, the empirical research that has sustained the substance and currency of the discipline, and the policy relevance of the discipline.

The sections immediately below grapple with foundational questions such as “What are the central themes about which theories have been focused in

Development Studies?” and What problems have development policies emerging out of these theoretical perspectives attempted to resolve? To begin with, a brief discussion to situate the relevance of the discipline is provided through an examination of development problems in Ghana and by extension, Africa.

The Development Problematic in Developing Countries

What are the critical issues that development studies have dealt with since its inception in the 1950s? And have there been changes in focus or emphasis (e.g., the shift from economic growth to social development and sustainable development) and how have these been accommodated theoretically and programmatically in curricula development? Is population growth a resource or problem? Is state building or political development still an issue? How effectively has regional development been pursued? and what impact has it had on the rural-urban divide, unbalanced development and urban and rural development question in Ghana? These are important issues that have engaged development studies in Ghana and by extension Africa and for which there has been a dearth of useful and quality data to facilitate analysis, as noted by Delapalme (2011). These issues are worth discussing in this chapter, even if tentatively and sketchily.

The introduction and Chap. 1 of Eboe Hutchful's (2002) *Ghana's Adjustment Experience: The Paradox of Reform*, give us a vivid picture of the development problematic in Ghana, taking its point of departure from the post-independence era. But can we just begin the discussion by situating our discourse in post independence development issues? or we have to go back to the pre-colonial times? What are the theories of development that help us to explain these problems?

In the African context, we refer to the work of John Healey and Mark Robinson (1992) which asks basic questions about democracy, governance and economic policy (Chap. 1), interrogating whether democratic governance necessarily lead to growth and development, as one important facet of the development problematic; and move on to Tony Killick (1989), regarding the dilemma concerning the role of the state in developing countries thrown into high relief by the paradigm shift, and his argument that the question ought to be about what kind of state and what kind of comparative advantage and how the capacity of the state can be improved. Is it easy to discuss the development problematic by adopting a sectoral approach? (political development, economic development policy, leaving behind social development—the issue of poverty and social forces including the global economic crisis (conservative view and the liberal democratic view of poverty; world systems perspectives and dependency school). Is there a merit in looking at the issues in terms of paucity of institutional capacity (leading to solutions in terms of institutionalism and development and institutional economics, as per North (1995) and Thelen (1999) and Elinor Ostrom)? What are the merits of such an approach and what are the demerits? What is the role of the international economic order in propelling or hindering development? What about the role of population

growth, and the use and abuse of environmental resources? These are issues that are considered legitimate of inquiry in the pursuit of the full meaning and impact of development, which is the primary object of development studies (John Weeks 2012; Michael Todaro on Economic development).

Other issues that merit enquiry include a look at praxis, especially development intentions (Porter et al. 1991) and missed opportunities by doing a chronological assessment of the various United Nations Decades of Development and the various themes that have dominated the strategies adopted in those decades. In this kind of analysis, we cannot discount the role of international development agencies in the shaping of development policy, including—the IMF, World Bank, regional development banks (African Development Bank, Asian Development Bank, Caribbean Development Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank), and bilateral development agencies—DFID, USAID, JICA, AusAid, CIDA, SIDA, DANIDA, and the rise of the BRICS, especially China.

Ideology and Philosophy

In this section, the ideology and philosophical underpinnings of the introduction of development studies are discussed, but within the historical and social forces that gave birth to the discipline in this country. Development Studies is indeed multidisciplinary. It includes Area Studies, Demography, Demographics, Development Communication, Development Theory, Ecology, Engineering, Environmental Studies, Human Security, Migration Studies, Pedagogy, Public Health, Social Policy, Urbanization, and Women's studies (Loxley 2004; Sumner 2006; Wikipedia, 25 June 2012). The same Wikipedia source noted that in its initial development, development studies sought to integrate ideas of politics and economics. To this can be added Development Administration and Management and subjects from geography including Urban and Rural Development and Human Geography in developing countries, as well as agricultural development more broadly.

The concept of development is and has remained a protean multi-disciplinary concept, which has been imbued with many different meanings, depending on which disciplinary perspective a scholar or practitioner approaches the discussion from. From the 1940s and emerging from the devastation meted unto Western Europe through World War II, development was mostly conceptualized in terms of economic development or economic growth. The decline of Britain as the world superpower after World War II and the organization of the Marshall Aid Plan for Europe by the United States ushered in a new ferment of development thinking not only in the war-torn countries, but also the colonies in Africa, Asia-Pacific, South America and the Caribbean. The colonies had sent armies to fight alongside the European powers, and through this singular experience the myth surrounding the invincibility of the European had been shattered. Ex-Servicemen and a newly educated generation of leaders agitated for independence. The basic premise of these nationalist leaders was that colonialism had underdeveloped the colonial territories

due to the policy of extraction of raw materials and wealth for the development of Europe to the detriment of the territories. The colonial policies adopted by the European powers had deliberately created a world economic system in which there was a centre and periphery, the latter seen mostly by development scholars as having been overly disadvantaged by the system and economic power structures that emerged. The colonial economy, dominated by plantations and built on the back of slave and indentured labour could not withstand the shock introduced by the agitation of the colonized people. The 1938 labour agitations in the Caribbean marked the rising of the colonized people for development and fair treatment. The Colonial Development Plans adopted by Britain in the early 1940s and introduced as a sequel to the report of the Moyne Commission (1945) in the Caribbean, and the development of basic infrastructure by a progressive Colonial Governor, Gordon Guggisberg in the then Gold Coast, as well as the introduction of secondary school education also created fertile grounds for a new thinking about local development of the indigenous people in the Gold Coast.

At the eve of independence in the British Commonwealth, particularly in India in 1947 which coincided with the formation of the first political party in the Gold Coast in the same year, development was thought about in both normative and positive terms. It implied the choices to be made by the colonialists and the emerging nationalist leaders towards improving the human condition (Moyne Report 1945) and what Ghandi noted as the “realization of the human potential” (Bryant and White 1982, p. 3). The meaning of development has evolved, and now encompasses what Michael (1977, p. 62) sees as a “multidimensional process involving major changes in social structures, popular attitudes and national institutions, as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality and the eradication of absolute poverty.” Bryant and White’s contribution to the discussion of the concept of development in 1982 made interesting reading. They noted that development can only be understood when “it is conceived as a process in industrialized countries as well as in the Third World. Industrial nations have far to go to realize the human potential,” which Ghandi spoke about, yet “they have much to learn about inequality and alleviation of poverty” (Bryant and White 1982, p. 3). In very pragmatic terms, Bryant and White (1982) alluded to development as a continuum and not as an end state. How truthful these statements were can only be inferred from the manner in which the European Union instituted its Single Regeneration Budget for the development of the regions of Europe, the introduction of programmes such as Sure Start for the families living in deprived areas in England and Wales, and the introduction and popularization of the concept of “social exclusion” and its programmematic element for the identification of affected communities and their inclusion into the mainstream in the United Kingdom in the first decade of the 2000s. From these glimpses of development may be found, albeit described with alternative concepts such as regeneration.

Early development theory focused on economic, political and social modernization and this school of thought tended to be dominated by economists, who came in various guises as classical economists, political economists, development economists, Keynesian and neo-classical economists. Economic development was

initially conceived of in terms of industrialization, productivity and with less emphasis on distribution. W. W. Rostow was one of those early leaders in this field, who postulated the Stages of Economic Growth. The dominance of each of these categories of economists spurred the development of various shades of the theory economic development and a better understanding of the concept of capitalist development. Underpinning development theory was the progressivity of capitalism (Schuurman 1993, p. 2), acknowledged by both Marxists, Neo-Marxists (including well-known dependency theorists such as Andre Gunder Frank 1978). Marxist theories, are noted by Schuurman to be underpinned by the assumption of the theorists that social and political relations are determined by “the primacy of production relations.” Schuurman contrasts the differences between Marxism and neo-Marxism and notes that Marxism is Eurocentric in its approach, and it looks at imperialism from the perspectives of the central capitalist countries (generally labelled as the core) and postulates reasons for the existence of imperialism as the search for markets, cheap raw materials and labour with a view to maintaining profits at the (1993, p. 2).

Schuurman maintains that neo-Marxism looks at imperialism from the perspective of the peripheral countries and studies the consequences on the periphery of imperialist penetration. The central thrust of the Neo-Marxist argument is that they disagree with the historically progressive role of imperialism and capitalism assumed by the Marxists and observe that those same values are more likely to lead to underdevelopment in the periphery than development. On a more general note, however, orthodox Marxist theories have been criticized for postulating a unilinear approach to development in which societies evolve from feudalism to capitalism and finally to socialism (Schuurman 1993, p. 3). Perhaps, the best critique of orthodox Marxist theories came from practical development, in which the socialist experiments in the former Soviet Bloc countries disintegrated for various reasons including the inherent weaknesses introduced by the lack of private ownership of property and the guarantee of property rights in those states. Controlled and command economies and the domination of inefficient public enterprises in the production of public services proved to be unsustainable in the long run.

Dependency theory became one of the best known Neo-Marxist theories in developing countries, including Ghana, not least, because the underachievement of the central proposals of Nkrumaist development policy which rested on this theory. Developed initially by Latin American scholars, including Gunder Frank, this theory argued that developing countries were locked up in a world system of capitalism (as propounded by scholars like Samir Amin 1976) in which the periphery produced primary products and the core produced products with added value, with a tendency for the terms of trade of primary products to depreciate. A number of emergent countries promulgated industrialization policies to produce industrial goods with a view to reduce their countries' dependence on imported goods (Cardoso and Falleto 1979). However, industrialization policy outcomes of the 1960s and 1970s revealed that the dependence of the Third World on foreign countries did not dwindle as expected. National industry remained dependent on imported machinery and contrary to the “infant industry” argument, local preference of locally produced

goods was suspect and tariff barriers were viewed as distorting real economic incentives and competitiveness (Schuurman 1993). In spite of receiving advice from William Arthur Lewis, the first economic advisor of the newly independent Ghana, the industrialization policy of the Nkrumah administration was observed to have faulted and failed to deliver the long-term development envisaged. The work of Tony Killick (1979) "Development Economics in Action" provides a vivid assessment of the underachievement of Nkrumah's industrialization policy, which was mostly based on a State-Owned Enterprise approach. In a two-volume book on *The World Bank and Policy Base Lending*, that was edited by Mosley et al. (1991), the chapter on Ghana, written by John Toye as well as Tony Killick (2010) reflected on the theoretical basis of distortions in the Ghanaian economy in the 1970s and 1980s and offered empirical evidence to show the low level to which the economy had sunk by the beginning of 1983, perhaps better epitomized by the hyper-inflation level of 123%, a bloated and demoralized public service and debt levels that were unsustainable. Life expectancy was low, the housing stock was inadequate, there was abject poverty, massive brain-drain and Ghana's hospitals had been translated into "death transit camps" because of the lack of basic medical equipment for treating people, to quote Jerry John Rawlings in the aftermath of his 1979 military coup.

By the end of the 1970s, development theory had experienced what has been referred to in the literature an "impasse." Due mainly to criticism of Marxist, Neo-Marxist and Modernization theories, there had developed a theoretical vacuum in Development Studies. This theoretical crisis has been summarized by (1983, pp. 10–11) as resulting from:

- "The realization that the gap between poor and rich countries continued to widen and that the developing countries were unlikely to bridge that gap whatever strategy would follow;
- the realization that developing countries, in the 1980s, were preoccupied with short term policies aimed at keeping their heads above water in terms of debt;
- The growing awareness that economic growth has had, and is having a catastrophic effect on the environment.
- The delegitimization of socialism as a viable political means of solving the problem of underdevelopment;
- the conviction that the world market is an over-arching whole which cannot be approached using development policies oriented at the national level.
- The growing recognition of differentiation within the Third World that could no longer be handled by global theories assuming a homogeneous First and Third World.
- The advancement of post-modernism within the social sciences, where there has been a tendency to undermine 'the great narratives' (capitalism, socialism, communism, etc.) by arguing that there is no common reality outside of the individual... Development theories based on metadiscourses have no right to exist, according to post-modernists."

The rise of Neo-liberal development theory was expected to fill this theoretical gap. Neo-liberalism believed in the freedoms of the individual, the protection of

property rights, and the full expression of personal choice through the free operation of market forces. In terms of policy practice, neo-liberalism found a home with the ideological right in politics, whose representatives had assumed and were occupying important positions in international development in institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund and in politics and in the United States of America, which saw the accession to power by Ronald Reagan, and Margaret Thatcher in the United Kingdom. Policy options espoused by the neo-liberals falls under the general rubric of what became known as the Washington Consensus (Williamson) included: free and open markets, retrenchment of state participation in the economy and the promotion of privatization, deregulation of the economy, especially the exchange rate market, withdrawal of state subsidies on essential expenditure including agricultural materials like fertilizers and on social services. But right from the beginning of the ascendancy of neo-liberalism, moderate theories of pragmatists saw danger in the over-emphasis on markets as the most efficient way to allocate scarce resources. This pendulum swing of theory was compared to a counter-revolution by John (1989, 1991) and by Tony Killick (1989) as “A Reaction too Far.” What was considered to be short-sharp-shock policy prescription in the early 1980s under the so-called Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) ended up under-achieving its objectives in the decade of the 1980s, which came to be known as the lost decade.

But perhaps, the sacrifices made by Ghanaians in the 1980s that led to the call for a moderation of the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) through what UNICEF called ‘Adjustment with a Human Face’ (1987), was vindicated only after Ghana had turned a full circle (from the so-called ‘right policies’ inspired by neo-liberal theory) to declare itself a Heavily Indebted Poor Country (HIPC) in 2001 under the United Nations programme. Under the HIPC Ghana returned to higher growth beyond the average of 5% of the 1980s and 90s. The Institute of Scientific, Social and Economic Research (ISSER) of the University of Ghana provided leadership in research and publications on the State of the Ghanaian Economy Report and the Ghana Human Development Report which are annual series offering in-depth evaluation of the relevant themes (mentioned elsewhere in this chapter), and have also since engaged in further research in collaboration with the Centre for Democratic Development and the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) that captured the vicissitudes of the country’s long engagement with the international development partners and its over-reliance or dependence on foreign aid (Quartey 2010; Osei 2010; Killick 2010). This meant that the country continued to be used as a trial ground for newly created aid instruments and modes of delivery including the Multi-Donor Budget Support and Direct Budget Support.

What has been constant about development management is the continued focus of praxis on capacity building and capacity strengthening as alluded to by several authors including Milton Esman (1991), Martinussen, John (1995), Fukuda-Parr et al. (2002). The delivery of projects and programmes have continued to reveal capacity gaps and the need for improving bureaucratic performance through the classical methods including enhancing managerial skills by education and training in the institutions of donor countries and by establishing and strengthening training

institutions such as GIMPA and programmes in Ghana. The School of Public Service and Governance at GIMPA was constituted to bridge this need. Commonwealth scholarships have served the country very well in this regard, and funding support programmes like the African Capacity Building Fund and German Academic Exchange, among others, have helped to upgrade the management skills, improved professional orientation and policy-analytical competence of middle to senior public service officers. Similarly, resources have been expended on improving the technologies available to managers through such programmes as the Ghana Financial Management Information Systems and Public Financial Management Improvement Programme. There has continued to be heavy reliance on transfer of technology; rationalizing organizations, procedures and adjusting structures and methods.

Related to the politics of development, Jackson and Rosberg (1988) postulated an empirical and juridical basis of legitimacy in the verification of statehood in Africa, and noted that most African states have not met the empirical requirement (based on their ability to exercise control in the promulgation, implementation and enforcement of laws, policies and regulations. The persistence of these states, they claim, is much more a credit to the juridical definition of statehood, which is dependent on recognition accorded them by their being part of an international community of states (that is, their recognition at the United Nations). Based on this conceptualization of statehood, the Ghanaian state (like many others in the continent, including at a certain point in time, failed states such as Liberia, Sierra Leone, Somalia (Sandbrook 1993) and Zimbabwe) probably failed to provide basic services to their citizens. In fact, there were claims of “states without citizens” in the 1980s—a reference to the disengagement of citizens due to political repression (Ayaode 1988). Subnational level development was also affected equally by the lack of institutional capacity (Ninsin 1988, p. 265; Chazan 1988, pp. 123–24). C. K. (1974, 1986) reflected on the strategies of rural development in Ghana and evaluated rural development planning and execution in a 1986 book on the subject (Brown 1986).

The discipline has been taught, researched and applied in Ghana since the early years of independence from colonial rule. Its foundations can be situated in the establishment of the Institute of Scientific Social and Economic Research (ISSER) in 1962 to provide research information that could be used to inform and influence economic and social development policy making in the country. In that regard, development studies have since their beginning in Ghana sought to provide evidential base for public policy. Since then, research, advisory and teaching at both undergraduate and graduate levels have developed apace, and these academic programmes were introduced at different times, reflecting the changing needs of the country with the passage of time. So though seemingly disjointed, the evolution of development studies in Ghana has been built on solid research background, enabled by ISSER, the Ghana Institute of Management and Public Administration (GIMPA) in 1962, the Institute for Development Studies (IDS) in Cape Coast (established in 1969 as the Social Studies project in collaboration with the Institute of Social Studies in the Netherlands) and the addition of the University for Development Studies in Northern Ghana in 1992 as a fifth public university.

True to its multiregional nature, the UDS has five campuses and a decentralized governance structure that is commensurate with the geographical spread of the campuses. The Kintampo, Brong Ahafo Region campus houses the Allied Health Sciences faculty. The Nyankpala, Northern Region campus houses the Faculty of Agriculture; while the Navrongo, Upper East Region campus houses the Faculty of Applied Science. Similarly, the Tamale campus in the Northern Region houses the School of Medicine and Health Sciences, and finally, the Wa campus in the Upper West Region houses the Faculty of Integrated Development Studies (dealing with the social science aspect of development studies). In the broadest sense therefore, the UDS approximates the broader definition of development studies proffered by authors like Andrew Sumner (2006), in that it has the highest concentration of the multidisciplinary pursuits outlined as contributing to the subject-matter of development studies under one umbrella university.

The ideological and philosophical background against which development studies programmes evolved, and the establishment of tertiary educational institutions to give effect to these ideals can be gleaned from the mandates of the institutions. It is worth noting that most of this accords with the purposes of development studies as set out by the international development epistemic community. This community sees the point of departure of development studies as “improving peoples’ lives” (Sumner 2006, p. 645). As a sequel, ISSER has included in its mandate a commitment “to carrying out research and training that is geared towards promoting the socio-economic development of Ghana in particular, and Africa in general. The Institute strives to maintain its reputation for solid social science research, paying close attention to exploratory and evaluative aspects of the dynamics of development” (Capability Statement, ISSER). It also includes a commitment to capacity building by collaborating with local and international agencies to provide “policy advice and participate in policy analysis and decision-making”; and by offering “a Master’s degree programme in Development Studies, which attracts public sector and private sector development practitioners. In addition, ISSER offers a sub-degree course in statistical methods for middle level technicians involved in data management and monitoring and evaluation exercises” (Capability Statement, ISSER). The physical plant of ISSER which it had kept for half a century has been enhanced by adding a new building which hosts a conference centre and some offices for staff and was inaugurated in 2012.

The ISSER has identified the purpose of its research activities as the need to affect the micro-foundations of development policy reform in the following areas:

- “Public expenditure and household behaviour.
- Finance for small-scale investment.
- Rural production and household incomes.
- Food Security.
- Health and nutrition of households.
- Social reforms and social security.
- Gender issues and policy reforms” (Capability Statement, ISSER).

Table 14.1 MA/MPhil course module

First semester core courses		
Course code	Course name	Credit hours
ISDS 601	Theory and method of development	3
ISDS 603	Research methods and techniques	3
ISDS 607	Economic development	3
ISDS 609	Development training working I	3
<i>Second semester core courses</i>		
ISDS 602	Resource allocation project appraisal	3
ISDS 604	Development training practical workshop ii	3
ISDS 606	Policy analysis	3
ISDS 608	Long essay	6
ISDS 616	Development planning	3
<i>Elective courses</i>		
ISDS 605	Gender and development	3
ISDS 612	Social development	3
ISDS 614	Science, technology and development	3
ISDS 616	Gender and development	3
ISDS 617	Environment and development	3
ISDS 618	Resource development	3
ISDS 619	International economics and trade	3
ISDS 620	Agricultural development	3
ISDS 621	Spatial development	3
ISDS 622	Politics and development	3
ISDS 624	Development administration	3
ISDS 626	Micro-finance and development	3
<i>MPhil development studies (12 months)</i>		
ISDS 600	Selective topic (Elective)	3
ISDS 610	Seminar (core)	3
ISDS 609	Thesis (core)	12

Its staff has published research work on options for the economy of Ghana, with a certain regularity and evaluated Ghana's progress towards to achievement of the Millennium Development Goals. In contributing to the policy analysis and policy debates in the country, as the implementation of neo-liberal development policy progressed from 1983 to the present, ISSER embarked on the building of functional relationships as a specific strategy to improve self-spreading. One of the most important of such collaboration came in the form of their participation in the Department for International Development-supported Centre for Competition and Regulation at the University of Manchester, UK. The participation of ISSER in this 5-year project was expected to leave behind some residual capacity in regulatory analysis and teaching. It is, however, not clear how the gains of this project have been sustained, as the academic programming of degree programmes show in Table 14.1.

In addition to this, information supplied in the Humanities Handbook of the University of Ghana indicates that the Master of Arts in Development Studies was introduced in 1997 at ISSER, decades after the Certificates in Statistics and

Demography had been introduced in the 1960s. The core subjects covered in the MA Development Studies programme include: Economic Development, Development Planning, Research Methods and Techniques and Theory and Methods of Development and Policy Analysis, and the course on Environment and Development that was introduced in 2009. The table below gives a broad overview of the MA/MPhil courses offered at ISSER in 2012 and the weights assigned to them in terms of credit hours. The offerings show how far Development Studies at the University of Ghana has come and also reflects the additions made to the course portfolio as development theories, paradigms and fads have changed over time. The University of Ghana also hosts the Regional Institute for Population Studies, which was established jointly by the United Nations Organization and the Government of Ghana to provide research information for evidence-based national development policy. The Institute offers MA and MPhil/PhD programmes and its students have come from countries throughout Africa.

On the whole, ISSER's core course offerings for both semesters have an economics bias, probably reflecting the preponderantly economists who have been employed by the Institute over the years. The development management component may need to be addressed in future curriculum review to reflect the heterogeneity and diversity which the discipline has acquired internationally over the past 20 years. That element is critical to the effective management of national development in times of economic crisis, especially when the public sector is compelled to achieve enhanced poverty reduction and human security with less financial resources.

Finally, the University of Ghana established a Centre for Social Policy Studies in December 1997 with a multiple mandate to develop and improve social welfare services in Ghana and fill the need for social welfare policy research, as well as advocacy by involving the general public in policy development. To this was added in 2005 a Centre for Gender Studies and Advocacy (CGSA) in 2005 that was launched in 2006. The key role of the CGSA ("to ensure that gender issues become legitimate business of the university") seems very local in perspective as it concentrates on impacting the university only and very little by way of influencing national policy. According to the Humanities Handbook 2010, the role outlined for the CGSA includes: "academic, policy and service functions over 7 core areas such as academic planning and curriculum development, research and documentation, the provision of a resource centre, the provision of sexual abuse counselling centre, policy planning, the development of mentoring programmes for junior female faculty and students, and outreach and extension work within the university as well as society." The CGSA must be outward-looking in order to make an impact in the entire political economy of Ghana, as well as other West African states, especially those that have recently emerged from prolonged ethnic conflict and are thus now in the throes of re-establishing their institutions of social research.

The establishment of the University for Development Studies (UDS) to serve the northern part of Ghana is reflective of the recurring normative concerns to improve human lives and address diversity that have been needed, but have been elusive, in the delivery of development outcomes in Ghana. In this regard, the UDS has been given a specific mandate to develop agriculture related endeavours in the economy

of the northern Ghana and help bridge the notional “north-south divide” which has been acknowledged in national development in Ghana since independence. By reference to northern Ghana in its original mandate, the UDC was to serve four regions of the country including the Brong Ahafo Region, Northern Region, Upper East Region and the Upper West Region.

The Institute of Development Studies in Cape Coast “runs research degree programmes at the doctoral and masters level. It also runs taught courses in 2-semester sandwich programmes in HRM (Human Resource Management), HRD (Human Resource Development), DGL (Democracy, Governance, Law and Development), EMP (Environment Management Policy)” (www.cds-ucc.edu.gh/graduate.htm: 15 June, 2012). Like ISSER at Legon, IDS started as a research-only institute until 1973, after which its mandate broadened to include teaching. In building its capacities since its inception, the IDS has relied on collaboration with three networks. This has included “a three-university network in the Netherlands with sponsorship from NPT to establish the post-graduate MA Sandwich Programme in Governance and Sustainable Development,” the African Participation Development Programme (APADEP) of the GTUC and ILO which hosts the teaching programme leading to the Diploma in Labour Studies and the Executive Post-graduate Certificate in Labour Policy Studies. The IDS also depends on Outreach Programmes with industry, district assemblies and organizations in the area of research to support policy-making and capacity building in the country.

The Ghana Institute of Management and Public Administration (GIMPA) is a school of administration with an international outlook and an original mandate to deliver high quality management development and training to middle-to-senior public service officers, parliamentarians and civil society at large. It has since the 2000s evolved into a university, offering a range of courses in Law, Business Administration, Public Sector Management and Development and Governance and Leadership. Set up over 50 years ago, GIMPA has contributed to the evolution of Development Studies through its programmes at the School of Public Service and Governance (a merger of the Public Services School and the School of Governance and Leadership in 2013). For most of its lifetime, the Public Services School offered a residential Post-graduate Diploma in Public Administration until 2005. The mission of the GIMPA Graduate School of Governance and Leadership was to offer practical governance and leadership programmes that prepare students for high impact roles as public leaders and managers.

The school offered the following masters degree programmes:

- Master of Public Administration (MPA)
- Master of Development Management (MDM)
- Executive Master of Governance and Leadership (EMGL)
- Executive Master of Public Administration (EMPA)
- Public Sector Management Training Programme (PSMTP).

This was the situation until 2013 when GIMPA took a strategic approach to academic development by developing a full-fledged Master of International Development Programme and sought accreditation with the National Accreditation Board.

Methods Used in the Delivery of Development Studies

Several pedagogical approaches have been used in the teaching and delivery of Development Studies in Ghana. This includes Case Study or Problem-Based Teaching, which has been widely used at GIMPA, face-to-face teaching, experiential learning, research training and long essay writing by students, which involved substantial fieldwork. Similarly, because of its mandate, constituency and pro-poor focus, the UDS has adopted appropriate and befitting methodology of teaching, research and outreach services. It puts specific emphasis on practically-oriented research and field-based training geared towards contributing to poverty reduction in the under-served areas, as well as accelerate national development.

One of the distinguishing methods of delivering development studies internationally, and in the UK in particular, has been the use of fieldtrips to reinforce experiential learning. This was achieved by way of the institutes of development studies organizing field trips to destinations outside their own university or town, and sometimes to developing countries to observe specific projects, listen to lectures by experts regarding project development and implementation and following it up with an actual site visit to encounter the outcomes of these projects not only by observing, but by interviewing the key stakeholders, including the beneficiaries.

This author sought to gauge the depth of usage of field experiential learning using the key informant approach to information gathering, and in the process, two professors of development studies at the University of Ghana and the University of Cape Coast were interviewed. One of them was an Associate Professor and the other was a senior professor who was on post-retirement contract. Due to time constraints, an interview with professors from UDS was not possible. However, secondary sources were relied upon to fill the gap. With regard to the field trips, a mixed approach has been utilized. At ISSER, there is regularity of field trips. The professor noted that the students are sent out every Friday and other unspecified days to the communities to gather information and collect data for analysis as part of the normal course work. The field study approach seems to be institutionalized because the interviewee from ISSER noted that the cost of field trips is included in the fees that students pay for the programme. Packages of food and drink are given to the students to sustain them in the field. The picture that emerged from the UCC experience was different. The key informant noted that students do fieldwork only as part of their research paper or dissertation. He hinted at financial constraint as the main reason why elaborate field trips have not been part of the UCC development studies experience.

From my experience of teaching development studies in the Caribbean for 12 years, it is possible to organize these kinds of experiential learning trips at reasonable cost. Conceptualizing the field study is one of the major hurdles which, when overcome, allows for a fuller enjoyment of the programme by the students. Organized trips of this nature could become part of the continuous assessment or specific questions may be asked about the field trip experience in the final examination, which all go to add value to the learning experience. Human service

programmes, agriculture and community development interventions of state and non-state development agencies are normally the sources from which to select development projects for experiential learning trips.

The foregoing is not meant to underestimate the value of face-to-face delivery of content to students. This is because, however old-fashioned, and in spite of the technology-enabled online learning approaches that have been developed in recent times, face-to-face delivery still seems to enjoy pride of place at these public universities. It is, however, not certain from the analysis of syllabi I did, that a lot of use was being made of Open Educational Resources (OER), which is one of the surest ways of supplementing resource paucity of the university libraries. The examination questions that were secured from the ISSER library, covering the period 2002/2003–2010/2011 did not give a hint of the adequate use of comparative cases in the teaching of development studies. There seems to be a heavy concentration on Ghana and Ghana-based experiences though, with the general occasional reference to Africa. (The organization and distribution of responsibility for the teaching and academic development of the discipline is also fractured, especially on the University of Ghana campus, thus missing out on the advantages conferred by scale. In the UK, since the latter part of the 1990s, there were attempts to merge centres, units and departments to create big schools of development studies. Whereas, as the University of Ghana, the opposite in terms of fragmentation has been observed. There is not an overall focus on a synchronized teaching and organization of Development Studies as a singular important academic endeavour at the University of Ghana. The proposed collegiate system may do very little to bring about the much needed cohesion of the supply of Development Studies.

The evidence for this claim can be deduced from the way the social-political development and development management aspects of development studies are taught at the university. There are undergraduate courses on Development Studies, Development Administration and Public Administration at the Departments of Political Science and Geography and Resource Development and the University of Ghana Business School with hardly any linkages to what is offered at the graduate level at ISSER, in terms of career prospects and career development counselling to students at the Faculty level. Hence, a distinctive product, a career-ready graduate of Development Studies, can only be spoken about in the abstract. Yet Ghana is in need of graduates with such skills and knowledge to manage and make decisions on the burgeoning development needs of a lower middle-income country.

The method of assessing the proficiency of learning and the acquisition of knowledge is mainly by written examinations theses and research papers. Assessment is therefore preponderantly individualistic, with group or teamwork accorded very low status. Some scholars from the Department of Political Science have hinted at the phenomenon of large classes as having placed some inhibitions on the use of novel methodologies in imparting knowledge (Discussion with three lecturers in Development Administration, Legon). While large classes facilitate teacher-student interaction in offering varying perspectives in terms of discourse, smaller class size is manageable and provide for intimate knowledge of the development of the student.

NGOs in Research of Development Practice

Of recent pedigree is a new facet of research practitioners and non-state research institutions on social and political development as well as development policy analysis since the reinvigoration of civil society in the early part of the 1990s. This group of non-state organizations, which can also be described as think tanks, includes: the Centre for Economic Policy Analysis (CEPA), Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD), Institute of Democratic Governance (IDEG), Integrated Social Development Centre (ISODEC) and the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA). The analysis in this section is not meant to be a comprehensive survey or an account of the efforts of the NGO or Third Sector, but a snapshot of the value of their contribution to the enhancement of development studies in Ghana. Taken on face value, there seems to be a symbiosis of the activities of the research practitioners of development with the taught and research elements of academic development studies (so defined by this author). There is a kind of revolving door out of and to academic development studies among the operatives of practice development studies. However, the fruitfulness of this symbiotic association may be negligible due to the lack of imagination and consideration of the worth of the experience and knowledge that the development studies sector operatives can bring to the teaching of the subject at the universities.

The above seems to be the main reason for my inclusion of this sub-sector in the discourse and to highlight the lack of utilization of the knowledge and experience of the researcher-analyst of the sub-sector in the development and review of academic curriculum in development studies. My interviews with key informants (the two professors mentioned earlier and class discussions with 26 undergraduate students of development studies at Level 400 [at Legon] and 3 MPhil students) provided insights that showed that due to the over-reliance on classroom-based scholarship as against a cross-fertilization of theory and practical experience and knowledge generated between operatives of academic development studies and practice development studies, there is still a potential for the richness of the training of students to be improved. This is especially true if the relationship facilitated the sharing of open educational resources, including research reports and institutional publications. This would also have ameliorated partially, the paucity of reading material for development studies training, which becomes glaring when one browses the databases of the main university libraries and minor departmental libraries and documentation centres.

The Policy Relevance of Development Scholars in Ghana

Development studies scholars have been useful to Ghanaian development and the field of higher education. In responding to the question: how have they influenced development policy, a review of the main protagonists will suffice. The work of Professor Kwadwo Ewusi of ISSER contributed to the analysis of economic data

for purposes of estimating the Gross Domestic Product; Professor Kweku Folson, a former director of ISSER who contributed to public discourses on constitutional development and the work of Constitutional Commissions in Ghana's transitions in 1969 and 1979; Professor of Regional and Local Development at the Department of Geography, and George Benneh who had served as Governor of the Bank of Ghana, Minister of Finance and was instrumental in shaping macroeconomic and microeconomic development in Ghana. Professor Jacob Songsore who specialized in Urban Studies and Regional Development Planning contributed to a better understanding of urbanization, urban change and inequality in national development (2003), and the State of Environmental Health Report of the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area, as well as Disaster Monitoring in the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (2005). He also contributed to highlighting the Challenging Rural Poverty in Northern Ghana (1995). His most recent book, *Regional Development in Ghana: The Theory and the Reality* (Songsore 2011) sums up his years of work in the field of development, unravelling the regional development process in Ghana from pre-colonial to the present from the perspective of political economy, argues for inclusive and integrated national development as *sine qua non* for the building of viable nation states in Africa.

Other scholars have made contributions to national and local policy and they include Professor Samuel Nkrumah who was once a director of the University of Ghana Business School, Professor Joseph Ayee former Head of Political Science and Dean of the Social Sciences and Professor Raymond Bagulo Bening, formerly of the Department of Geography and Founding Vice-Chancellor of the University for Development Studies. They advised the Government of Ghana and international development partners in Ghana on issues related to public sector reform and policy implementation in the area of government decentralization and decentralization and poverty reduction (Ayee 1995; Asante and Ayee 2008) and provided in-depth studies of the "Administrative Areas and Boundaries of Ghana" (Bening 2010). There is also Professor Emmanuel Gyimah-Boadi of the Department of Political Science and Founder of the Centre for Democracy and Development, an international think tank with branches in Ghana, England and Nigeria. The CDD has since its establishment contributed to analysis and discussion of democratic development, political parties and governance in Ghana, as well as contributed to several sectoral studies on the regulation of water supply. Another personality is Dr Beatrix Allah-Mensah a political scientist, gender specialist who moved on from lectureship at the Department of Political Science to become Senior Social Development Advisor at the World Bank Regional Office in Ghana.

Similarly, other development scholars include Cecilia Amoah, Samuel Adiku and Ebenezer Owusu who researched and produced works on New Developments in Health, Agricultural Resources and Socio-economic activities in the Volta Basin in Ghana (2008). They together with other researchers have worked on the Volta Basin Research Project, a multidisciplinary research unit of the University of Ghana that was established in 1963 with the initial mandate to collect and analyze pre-and-post dam data on multifaceted problems and development opportunities in the Volta Basin. The group has worked in collaboration with researchers and departments

within the University of Ghana, Governmental agencies such as the Ministry of Water Resources Works and Housing, the Volta River Authority and international bodies including the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA). In the same way, the Centre for Development Studies at the University of Cape Coast together with the Trades Union Congress produced and working on the African Workers' Participation Development Programme in addition to research findings on policy issues (Britwum et al. 2006).

Conclusion

From the exploration of the history and evolution of the field, the academic discipline of Development Studies in Ghana seems to be maturing. Emerging from the bases of three small institutes within the Universities of Ghana and Cape Coast and the Ghana Institute of Management and Public Administration (GIMPA), through gradual development and fragmentation in the teaching of undergraduate programmes among different departments (Political Science, Sociology, Business Administration, Geography) and GIMPA, a bold attempt at institutional development occurred in 1992 with the establishment of a fifth public university—the University for Development Studies in the north of Ghana—that was fully dedicated to pursuing what is in its name. Content delivery and learning have been pursued using various pedagogies, including face-to-face seminars, group work, problem-based teaching and field experiential learning. The use of these pedagogies is not even—therefore there is cause for some form of institutional learning—be the departments and schools that are in charge of delivering the development studies curriculum.

There are not available comparative data from tracer studies to enable an analysis of the potential for the employability of graduates from these three universities, and to ascertain especially the advantages of receiving training from a university that is solely dedicated to the delivery of development studies. However, professional experience from teaching and delivering development studies elsewhere has given me some insights into how effective development studies training may be organized for full impact in Ghana. This knowledge is especially applicable to the University of Ghana, where the delivery has been so splintered and fragmented. For the dispersed nature of the delivery of development studies on the University of Ghana campus, my suggestion will be that a repackaging and rebranding of the delivery of development studies may proffer some strategic advantage in re-positioning the university to make qualitative contributions to national development policy and evaluation, by way of a better-organized public scholarship, advisory, relevant community development research and better theorization that is informed by research. A strategic perspective to quality may lead to a commitment to redefining the product—the kind of development studies graduate, who is employable and leader-ready and who can contribute to public service and national development in the same way as a business school graduate is expected to function in the business environment.

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Chapter 15

Women's and Gender Studies in Ghana

Abena Animwaa Yeboah, Akosua Adomako Ampofo and
Maame Kyerewaa Brobbey

Introduction

There is a considerable and growing body of published work on gender. Today local conferences, seminars and faculty colloquia in Ghana will invariably have a few presentations from a gender perspective. Over the last half century, the social sciences in Ghana have examined the subject of women, and later gender, via historiographies, cross-sectional studies and qualitative approaches. The themes that have received the most attention include politics and the state; education; work and livelihoods; religion; health; gender-based violence and in the last few decades, gender and development policy and practice; sexualities and bodily integrity; and women's organizing. While we have not limited ourselves to works by Ghanaian scholars, we have given these pride of place in our selection.

Prior to the 1980s there existed in Ghana no formal space for the discussion of gender issues in the academy, and no organized audience for publications on Women and Gender studies (WGS). Since then much has been accomplished. In the early to mid-1990s, programmes to study gender were established at the Universities of Ghana and Cape Coast. In 2004, the University of Development Studies (UDS) set up the Gender Programmes Unit, which was subsequently shut down in 2008, and in 2005 the University of Ghana established the Centre for Gender Studies and Advocacy.¹ These developments are indications of the improving levels of comfort academics have with a gender framework and a growing acceptability of

¹ We discuss this later in the chapter.

A. Adomako Ampofo (✉)
Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana
e-mail: Adomako@ug.edu.gh

A. A. Yeboah
Department of Communications Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

M. K. Brobbey
Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

WGS within various social science disciplines. Despite challenges, they also reflect a level of institutional commitment to the study of gender.

There have been useful reviews and debates on WGS in Africa generally and certain regions in particular [see for example, Adomako Ampofo et al. (2004); Lewis (2002); Mama (1996); Pereira (2002)], however, no work exists that chronicles and analyzes the evolution of the discipline in Ghana. In this chapter, we focus on the history and development of WGS and practice in Ghana. We examine both anthropological and ethnographic studies which, though not necessarily cast in the framework of gender studies, nonetheless provide important impetus for gender analysis, as well as contemporary works that overtly rely on feminist frameworks. We also examine the links between politics, scholarship and practice. For example, in many countries in the global North, women's studies can be seen as the intellectual wing of the women's movement; however, this does not necessarily hold for gender studies in Africa (Mama 1996). Mama argues that this is mainly because the origins of so-called gender training and analyses lie outside the continent—i.e. in the *Women In Development* movement, which was initiated and dominated by aid agencies, the UN, and Western feminist intellectuals. Some have argued that in Africa, gender analysis has become less political and more technical to solve specific problems (Sexwale 1996; Tsikata 2000). At the same time, synergy between practitioners aiming to address specific concerns, such as violence against women, and gender scholars in the academy, has often produced useful interrogations of institutions, practices, and even the ideologies that frame and govern our social relations (cf. edited volume on gender based violence in Ghana by Cusack and Manuh 2009).

In drawing the map of WGS in Ghana we will review trends in the content, ideology and methodology of the discipline, the relationship to “traditional” social science approaches, as well as practices in the academy, and relationship to policy. We conclude by suggesting how gender studies have benefited from the social sciences, and what the social sciences might learn from the approaches, strategies, and practices of gender studies in Ghana over the last 30 years. A brief word on method is necessary here. Our initial intention was to provide as comprehensive a review as possible, thus at the onset we sent out emails to scores of gender scholars and activists in Ghana, asking for copies of their own works as well as references to works of others. Sadly, only a few responded to our call and our review is not as extensive as we had anticipated. Nonetheless we rely on a variety of sources, both academic publications and civil society reports.

The rest of this chapter is organized as follows. We begin with a discussion of the development of WGS in Ghana. The second section maps the trajectory of gender in the curriculum. In the third section we introduce readers to the associations between the academy and practice—viz. the relationships with civil society organizations and non-governmental organizations' work. The fourth section examines some of the key areas that have received attention, including conceptual, theoretical, and methodological contributions to the social sciences. We conclude by making suggestions about the future directions of WGS in Ghana.

The Development of Women and Gender Studies (WGS) in Ghana

WGS in Ghana, like in many Sub-Saharan African countries, has seen exceptional growth since the 1980s. These studies have evolved from specific women's issues and concerns to the establishment of research groups and bodies for the advancement of these issues; the taking on of a wider feminist framework and gender perspectives; and the inclusion of WGS in institutional curricula. This progression can be attributed to the influence of a mix of factors: the international women's movement, the United Nation (UN)'s internationalization of women's issues, the growth of a "women and development" industry, African women's dissatisfaction with governance issues in Africa, and a crisis in African education (Adomako Ampofo et al. 2004; Manuh and Adomako 1992; Prah 1996).

The UN International Women's Year and Decade (1975, 1976–1985) internationalized women's issues and brought them to the forefront of national discussions (Prah 1996; Manuh and Adomako 1992). This was significant in setting the stage for the development of women's studies in Ghana. It aided in the increase of "public awareness of the importance of women's issues and gave impetus to research on women in Ghana" (Prah 1996, p. 414). The National Council on Women and Development (NCWD) was established in 1975 by the military regime of the National Redemption Council (NRC) in response to the UN recommendation to accelerate the integration of women in development. The NCWD's mandate was to conduct research on women in Ghana, monitor and evaluate projects for women, and to provide counsel for the government on issues of women in development. The NCWD's mandate created the opportunity for the production of a body of knowledge about women as the Council sponsored a number of studies on women's work, education, and training; and on family issues that were deemed relevant to the design and execution of policies for the improvement of women's lives. Simultaneously, multi-lateral, bi-lateral, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other donors required a women's component in research, thus encouraging feminist scholars to carry out not only innovative studies but also set the agenda for researchers and practitioners alike. This was particularly salient during the economic restructuring years of the 1980s (Manuh and Adomako 1992; Prah 1996). Nonetheless, inside and outside the academy, research on women was regarded as a concern for only women and as a passing fad. As an interesting footnote, the NCWD subsequently ran into institutional difficulties owing to the rise of state feminism in Ghana, and interference and neglect as a direct result of the creation of a pseudo-state organization, the 31st December Women's Movement (31DWM) headed by the then first lady, Nana Konadu Agyeman-Rawlings (Mensah-Kutin et al. 2000).

The development of WGS as an academic discipline did not take place only in the context of instrumentally-driven research, but also as a direct result of the hard work and advocacy of academics, mostly women (Tsikata 2010; Prah 1996). The dedication of this group of (women) academics to the development of WGS, according to Prah (1996) was rooted in their experiences and the realities of gender

inequalities in Ghanaian society in general, and the academy in particular. Though no institution currently awards a degree in women and/or gender studies in Ghana, by the early 1990s many courses were being offered specializing in gender within specific and inter-disciplinary social science subject areas. Today, gender perspectives are also present in one form or another in state politics, activism, and on advocacy platforms.

Although the academic pursuit of *gender* in Ghana did not gain grounds until the 1990s, research on women's issues in the 1970s and 1980s provided very useful grounds for its development. After the launch of the UN decade for women in 1975, there was an increase in works on women in Ghana. Many of these early works appeared as chapters in anthropological and sociological texts. Perhaps foremost among these are the Legon Family Papers edited by Christine Oppong (1973–1976); *The Seven Roles of Women: Impact of Education, Migration, and Employment on Ghanaian Mothers* (by Oppong and Abu 1987), *Female & Male in West Africa* (edited by Oppong 1983), and *The Emancipation of Women: An African Perspective* (Dolphyne 1991). A collection is provided by Ardayfio-Schandorf and Kwafo-Akoto in *Women in Ghana: An Annotated Bibliography* (1990). The first issue of the *Research Review's* New Series (1985), a refereed academic journal of the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana was devoted to research on Ghanaian women.

In the 1980s, a Women's Research Group (WERG) was established at the University of Ghana by a group of women faculty to bring women researchers together and to explore "women's issues," but unfortunately this group was not sustained (Tsikata 2010). In 1990, leading the birth of institutionalizing WGS as a form of academic enquiry, the Development and Women's Studies Programme (DAWS) was set up within the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana with the support of a network of WGS researchers both within and outside the academy. It was set up as part of the Institute's efforts to build its capacity to address development concerns in Ghana. The objectives of DAWS were to contribute to the development of WGS as an academic discipline through research and teaching; formulate meaningful theoretical frameworks and appropriate methodologies for studying development and gender issues in Ghana; and to influence the work of policy-making organizations concerned with development and gender issues, through action-oriented research and dialogue (Adomako Ampofo 2009). An important milestone was a workshop on gender studies held in 1990 (Manuh and Adomako 1992), and another that brought together academics, practitioners and policy-makers in 1994.

However, it was not until the first decade of the twenty-first century that specific bodies were established in Ghanaian universities. In 2005, DAWS was transformed into a Centre (for Gender Studies and Advocacy, CEGENSA). The University of Cape Coast Women's Caucus (UCCWOC) was formed in 1991 and comprised women faculty and senior administrative staff of the university. UCCWOC was set up to promote gender sensitization within the university community. It was the work of this caucus that led to the introduction of WGS as an academic discipline at the University of Cape Coast in 1995 (Prah 1996). The Gender Mainstreaming Directorate (GMD) of the University of Education, Winneba was set up in 2005,

and the Gender Programmes Unit at the University for Development Studies (UDS) was set up in 2004 to lead gender mainstreaming processes in their respective universities. In August 2013 a Centre for Gender Research, Advocacy and Documentation (CEGRAD) was set up at the University of Cape Coast. These units have contributed significantly to engendering university cultures and practices. In 2006, following research and advocacy by CEGENSA, the University of Ghana adopted a sexual harassment policy and in October 2009, the GMD of the University of Education, Winneba completed its work on the university's gender policy. This policy was meant "to correct the imbalances in academia with regards to issues of equality among the sexes" (Asabere-Ameyaw 2009, p. v).

By the late 1990s, research had begun to move to more conscious engagements with gender analyses and feminist theories, addressing issues such as gender relations in families, the economy, religion and popular culture; citizenship and women's engagement with politics and the state; women's movements and activism, and the relevance of gender perspectives for analyzing issues in Ghana. There have been discussions on tackling social issues like HIV/AIDS and gender-based violence, while recent research delves into Ghanaian masculinities and sexualities.

The academy itself has become a site for investigation. Researchers have examined the politics of the academy, how gender inequalities have been institutionalized, and how to break this inequality (Adomako Ampofo 2009; Lundgren and Prah 2009; Manuh et al. 2007; Tsikata 2007; Daddieh 2003; Prah 2002, 1996). Earlier studies in this regard mainly focused on the levels of male and female participation in the various sectors of higher education institutions. In their ground-breaking study of publicly funded universities in Ghana, Manuh et al. (2007) observed that Ghanaian universities paid little attention to gender issues and inequalities.² Tsikata (2007) describes gender inequalities in student and faculty numbers, and male-centred approaches in the residential arrangements and governance structures. At the University of Cape Coast, Prah (2002) found that while the statistical visibility of female students in higher education had improved by the end of the last millennium as a result of several factors including affirmative action, in terms of leadership and decision-making, women had very low visibility. There were no specific policies that addressed the gender division of labour. Thus simply increasing numbers of women in tertiary education was identified as not enough for addressing the institutional gender gap.

The gendered politics within the academy retain relevance for the development of WGS curricular in Ghana. The academy is identified as a patriarchal space plagued with gender inequalities, and female faculty and students encounter challenges and hardships including invisibility, the glass ceiling and sexual harassment (Manuh et al. 2007; Prah 2002). The personal experiences of women academics indicate that the gendered politics in the academy take the form of invisibility even in language; hostilities towards progressive females; difficulties in accessing

² Apart from the UCC Strategic Plan at the time, the promotion of gender equity was not identified as an objective in the plans of the other institutions, nor was it identified in the Strategic Plan of the National Council for Tertiary Education beyond increasing the proportion of female enrolments.

resource allocations (Lundgren and Prah 2009; Adomako Ampofo 2009); and “hostile departmental restructuring exercises” (Tsikata 2010, p. 1). At UDS, the Gender Programmes Unit (GPU) which was set up in 2004 to lead a gender mainstreaming process in the University was shut down in 2008 by the then Vice-Chancellor against the recommendations of the report of a fact finding committee. This was done “under the guise of a merger with the Centre for Continuous Education and Interdisciplinary Research (CCEIR).”³ The female head of the GPU was advised to return to her original department while a male, who was her junior, was appointed director for CCEIR.

Gender and the Curriculum

The main centres for research and teaching on women and gender are the universities. However, gender issues are generally not mainstreamed. Thus an essential part of the advancement of WGS in Ghana has been the development of curricular. At a workshop organized by DAWS in the early 1990s, the necessity of including gender in the curriculum was raised, and the general absence of information on, and courses to address this were identified as challenges to the growth of WGS. By the early 1990s, the only teaching programme that specifically focused on gender issues was located at the Institute of African Studies (IAS) at the University of Ghana. The IAS (graduate) programme sought, and continues to teach and research gender issues from the perspective of Africa’s social, political and economic history.

By the close of the twentieth century, much progress had been made and many “gender” courses are being taught at both undergraduate and graduate level in almost all the social science departments at the Universities of Ghana, and Cape Coast, and many in other public and private universities. However, this growth is not always reflected in the actual course content (Manuh et al. 2007). In response to the proposal of the UCCWOC for the establishment of a WGS centre and programme at the University of Cape Coast, the Vice-Chancellor set up a committee to draw a curriculum for an interdisciplinary WGS programme. The Committee recommended that courses be developed for the programme. It also proposed that the centre start as an autonomous body within the African and General Studies department where all students were mandated to read gender as one of their course options. Eventually, the gender programme was to develop into a full department. This is yet to be realized. At the University of Ghana, CEGENSA coordinates the teaching of an introductory component as well as two electives on gender under the rubric of *Introduction to African Studies*, one of five required courses at the University.⁴ A part of the reference section of the library at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST) is designated as the Women’s Studies Collection. However, to date, not

³ Personal conversations with a female Senior Member at UDS, February 7, 2013.

⁴ The course, UGR220, is located within IAS, however CEGENSA is responsible for the teaching of the introductory gender component as well as the two electives.

a single department or even a complete programme is dedicated to the teaching of WGS in Ghana—this is a function of both inadequate numbers of teaching faculty as well as a lack of institutional commitment. In other sectors of Ghana's educational structure—basic and second cycle institutions—gender is completely absent from the curriculum.

The Academy and Practice: Relations with Civil Society

In order for gender research and teaching to impact society, researchers have sought to work closely with practitioners and vice versa. The collaborations have mainly been in areas relating to struggles for women's citizenship rights, specifically, issues such as gender-based violence, social and economic policies and women's decision-making and involvement in public life. In 1995, an interregional workshop titled, "Enhancing Gender Research and Training" organized by the DAWS programme sought to initiate dialogue among politicians, policy makers, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), civil society organizations (CSOs), and academicians. The collaboration worked as follows: the academics provide the theoretical framing and methodological expertise while the NGO and CSO actors offer institutional support, and "grassroots" experience with networking and lobbying. However, the lines are not as well defined as pertains in the global north; there are many academics actively engaged in activism and development practice while there are also practitioners with backgrounds in the academy (Aniekwe et al. 2012).

Two significant examples of such collaborations have been around domestic violence specifically and women's citizenship addressed more broadly, with outcomes reflected through the work of the National Domestic Violence Coalition (NDVC) and the Women's Manifesto Coalition (Apusigah et al. 2011; Adomako Ampofo 2008). The NDVC includes scholars, activists and policy makers—both individuals and organisations—that pushed for the passage of domestic violence legislation, and continue to push for its implementation and monitor and respond to incidents of gender-based violence (GBV). In her analysis of the work of the NDVC, Adomako Ampofo (2008), herself a member of the Coalition, suggests that culture, or at least how it is re-constructed, can be a powerful force against women's rights advancements. Oppositions to the criminalization of "marital rape" in the law were constructed in terms of cultural essentialism and relativism even by persons tasked with the safeguarding of women's rights in the country. Adomako Ampofo (2008) underscores the necessity for new ways of analysing social movements, women's collective action, political power and democracy in Africa's contemporary social context.

The Women's Manifesto Coalition (WMC) comprises 180 women's organizations, various CSOs, NGOs, policy-makers, labour groups, as well as over 700 individual women and men including WGS researchers (Mensah-Kutin and Dzah 2010, p. 11). The WMC advocates for and promotes women's rights and gender equality, and monitors government's efforts to address these. Born out of a research

and advocacy project of the ABANTU for Development,⁵ the Coalition through consultations with stakeholders deliberated on the situation of women in Ghana and produced the *Women's Manifesto* in 2004, a document that outlines critical issues of concern to women in Ghana and makes demands for addressing them (Coalition on the Women's Manifesto for Ghana 2004). This document has contributed greatly to the heightened visibility and acceptability of gender issues on Ghana's political landscape (Mensah-Kutin and Dzah 2010).

Another significant WGS-CSO collaboration is the Network for Women's Rights in Ghana (NETRIGHT). Established in 1999, it works from a human rights perspective and provides a collective platform to articulate key policy demands more effectively while avoiding duplication of what individual organizations are already engaged in. NETRIGHT consists of 44 organizational members and hundreds of individual members, and has a local focal point in nine of the ten regions of Ghana. It is largely engaged in economic justice advocacy, promoting women's land rights, but also supports struggles by organizations around other areas of women's rights, and produces a quarterly newsletter, *Akobon* for public education.

These collaborations and their focus are reinforced by studies on GWS, largely by gender or feminist scholars. The studies' findings are relevant for the specific areas being advocated, as well as for women's organizing as a whole. Studies indicate that many people are aware of the gender imbalances in society (Tsikata 2007), so when issues are directly related to their experiences, they do not need to consider themselves feminist to pursue a feminist issue, particularly, when the information disseminated is in everyday language rather than academic jargon. This in turn increases alliance building among scholars, activists and practitioners, which can influence a country's democratization process positively (Adomako Ampofo 2008). Furthermore, the collaborations have shown that when scholars, NGO and CSO actors come together, they lobby, advocate and campaign to bring gender perspectives to national processes more effectively, and even mobilize resources in ways that individuals or individual organizations cannot (Tsikata et al. 2005; Adomako Ampofo 2008). It also provides useful lessons for community engagements.

Key areas of WGS Research

Given the far reaching implications that the subject of gender has across different aspects of society, it is no surprise the varied nature of the areas from which scholars have sought to engage WGS. From ethnographical accounts through anthropological frameworks to outright quantitative endeavours, WGS scholars have sought inquiry into the dimensions of politics and the state; work and livelihoods; religion; health; gender-based violence, gender and development policy and practice; sexualities and bodily integrity; and women's organizing, among several other topics.

⁵ An Africa-wide gender NGO established in 1991, with Special Consultative Status with the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) of the United Nations. The head office is in Accra.

Early research in Ghana seeking to explore the relationships between gender and culture concentrated on drawing a composite picture of the varied platforms for male/female performance (Oppong 1983). Regarding this, the historical lens has been trained on a documentation of the histories of women's roles as political and military leaders, primarily in the Akan context. Scholars have argued that contrary to colonialists' assertions of limited female participation in Akan political leadership, women's participation was both visible and influential (Aidoo 1985, Arhin 1983). For instance, Arhin (1983) argues that this colonialist perception created the space for western (Victorian English particularly), chauvinistic and patriarchal cultures, which reduced women's participation, thus legitimizing contemporary constructions of women's limited roles. In his profile of queenmotherhood as a platform for the performance of female political leadership, Arhin (1983) reported that the Akan woman's most influential leadership and political role was probably that of the "*ohemaa*," a role with far reaching expectations for commitment, responsibility, nobility and role-modelling. The "*ohemaa*" was a council member and was deemed the epitome of wisdom with whom the "*ohene*" frequently consulted both in state and in private for advice on thorny issues such as war. While seemingly secondary to the position of the *ohene*, the *ohemma* has been argued by some (Cf. Aidoo 1985) to hold equal or even greater power since her role as the custodian of royal genealogy gave her the final say on who should be enstooled *ohene*.

To appreciate women's position historically among non-Akan groups one has to glean this from non-gender specific writings such as Nukunya on the Anlo Ewe (see 1968), and Odotei on chieftaincy (e.g. 2006) or work by non-Ghanaian scholars such as Greene on the Anlo Ewe (e.g. 1996), Robertson on the Ga (e.g. 1984), or Brydon on the Avatime (for e.g. 1979, 1987). While none of these patrilineal groups had any position equal to that of the *Ohemma*, we can conclude that despite almost universal male privilege, practices such as independent economic activities, and duo-local residence (among the Ga) also provided non-Akan women with considerable autonomy not only in the domestic, but also in community spheres.

Marriage and the Family

Beyond women's participation in leadership, scholars have demonstrated interest in analyzing gender performance within the marriage and family setting. Particularly, gender roles, and the statuses assigned to, lived and enjoyed by, as well as suffered by women within the context of marriage have been the subject of inquiry by some WGS scholars (see for example, the Family series edited by Oppong in the 1970s).

Much of the early work on marriage and the family has focused on the roles in different lineage systems (see Oppong 1973; Nukunya 1969). Among matrilineal peoples, the family traces its source to a female progenitor while the opposite applies to patrilineal societies. This construction of the family has served as the basis for some analyses of gender relations, including whether in matrilineal or patrilineal societies boys and girls are socialized differently (Adomako Ampofo and Boateng

2007). Sarpong (1977) reports that though the girl is not considered to be inferior to the boy, she remains a child vis-a-vis even her younger brothers until her maturity is attested through marriage. Further, though not accorded the political headship of the family, the wife is expected to be the epitome and source of peace and order in the family; she is expected to be “obedient, faithful, hardworking, helpful and not quarrelsome” (Sarpong 1977, p. 80) and during (Asante) nubility rites, the value of these characteristics are emphasized. Traditionally, womanhood is largely associated with marriage and childbirth (Sarpong 1977) while masculinity is associated with fatherhood, sexual potency and seniority (Adomako Ampofo et al. 2009).

Similarly, Manuh (1997, and in Bowman and Kuenyehia 2003) shows that because in both matrilineal and patrilineal systems, wives are not members of their husbands’ families they stand to be dispossessed of all they might have contributed to their husbands’ wealth in the event of death or divorce.

Vallenga (1983) provides a useful discussion of the very concept of “wife” and how this may have been diluted by the introduction of the ordinance marriage. Traditionally, the determination of who a wife (and by extension a husband) is assessed on a continuum of formal exchanges between the respective families rather than a one-time event. However, irrespective of the level of the relationship, inequalities existed in terms of property sharing in the event of divorce or death of a partner (Manuh 1997).

Okali (1983) has documented the relationship between kinship and cocoa farming in Akan communities as a platform for exploring the value of women’s labour within the marriage context. Drawing on the cultural context in which kinship, as it relates to cocoa farming, was ordered at the time of her study, she presents a creative discussion of the intricacies of marriage, kinship, gender, property ownership and labour, as well as the relationships among them. Okali (1983) reported that, as wives, women provide (free) labour on husbands’ farms, often with no guarantee of gaining tangible proprietary rewards (as in ownership of farms or portions thereof). A more nuanced picture of spousal collaboration between fishermen and their fishmonger wives is found in work among fishing communities. Both Vercuijse (1983) and Hagan (1983) report that the economic relationship between husband and wife was ruled by the limits of their respective roles in the fishing business. In this relationship, the woman receives and thus controls the proceeds from the fish sales and determines how these are allocated, although a general set of expectations is typically set forth for this. This arrangement allows the women some financial autonomy, which has implications for gender relations.

Hagan (1983) also explores the association between economic-power relations and the incidence of divorce in a fishing community, Winneba. His study shows how proceeds from fishing may be at the centre of disagreements between husband and wife, leading to divorce. During the bumper season, mistrust about proceeds declared by wives could lead to men refusing to provide housekeeping money. At the same time, due to a better flow of funds in the husband’s pocket, he is likely to court other women, to the displeasure of his wife. In the off season, money can lead to conflict as fishermen tend to travel to other communities in search of fish, a sojourn that was often associated with the men seeking local women as partners,

sometimes leading to additional marriages. On their return, because such men may have used up their funds while away, they refused or were unable to settle debts accruing from housekeeping expenses made in their absence by their wives, a situation that often led to divorce.

Childbirth and the opportunities and dangers it presents for power play and decision-making/sharing has also been examined as part of this general scholarly interest in women's place within the family. Studies in family planning and reproductive health have spawned a large body of literature on women's health, childbearing, contraceptive use, and marital decision-making (see the work of Adomako Ampofo et al. 2009; Anarfi 2006; Apusiga 2005; Awusabo-Asare et al. 1993). While early studies focused primarily on women's preferences and use of modern contraceptives, later attention appears to be trained on the need to encourage male inclusion in family planning. This follows the realization that men constitute, as key stakeholders, an important part of the puzzle of women's low uptake of contraceptives.

Sexualities

In the last decade the subject of sexualities has enjoyed increasing attention from scholars who hitherto had sought to avoid replicating the voyeuristic western gaze (Adomako Ampofo 2009). Popular themes include sexual integrity, sexual rights, sexual pleasure and even sexual orientation. However, the subject of sexualities is not as new an area of enquiry as it might appear to be. Writing on Asante nubility rites, Sarpong (1977) draws clear links between culture and the maintenance of bodily integrity among girls. For instance, within the domains of *bragoro* (nubility rites) and *kyiribra* (special rites for girls who get pregnant before the rites have been performed) society's abhorrence for premature pregnancy, and by extension sexual activity, are underscored. The training during the rites covers not only norms governing womanhood, wifehood and motherhood, but also sexual maturity, discipline, responsibility, and lessons on sexual practice, albeit laced with euphemisms. This way, individual girls could begin to set standards for their own sexuality and bodily integrity. Sarpong (1977) also explores the gendered nature of these rites, noting that boys do not have to undergo same. Indeed, among the Akan the belief seems to be that it is boys who must search for girls as wives and so it is the latter whose maturity should be advertised.

However, sexuality is generally regarded as a sensitive and private issue and it is avoided as much as possible in open conversation (Anarfi 2006). Researchers also note that different expectations and codes of behaviour guide the initiation and participation in the sexual act for females and males (Anarfi 2006; Adomako Ampofo 2001). Adomako Ampofo and Boateng (2007, 2008) suggest that this focus on the training of girls is a contradiction in that while gendered cultural norms tend to provide girls with some information about sexual matters, girls are not expected to display this knowledge while boys, who are permitted relatively more freedom of sexual expression and knowledge are, however, not provided with the information,

counsel or guidance on issues of sexuality that they need. If this is mapped on to a situation where girls are generally expected to remain virgins until marriage as well as to defer to men in sexual matters, while boys who are more ignorant are expected to pursue and seek out girls, then the imbalance can create confusion and conflict in sexual politics. Such notions are not static, however, having shown evidence of ongoing evolution.

The HIV/AIDS disease spawned a plethora of sexuality studies. Most of the early work focuses on women's vulnerabilities and unequal gender relations, and the negotiations and bargaining that occurs between men and women (Adomako Ampofo 1995, 1999, 2006; Awusabo Asare et al. 1993; Frimpong-Nuoroh 2006). These studies reveal that different categories of women and men negotiate differently based on their contexts and relationships, and feminist scholars in particular address issues of power (Adomako Ampofo 2006). Some also address the impact of the disease on the social sciences, while a few critique the pathologizing of African sexualities and the over-emphasis on reproductive health that resulted. Adomako Ampofo (1999) argues that the relationship of sexuality studies to HIV/AIDS led to a problem-oriented approach to the neglect of everyday issues such as relationships and sexual pleasure.

Later works are more diverse. Opong (2006) explains that HIV/AIDS has brought sexuality and issues around it into sharp public focus, thereby altering customary norms guiding sexual behaviour. She argues that this erosion of cultural boundaries has had empowering implications for some people while for others the consequences have presented new challenges.

Steegstra (2006) provides an intricate weave between sexuality and personal integrity offering, on the one hand, a society's desire to give identity to its girls through initiation into sexual maturity, and on the other, how cultural and other concomitant conditions have fuelled negative perceptions of Krobo women's sexuality. For example, responding to claims that Krobo Dipo rites promote promiscuity and hence the spread of HIV/AIDS, Steegstra (2006) argues that the rites *per se* do not facilitate the spread of the disease, but that the fringe sub-culture in which fathers encouraged their newly initiated daughters to have children before marriage, so that such offspring belong to the father's household rather than their biological fathers—which can make husbands peripheral to the childbearing project, and may bring women some autonomy. Further, Steegstra argues that the economics of the area in the 1960s arising out of the construction of the Akosombo Hydroelectric Dam and the subsequent loss of farmlands and agrarian income is not unrelated to Krobo women's entry into sex work both at home and abroad.

Apusigah (2005) explores another practice, in this case the Gurusi practice of "*Yi Wie Ne*," that may bring some women sexual and reproductive autonomy. The emphasis is on the leverage of sexuality for procreation, and through that, females can assert themselves by perpetuating the lineage. "*Yi wie ne*" is a practice through which, in the absence of male heirs to perpetuate the lineage, women can become "male daughters." Like the practice in other parts of Africa, the women became progenitors (Adomako Ampofo 2013; Amadiume 1987). However, unlike other parts of Africa, where "male daughters" also became "female husbands" and have

children through their wives (sexual relations with other men), in “*Yi wie ne*” women are themselves free to engage in sexual relations and have children, and these children receive *their* family names rather than those of their male sexual partners. Apusiga describes “*Yi wie ne*” as an austerity measure driven by the desire to be immortalized. It is clear, however, that beyond the cultural context in which the practice is set and the demands that drive it, “*Yi wie ne*” is indicative of agency in negotiating sexuality to meet one’s desired objectives, even if such objectives are not personally gratifying.

Apusiga argues that the practice is an alternative expression of female sexuality that holds liberatory potential for the women as it confers on them rights to titles, children and social status. Women get to perform male (gender) roles and achieve the rights and privileges reserved for men. Using Butler’s notion of gender as performance (1988), Apusiga analyzes the biological and sociological interpretation of gender and its relationship to sex and reports that the framework enables an understanding of “*Yi wie ne*” as an expression of alternate sexuality among the Guro women of northern Ghana. She argues that in a culture in which female sexuality is strongly tied to social roles, which are often not prestigious, the practice should be viewed more from the perspective of the opportunities it creates for women rather than the challenges it poses (Apusigah 2005).

Even though gender studies have always explored masculinities, albeit indirectly through, especially leadership, reproductive health and sexualities, it remains an emerging area for gender analysis. In 1997, Ghana was thrown into a frenzy as reports circulated that some men’s sexual organs shrunk or vanished upon contact with other individuals. Recounting the characteristic features of some reported cases, Sackey (2006) described the enormous need on the part of men to protect their sexual potency. This was exemplified by men’s sense of shared fear, and solidarity as they collaborated in mob action to punish alleged perpetrators who had caused organs to vanish.

Gender and Law

The law is an important mechanism by which women and men’s lives are organized in society. Issues that have received most attention include inheritance, discrimination, violence, and family law. Researchers have interrogated the country’s erstwhile Interstate Succession Law (Awusabo-Asare 1990; Manuh 1997, 2003). Manuh (2003) traces some of the challenges posed by the law, including rights held by children who are unknown to the family until the death of their father; the devolution of property which may have been acquired jointly by spouses but perceived as the husband’s; and extended family apprehensions about property sharing. Manuh (2003) found the law to be a good one, but opined that the inherent challenges could stymie its use in the courts as stakeholders could settle for out of court resolutions. She recommends education to build knowledge levels on the law.

Scholarly work can be credited with the current reforms that have been pushed by CSOs such as FIDA and WILDAF.⁶

Manuh (1988) has also explored the co-existence of traditional law and contemporary jurisprudence, with respect to the jurisdiction of the Asantehemaa's court. She details the workings of the Asantehemaa's court, and demonstrates how, even in what is supposed to be a female court set up to ensure justice for the womenfolk of Asanteman, the counsellors, are predominantly male.

Recent work on gender and law has focused very much on domestic violence legislation, and access to land, which are discussed separately.

The Media and Representation

Media's role in cultural socialization is not contested and studies have confirmed the media's ability to affect audiences and their worldviews (Adomako Ampofo and Asiedu 2012). Work in the area examines the nature of the media's representation of men and women, as well as women and men's relative participation in media and popular culture. Early works in this regard by Asante Darko and Van der Geest (1983), Collins (1986), as well as more recent works (Adomako Ampofo and Asiedu 2012; Asiedu and Adomako Ampofo 2012; Collins 2003) examine highlife music as a platform for the promotion of the male perspectives on gender norms, especially marital relations.

These authors argue that contemporary popular music has an ideological and political character feeding the perpetuation of male supremacy. Asante Darko and van der Geest (1983) trace lyrics reflecting co-wife relations; wives' jealousy, insubordination, fickleness and preponderance for keeping bad company; and show how highlife may serve to perpetuate notions of women's inferiority to men. Adomako Ampofo and Asiedu (2012) argue that because the artist and creator of cultural products, has tremendous influence in their societies as both entertainer and educator, popular music is a powerful vehicle for cultural and political expression throughout the body politic. From their analyses of over two hundred songs they found that although some songs present positive images of women, especially being praised as mothers and lovers in non-objectifying ways, a disproportionate number of songs objectify and infantilize women. Women are portrayed as exploitative, unfaithful, unreliable, enchantresses, witches, jealous, competitive (typically with other women over men), and materialistic.

Adomako Ampofo and Asiedu argue that, in a society where male domination is so rife, the negative portrayals of women may not even be evident to musicians and consumers. Male musicians and other artists who may consider themselves pro-women may even inadvertently project negative images of women without consciously meaning to do so. Thus, the messages about women and gender are legitimated (Asiedu and Adomako Ampofo 2012).

⁶ FIDA: Federation of African Women Lawyers; WILDAF: Women in Law and Development in Africa.

Advertising is another popular platform that has received international acclaim for its treatment of the subject of gender in both visual portrayals and in the written text. Addy (2006) and Tsegah (2009) have used gender analysis frameworks to examine how men and women are portrayed in advertisements and report on the stereotypical representations of women they observed.

Beyond portrayal, work on media representation of women has also explored the subject from the perspective of numbers and inclusion. Yeboah (2009) presents a rather disturbing picture of the nation's foremost newspaper, the *Daily Graphic*, and its exclusion of women in the news creation process. According to the study, whether as reporters or sources, women lagged far behind males in the participation and creation of what would eventually be presented as the news. Kimani and Yeboah (2011) look beyond these figures to assess whether the few women who do make it into the news are as likely as men to be given prominence. Their content analysis of six local newspapers reveals that, once given access, women are unlikely to be treated differently from men in terms of the prominence they received.

Others explore how women may secure better representation in the media (Akrofi-Quarcoo 2007; Yeboah 2011). Akrofi-Quarcoo (2007) examines men and women's participation in morning radio programmes through listener phone-ins and reports that where women participated they tended to do so as much as men did. In other words, the limited media access and participation reported by researchers such as Yeboah (2009) operates more as a function of media gate-keeping processes which privileges male over female access. Where participation is open to all, such as a radio discussion call-in session, women are just as likely as men to call-in to share their opinions.

Yeboah (2011) examines whether the gender of female journalists portends any benefits for increasing female participation in the news. The author describes a tendency for female reporters to use more female sources; however, this does not seem to draw from any consciousness on the part of these female journalists to "write" women into the news. It appeared to be more a result of female journalists' perception that their audiences preferred to hear the news from female sources.

Women's general lack of visibility in media has also been addressed from the perspective of their participation as practitioners, particularly as journalists. Gadzekpo (2001) has contributed a historical study of women's participation in the Gold Coast print culture. Gadzekpo finds that the trend towards so-called "gender-blind historicizing" has led to a neglect of women's roles in the telling of historical accounts of women's participation in the media industry. She provides a comprehensive review of women's roles as media professionals in, and consumers of, the Gold Coast print culture. She finds that women practitioners, such as Mabel Dove (Danquah), writing under various pseudonyms, both conformed to and challenged notions of women's interests. Extending the discourse on women's professional participation in media industries, Kyere (2012) has also examined the place of different cohorts of women in the music industry. Yeboah and Thompson (In Press) have embarked on a similar endeavour with somewhat different objectives. Their work sought to turn the subject of gender inequality within media industries on its head to examine the "gendered" dimensions of women's career success in Ghana's

media/communication industry. It sought to answer the question whether the processes of gendering (both at home and at work) portend any benefits for women in their career journeys. Findings showed that gender does indeed present some advantages to female communication practitioners that may have been overlooked by both themselves and scholars.

Gender-based Violence

Until the 1980s, gender-based violence was a relatively under-researched area. However, in 1998 a study by a CSO, the Gender and Human Rights Documentation Centre on the prevalence of violence against women and children in Ghana (Coker-Appiah and Cusack 1999) seems to have spawned researchers' interest in the subject. In an effort to draw out the architecture for gendered violence in Ghana, researchers explored various aspects of the phenomenon informed by their diverse social science backgrounds. Some of the areas examined include sexual violence, domestic violence, abuse of minors, and state violence.

Violence against women is said to derive from the perceived inferiority of women to men as well as their unequal status either in law or according to social norms (Akumatey and Darkwah 2009, Manuh, 2009). This closely relates to notions of masculinity and femininity which are also directly associated with sexuality and parenting (Prah and Adomako Ampofo 2009; Adomako Ampofo Prah 2009). Also complicit is the economic ordering of contemporary society which constructs women as economically dependent on men, despite historical evidence to the contrary (see Aidoo 1985). This, in turn leads to men's frustrations over their inability to live up to the expected male role of economic provider which can produce tensions that sometimes culminate in violence (Biritwum and Cusack 2009). Contrary to developmentalist approaches, researchers argue that economic empowerment of women alone may not be the panacea as a woman's economic independence by itself may not protect her from violence. Indeed, in certain cases, a wife's economic independence is deemed to present a challenge to her husband's authority, thereby predisposing her to violence (Adomako Ampofo Prah 2009).

A key element in this architecture is state complicity. Some of the early works in this area come from Adomako Ampofo (1993) and Tsikata (1997) in which they discuss the role of the military in projecting women, namely market traders, as the scapegoats for the nation's economic woes, and thus justifying their public abuse. In their efforts to control women's so-called economic crimes, the military also seized women's wares and thus succeeded in bringing many to economic ruin. Manuh (2009) argues that the Ghanaian state demonstrates ambivalence towards violence against women as evidenced by its passivity towards abuses as well as the promulgation of policies with harmful effects for women. The absence of true democracy and women's lack of equal participation in state decision-making have all been thought to exacerbate the disparities between men and women and fed into the creation of opportunities for abuse. Prah and Adomako Ampofo's (2009) work that

seeks to conceptualize discipline and punishment in Ghana lends support to this point. According to the authors, "the state constitutes a backdrop against which discipline, punishment and abuse of women and children occurs" (Prah and Adomako Ampofo 2009, p. 198). They explain that by relegating certain violent actions to the private domain, the state actually condones violence against women.

Culture can also be viewed as culprit or potential arbiter in the perpetration of violence against women (Adomako Ampofo et al. 2005; Adomako Ampofo and Prah 2009). According to Adomako Ampofo and Prah (2009) domestic violence is conceived within Ghanaian society as a private issue, a conception that is problematic, often leading to women's willingness to endure it quietly without seeking redress. Further, the authors argue that there is fluidity in definitions of what constitutes violence. Citing cultural permissions for male punishment of female "deviant" behaviour, sometimes with violent actions, they suggest that it is difficult then for people to determine at what point such permitted punishment becomes violence that calls for redress. They, therefore call for further efforts at defining violence and conscientizing the populace about it.

Adomako Ampofo and Boateng (2008) have also discussed violence as it relates to the concepts of masculinity and femininity and notions about them. Their work suggests that violence can sometimes be linked to men's (boys') constructions of their masculinity and their efforts to assert this. In a culture that uses marriage as a platform to transfer the guardianship role of parents over daughters to their husbands, they argue that men's violent behaviour towards women is often tied to the masculine notion that they can and should punish female wrongful behaviour (as parents would their children). Nonetheless, Adomako Ampofo and Prah (2009) propose that cultural prescriptions that valorize wifhood and motherhood, as well as constructions of masculinity such as supportive and protective can be creatively employed to address gender-based violence against women.

Adomako Ampofo, Awotwi and Dwamena-Aboagye (2005) argue that some cultural wisdom may perpetuate violence, for example prescriptions that for marriages to be successful, one of the partners (typically the woman) should be a "fool," hold the potential of calling on women to endure and even condone gendered violence. The authors also argue that the political economy supports the incidence and non-reporting of gendered violence. Since women and children may depend on men for maintenance, they may not report violent behaviour for fear that a conviction will leave them destitute.

Yeboah and Batse (2009) take this further through a quantitative analysis of the contributive effects of each of a list of variables thought to affect domestic violence. Isolating 20 forms of psychological violence including threats, isolation and insults, the researchers found that whether as adults or adolescents, the sample reported having experienced at least five of the isolated forms, the most prevalent of which was insults and threats. Sexual violence often took the form of women being touched without their consent. They also report that lines of intimacy often overshadow violence in the domestic setting.

Oduyoye (2009) and Armah-Koney (2009) have explored the relationship between religion, and Christianity and Islam, respectively. Both Oduyoye and Armah-

Koney contend that misinterpretations lead women to hold a diminished view of themselves, thus making them unquestioning recipients of violence. According to Oduyoye, the practice of citing isolated scriptures out of context in order to back subjective arguments creates room for the perpetration, or at least the lack of any critical questioning, of gender-based violence. As an example, she cites reference to the verse in the book Ephesians in the Bible asking wives to submit to husbands who should in turn love them, as being lifted in isolation from an earlier admonition for both husband and wife to be “mutually submissive to one another.”⁷

Armah-Koney (2009) argues that the Quran decries violence against women and lays the blame for the widespread practice of gender-based violence among adherents at the door of early Islamic scholars or classical lawyers (*fuqaha*)—all males, whose interpretations of Quranic verses have introduced misogynistic interpretations. Armah argues that when these basic religious texts, which are held in high esteem by adherents, are interpreted by them in light of their own cultures, which may be tolerant of gender-based violence, this leads to tolerance for husbands (and men) disciplining their wives (and women). Chapter 4:34 of the Quran is an example she offers to explicate this point:

Men are in charge of women by [right of] what Allah has given one over the other and what they spend [for maintenance] from their wealth. So righteous women are devoutly obedient, guarding in [the husband's] absence what Allah would have them guard. But those [wives] from whom you fear arrogance—[first] advise them; [then if they persist], forsake them in bed; and [finally], strike them. But if they obey you [once more], seek no means against them. Indeed, Allah is ever Exalted and Grand.

Where wives' submission to their husbands is so often highlighted without a similar expectation provided for men, it becomes easier to understand how the disciplining of wives by their husbands for insubordination is accepted while the reverse is not considered let alone countenanced (Adomako Ampofo and Prah 2009). Both Oduyoye (2009) and Armah-Koney (2009) call for re-readings of the major religious texts as imperatives for the prevention of gender-based violence and the recognition of women's inherent equality to men.

According to Oduyoye (2009) and Adomako Ampofo and Okyerefo (2014) beyond the (mis)interpretation of scripture, a male-dominated application of religious doctrines may also offer grounds for gender-based violence, for example through one of the basic tenets, forgiveness, which requires adherents to forgive, unconditionally, wrongs done against them. According to Oduyoye, in the events of gender-based violence, female Christian religious adherents may be under a lot of pressure to “forgive and forget”, leaving perpetrators free and making such women susceptible to more violence. Indeed, Adomako Ampofo and Okyerefo's gendered analysis (2014) of the writings of some leading Christian clerics finds explicit exhortations to women to submit to husbands, even in cases of violence. Oduyoye concludes that there is a critical need for a re-examination of the Christian religion, since “interpreted and used in narrow and limiting ways, the kinds of messages

⁷ Ephesians Chap. 5: 21–22.

portrayed run contrary to the Christian intention of equality, mutuality, caring and justice" (2009, p. 152).

As purveyors of culture, the media represents a strong platform from which to engage the subject of violence. Gadzekpo (2009) examines the print media coverage and representation of violence against women by focusing on the frames via which readers are invited to engage with such stories. Using a textual analysis of purposively sampled newspaper stories covering a series on intimate partner femicides in 2002, Gadzekpo showed that the media placed selective emphasis on aspects of the stories which tended to obscure the real issues at play such as unequal gender relations. Gadzekpo's analysis reveals at least five such frames, all of which hold the potential to detract attention from the culpability of perpetrators. These were: "victim blaming", in which the news emphasized reasons such as victims' infidelity for blame rather than the perpetrators; "medical pathology" which attributed spousal murders to perpetrators' pathology (insanity); "extraordinary" frame in which the spousal murders were positioned as an unusual calamity, failing to highlight its growing incidence; "minimizing frame" by which the media fail to contextualize each episode as a potential manifestation of an endemic cultural practice; and "romantic expression" in which the media propagate reasons such as jealousy, passion and so forth, as the causes for gender-based violence.

Politics and the State: Women's Organizing

Women's organizing in Ghana has a long history. Indeed, women's organizing was a key ingredient in the success of the independence struggle (Apusigah et al. 2011). Like women's organizing and political activism in the rest of Africa, the focus of early organizing was with wider nationalist concerns rather than with a "narrow preoccupation with gender equity alone" (Steady 2006 cited in Adomako Ampofo 2008). Apusigah et al. (2011) and Adomako Ampofo (2008) provide a historical account of the forms in which women's organizing have manifested in the country. From organizing cocoa hold-ups, feeding political activists and serving as foot soldiers, women demonstrated an interest in fighting for the better positioning of Ghanaian humanity. The authors draw references from Adamafio (1982) to recount how following the attainment of independence more gender equity actions were initiated with an agenda for securing equal conditions for women and men in the country. For instance, in the immediate post-independence era, the Nkrumah government sought to institutionalize women's organizing through the setting up of the Ghana Federation of Women in 1953, largely as a welfare and social support group, the Women's League with a more feminist agenda and the National Council of Ghana Women, NCGW, under which all Ghanaian women were to organize and be organized (see Tsikata 1997).

However, it appears that the romance between the political institution of government and women's organizing was short-lived as Ghana was ushered, with the overthrow of Nkrumah into a series of military and democratic eras, the disjointed nature

of which affected the women's cause for organizing around the political issues of rights and citizenship. Of particular interest here, is how the Rawlings era presented a double-bind to women's organizing: on the one hand existing machineries for organizing such as the National Council for Women and Development (NCWD) were stripped of their influence and effectiveness while on the other, the nation saw a new form of organizing under the auspices of the 31st December Women's Movement, established and run by the wife of the then military leader, Jerry Rawlings. Indeed, scholars have on occasion described women's organizing in these times as an "illusion of activity" (Prah 2004, p. 37) and "an illusion of collective power" (Adomako Ampofo 2008) to characterize the overtaking of collective effort by the first lady syndrome.

Mensah Kutin et al. (2000), provide a review of the political, social and economic context in which the National Council for Women and Development was established and functioned. Based on interviews with various stakeholders, including staff, they find that factors such as political interference affected its effective functioning. Tsikata (1997) has also analyzed state level gender policy and their implications for gender relations and gender equality. Tracing state policies under various governments from colonial to the fourth republic, she concludes that successive governments, with a few exceptions have tended to be gender-biased or gender-blind, with consequences for gender equality. She also highlights gaps between scholarship and activism as having aggravated successive governments' tendencies not to tackle gender inequality with consistency. Tsikata (2000) examines the trajectory of the women's machinery for organizing in eight African countries including Ghana. Her work showed that existing machineries for implementing the then Beijing Platform for Action were inadequate and, therefore, unlikely to deliver on the promises desired. She concludes on the need for more collaboration between national machineries and civil society towards the achievement of the common goal of advancing women's well-being.

More recent work has looked at how women's groups have paid attention to specific female concerns such as violence against women or women's political participation. Adomako Ampofo (2008) traces Ghana's journey towards the promulgation of a Domestic Violence Law, reflecting on strategy, issues of contestation, challenges and successes with collaborations. In what appears to be an era of coalitions, she shows how different women's groups worked together around issues of interest to women, key among which was the development of a Women's Manifesto and the Domestic Violence Law. This contemporary form of organizing that exploits new media typifies the conviction that "by working in collectives they can more effectively lobby, advocate and campaign to bring gender perspectives to national processes in ways that individuals, groups of individuals, or even organizations cannot" (Adomako Ampofo 2008, p. 400).

Gender and Development

Social science researchers in Ghana have also, consistently, engaged the subject of development from the perspective of women and men's contributions to, and gains from national development. For instance, Date-Bah (1983) studied men and women working in factories in Accra for any signs of gender-based discriminatory treatment on the job. She reported no significant differences in the treatment on the job in ways that disadvantaged one sex. However, a notable difference between male and female workers appeared to be a spillover from women's domestic duties. Female workers were more prone to lateness and absenteeism as a result of their domestic duties. Of significance here is the connection such a study makes between women's dual contributions to development via reproductive (domestic) work as well as work outside the home.

Clark (1994) offers an interesting ethnographic account of the economic activities and strategies of the women of the Kumasi Central Market in their quest for profit accumulation and survival. Her work reveals the intricate connections between women's trading, domestic and public sphere lives and how market trade overall serves as a backbone to the economy while also maintaining its status as vantage point for food and goods distribution to facilitate development.

Building on some of the early work by Benneh et al. (1995), Duncan and Brants (2004) have looked at women's lack of access to land, credit and agricultural technology, which in turn hinders their contributions to development. A study of the gendered effects of Ghana's Structural Adjustment Policies reveals severe cutbacks in women's economic well-being (Manuh 1994). Darkwah (2007) uses the life narratives of two market women to discuss women's coping strategies during the SAP period. She shows that at the height of the implementation of the adjustment policies, some educated women metamorphosed into transnational traders in the informal economy. Darkwah calls attention to women's creativity and their successes at adapting to different economic conditions. Adomako Ampofo (2001) and Manuh (1994), however, point to the ways in which the gender-blind policies marginalized women and even pushed some into sex work.

Ghana registers a large informal sector in which the majority of both men and women carry out their economic activities, albeit with differing relations to the operations of the economy (Tsikata 2009). Darkwah (2007) shows how women have carved out their own niche within the sector to maximize their agency. Arguing that definitions of the sector, often *ad hoc* and primitive, fail to capture the complexities of that sector and its realities for the lives of both women and men, she suggests that women's location in the informal sector has offered opportunities through enterprise development, capital mobilization, political resistance and social networking. Further, women's participation in the informal sector has positive implications for their own as well as their families' upkeep. Thus, she proposes that the state and its collaborators should embrace the sector as a legitimate site of economic activity and provide credit support, appropriate technologies, skills training and improved infrastructure to enhance informal sector activities.

Apusigah (2004) and Sureshbabu and Apusigah (2005) discuss gender and development from the perspective of meeting women's strategic and practical needs. Strategic needs are gender status related, while practical needs relate to their daily living conditions. They argue that women's empowerment initiatives have resulted in improvements in women's conditions but not their status, as women remain in subjugation, a situation she blames on the fact that empowerment initiatives only stress the practical needs without similar emphasis on strategic interests. Arguing that the pursuit of strategic needs has relevance not only for women but also for families and communities and even national development, a case is made for women's empowerment initiatives to take more seriously questions of strategic relevance. Apusigah (2004) argues that women's empowerment can only be realized through a change in the status of women, and makes a case for the re/channelling of practical programmes in ways that promote strategic gender interests.

Sureshbabu and Apusiga (2005) have also looked at how micro-enterprise development could be tied to meet women's strategic interests. Tracing different developmental paradigms that have guided women's economic empowerment (from development the era of "development for" to the era of "development with") the authors note the need to tie women's strategic needs to their practical needs. They argue that while resources such as education, health, human rights as well as infrastructural facilities including housing, water, sanitation, markets and roads remain essential, income and employment are critical for accessing these resources. Economic empowerment should, therefore, remain part of new development planning and delivery. Welfarism is not the way to go and development planners are encouraged to look to empowering women through microfinance as a means to empowering them to also enjoy facilities available for meeting their strategic needs.

Politics of Gender and Future Directions

Gender studies have made significant contributions to the social sciences by revealing, and reflecting on women and men's relative situations, and the questions of power and culture that are implicit. They have also introduced, or emphasized, concepts and methodologies that were hitherto ignored or absent. A significant contribution has also been work that reveals the politics of the academy itself (Prah 2002; Tsikata 2007). For instance, using feminist methodologies of personal narratives, Lundgren and Prah (2009) and Adomako Ampofo (2009) show how the structure of academia may inhibit female academics from attaining their full potential. Lundgren and Prah suggest that, through a complex maze of delays in promotion, low expectations of female academics by their male counterparts and seniors as well as overburdening workloads, the academy limits female potential, thus denying scientific knowledge of female perspectives and input. They also argue that due to socialization processes, female academics may start-off lacking intellectual self-confidence and this, coupled with the restrictions the academy imposes, can result in lopsided scientific knowledge by restricting women's contributions.

Adomako Ampofo (2009) discusses female academics' challenge of staying true to feminist goals, while also trying to survive as academics of repute: maintaining consistency in the midst of the challenges of publishing demands, economic insufficiencies and of working with theoretical frameworks developed from the global north. Prah (2002) argues that ordinarily, a university is expected to provide the space for women's career success because it is supposed to be a place where freedom of expression is encouraged. However, her research at the University of Cape Coast showed that the female staff there lacked visibility (owing to their limited numbers in comparison to male staff) which then meant that they lacked the power to influence decision-making. She also found that the female staff who had spent many years in the institution reported having experienced gender discrimination. However, these female workers did not feel such discrimination was connected to unfavourable policies that put women at a disadvantage in the institution.

GWS in Ghana have not yet achieved the disciplinary legitimacy that they have achieved in some parts of Africa with the setting up of departments and undergraduate majors. Part of this task will fall to the scholars who are engaged in this work, who will have to lead the advocacy. Additionally, it will require a major commitment from university authorities to hire faculty with training and skills in gender analyses.

Particular areas that have not received much attention in Ghana are gender and climate/the environment; alternative and minority sexualities; and gender and health care systems.

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Chapter 16

Changing Trends in Adult and Continuing Education: The Ghanaian Experience

Yaw Oheneba-Sakyi, Olivia Adwoa Tiwaah Frimpong Kwapong, Samuel Kofi Badu-Nyarko and Michael Ayithey Tagoe

Introduction

Formal Adult Education in Ghana could be traced to activities of the colonial government in the 1940s which led to the establishment of departments of Extra-Mural Studies as part of the university college in the Gold Coast, and later in Nigeria and the Sierra Leone as part of the Oxford University Delegacy. This gave birth to the People's Educational Association in the Gold Coast as avenue through which masses of people were mobilized to pursue adult literacy, liberal studies and citizenship training unparalleled in the history of the Gold Coast. After independence, the demand by Ghanaian workers for certificates led to reorientation of the Institute leading to a renaming of the Department as Institute of Public Education. In addition to the rebranding, Workers' Colleges were established to provide remedial programmes and opportunities for workers to pursue their education. In the 1970s, the Institute took steps to redefine her position in the University of Ghana by introducing MA and Diploma programmes in Adult Education and engaging in research and extension.

Against this backdrop and following global trends in higher education that now focus on lifelong, the Institute recently changed its name to reinforce the centrality of distance education as a complementary delivery mode for the university, and began playing a leading role in the implementation of the university's ICT policy on E-learning.

This chapter explores how the university-based adult education in Ghana has evolved over the years and its implications for the future. The chapter will cover the following:

- Colonial Influence on Adult and Continuing Education.
- Post-Colonial Influence on Adult and Continuing Education.
- Developing Adult Education as a Discipline.

Y. Oheneba-Sakyi (✉) · O. A. T. F. Kwapong · S. K. Badu-Nyarko · M. A. Tagoe
Institute of Continuing and Distance Education, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana
e-mail: yoheneba-sakyi@ug.edu.gh

- From Adult Education to Continuing and Distance Education.
- Distance Education and E-Learning in Rapidly Changing World.

Colonial Influence On Adult And Continuing Education

The introduction of university-based adult education in Ghana was based on factors outside the colony. Skinner (2007) has argued that after World War II, influential colonial advisors regarded the economic, social and political environment comparable to what prevailed in mid-nineteenth century Britain. Adult education occupied a vital place in British working-class history, and therefore some influential policy-makers and academics felt that this type of education could be transferred to the African colonies. Indeed, two commissions were crucial in the establishment of university-based adult education in the Gold Coast. These were the Asquith and Elliot Commissions. The departments of Extra-mural Studies which were created and attached to the university colleges in the Gold Coast and Nigeria had a relationship with the Oxford Delegacy for Extra-Mural Studies of the University of Oxford (Omolewa 1975).

Indeed, the connection between British West Africa and Oxford was facilitated by Colonel George Wigg, earlier who had established close links with the Oxford Extra-mural Delegacy while administering adult education for the Worker's Educational Association in Kent and North Staffordshire during the 1930s (Fieldhouse 1984). Wigg's visit to Africa led to the establishment of an educational scheme for African troops. In a report to the Colonial Office, Wigg recommended improvement in spoken English and elimination of illiteracy, as well as an element of liberal, non-vocational education "directed to the development of civic responsibility and community sense... [thus] introducing a concept of adult education which, so far, has made no impression in West Africa" (Fieldhouse 1984, p. 360).

To make this objective realizable, the Secretary of Oxford University Delegacy for Extra-Mural-Studies paid a visit to the Gold Coast in February 1947. Thereafter, some of the staff of the Oxford Extramural Delegacy was sent to the Gold Coast and Nigeria. The active involvement of the staff in British West Africa coincided with the agitation for independence in the post World War II era. In 1948, the Oxford Delegacy seconded David Kimble as a Resident Tutor for a period of up to 2 years¹ to work as a Staff Tutor in the Gold Coast. In April 1949, the Delegacy's outfit was absorbed by the newly-established University College of the Gold Coast as the Department of Extra-Mural Studies. Once in the Gold Coast, David Kimble introduced the tutorial class modelled along that of the Oxford Delegacy Extra-Mural Studies.

Having established that the Gold Coast already had a tradition of voluntary associations, and having witnessed the great strides made in Britain by the national voluntary Worker's Educational Association (WEA) in Britain through the tutorial class model, a voluntary association called the People's Educational Association

¹ Adult Education in the Gold Coast, University of Oxford Delegacy for Extra-Mural Studies Report, 1953.

(PEA) was formed at Aburi in the Eastern Region of the Gold Coast (Skinner 2007; Amedzro 2004). The PEA became the vanguard of liberal studies and community development. Its programmes concentrated on subjects such as Philosophy, Government, Economics and International Relations with the aim of improving the quality of the individual to function as a unit of his society. The programmes were also meant to help the people develop their leadership skills, to be politically responsible and to engage in local self-help.

There were systematic courses of 40 or 24 weeks duration and non-systematic courses made up of public lectures, seminar, conferences, one-day and weekend schools; and residential schools of longer duration such as the New Year School. There were also courses on parliamentary procedure and budgets for newly-elected legislators (Skinner 2007). These programmes were not targeted at certification. The heart of the liberal adult education tradition was the provision of opportunities for men and women to study subjects in depth, and usually at great length, but not in pursuit of qualification. The Department paid great importance to democratic methods of teaching in the PEA classes which was done through discussions. Most of the topics discussed were topics that had been decided together with the participants.

Indeed, Fieldhouse (1992, p. 11) has noted that:

The notion of “liberalism” in English adult education implies a democratic, dialectical and non-utilitarian approach. It is democratic rather than authoritarian, with students enjoying the right to choose what and how they study. The class is treated more as a mutual exploration of the subject than a one-way transmission of a body of knowledge from “expert” lecturer to ignorant students. It is dialectical rather than propagandist, with a total freedom of discussion of all subjects. And it is non-utilitarian, non-vocational in that it is concerned with the education of the individual either for personal intellectual advancement or to make the individual a better-educated citizen.

In 1954, the Department became the Institute of Extra-Mural Studies. Since the Institute of Extra-Mural Studies was not established as a teaching department, attention was paid to the recruitment of Resident Tutors to facilitate the tutorial classes in the communities rather than Lecturers to teach in a university setting. From 1954 to the time of independence, the Institute concentrated on the intellectual development of Ghanaians through the offering discussion classes in civic education and leadership. Alongside the Institute of Extra-Mural Studies, the PEA also created opportunities for ordinary Ghanaians for self-development through the non-certificated courses it offered. The bedrock of adult and continuing education in Ghana during the colonial era was, therefore, volunteerism, self-motivation, and the desire for community development.

Adult Education In Post-Colonial Era

At Ghana’s independence in 1957, the government of the Convention People’s Party (CPP) led by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah saw massive investment in education and wide-ranging changes at the university. First, the CPP government embarked on

an indigenization programme by increasing the number of African lecturers at the university. There was the establishment of the Institute of African Studies and a University Press. Dr. Nkrumah's policy of creating a critical mass of educated Ghanaians to address the gross man-power requirements of the nation at the time of independence provided the justification to widen access at all levels of education. The early years of the government witnessed the mass literacy campaign which saw the active involvement of the Institute of Extra-Mural Studies. Indeed, in 1960, the Director of the Institute, Mr. David Kimble and Mr. Kwa Hagan were selected by the government to represent Ghana at the Second World Conference on Adult Education in Montreal (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization [UNESCO] 1960).

To further actualize the objective of bringing education to the door-steps of Ghanaians, the name of the Institute of Extra-Mural Studies was changed to the Institute of Public Education. After independence, certification became increasingly the basic qualification for employment. The need for more qualified people was recognized by the Commission on University Education which reviewed university education in Ghana at the beginning of the 1960s (Greenstreet 1979). The Commission recommended the provision of facilities for students who wished to work for degrees on part-time basis and those who wanted to continue their education. Towards this end, Workers' Colleges were established in Accra, Takoradi and Kumasi in 1962 to meet the needs of the numerous workers demanding courses that would lead to certification (Amedzro 2004).

From the 1960s onwards, the Workers' Colleges became centres for Ghanaian workers to prepare to write the General Certificate of Examination Ordinary and Advanced (GCE O and A) Levels to enable them seek entries into sixth Form or university respectively. The Workers' Colleges also provided opportunities for remedial classes in the English Language, Logic, Mathematics and Current Affairs. To provide a link between the Workers' Colleges and the university so that the Workers' Colleges could offer opportunities to workers to pursue university education, a Degree Division was established in 1963 at the Accra Workers' College as the External Degree Centre (EDC). The Institute was charged with the responsibility of offering courses in the Humanities available to full-time students of the University of Ghana on part-time basis.

Indeed, to expand access to education to many more Ghanaians, the CPP government through the Institute of Public Education suggested that some relaxation in university entrance requirements be made in order to ensure that other students with limited entry requirements were admitted as well as non-traditional students also to enter the university. To achieve this objective, the Institute of Public Education introduced a system of special entry for mature students who did not have the GCE requirements. Special examinations designed by the Institute were held for these non-traditional students and complemented with an interview (Amedzro 2004; Greenstreet 1988).

During the 1960s, the Institute embarked on short specialized courses for Trades Unions, Cooperatives, farmers' organizations, women's and other voluntary organizations. The foundation was also laid for the introduction of correspondence

courses for persons in areas far removed from the Institute's main lecturing and teaching centres. Students doing correspondence courses were expected to attend special vacation courses, which were to be run for their benefit.

The overthrow of the CPP government in 1966 offered the Institute the opportunity to redefine her vision to fulfil her core mandate of providing university-based adult education. Hard decisions had to be made with respect to the increased demand for GCE courses from workers and students, vis-à-vis the core mandate of the Institute. Indeed, the Institute had to find answers to questions such as: Which of the programmes offered by the Institute could be regarded as the legitimate responsibility of a university-based institution charged with the organization of university level adult education? To redefine a new vision and new path for the Institute, there was a name change from Institute of Public Education to Institute of Adult Education. However, Greenstreet (1988) has noted that the major decision taken regarding the vision and purpose of a university-based adult education institute after the overthrow of the CPP government was just a little more than scratching the surface of the complex, social, economic and political problems facing the country. While admitting that change was needed, there was little consensus among members of staff as to the nature and direction of the change.

Developing Adult Education as a Discipline

Adult education has always been a dynamic and changing field of study and practice that has been informed by various disciplines and philosophical schools of thought (Merriam and Andre 2011). The history of development of adult education as a discipline varies from country to country and continent to continent. The field of adult education worldwide went through a process of growth and differentiation, in which a scholarly, scientific approach emerged. Today, an academic discipline focusing on the education of adults exists in several universities around the world including the University of Ghana.

As far back as 1964, Jensen, et al., is quoted by Holmberg (1986, p. 3) to have described the discipline of Adult Education as having borrowed and adapted knowledge, theory and research technology from many other disciplines. One will find that *Social Psychology* has lent to adult education basic knowledge about the processes of learning and change in individuals, groups and communities. *Philosophy* has been used to gain an understanding of the ethics and rationale of the field of adult education and also supported its content, processes and objectives. *Sociology* has offered the concept of society and its implications for adult learning. The information about the desires of the adult population to be educated has over the years has been drawn from *History*. Adult education has taken from the discipline of *Anthropology* the experiences that connect to the introduction and acceptance or rejection of changing cultural ideas about the use of artifacts and technology. The relationship between people's competence and societal well-being and principles for effective use of resources for lifelong learning is what *Economics* has contributed to adult education.

Thus, Adult Education has a unique strength in the integration of psychology, organization studies, human resource development, instructional design and technology, and global perspectives for individual and organizational excellence. By drawing from a variety of fields and disciplines adult education helps to develop the knowledge base for human resource development. The borrowing from other disciplines does not, however, meet all the needs of the discipline, so adult education has developed its own research to test the applicability of existing knowledge to the education of adults. Adult education is also original and unique in the concept of the characteristics of the adult learner. Adult education has also broadened the concept of lifelong learning to replace the obsolete concept of education being terminal.

Defining the Discipline

Adult Education is multi-disciplinary and its study and practice varies from country to country. This has affected the way the discipline is defined. It has been observed that defining adult education depends on where you are standing and how you experience the phenomenon. Observe that defining adult education depends on where you are standing and how you experience the phenomenon. The nature of the practice of adult education in a country determines the definition, hence one will come across different definitions of the discipline. In most instances adult education tends to be conceptualized as literacy training, basic education for adults, functional literacy, education for the out-of-school youth, community development projects and livelihood-related skills training. In a similar vein the target group has mostly been described as compromising women, adults aged 15–45, out-of-school youth, people in rural or disadvantaged areas, personnel in the public sector and businesses requiring continuing education, disabled people, prisoners, refugees, migrants, nomads, former soldiers and the like. Much as these descriptions fit the practice of educating adults to become functional and productive citizens. The discipline of Adult Education goes far beyond that. Here are some of the different ways that the discipline has been defined over the years:

- All forms of schooling and learning programmes in which adults participate (Corley 2007).
- Adult education is activities intentionally designed for the purpose of bringing about learning among those whose age, social roles, or self-perception define them as adults (Merriam and Brockett 1997, p. 7).
- The process by which men and women (alone, in groups, or in institutional settings) seek to improve themselves or their society by increasing their skill, knowledge, or sensitiveness; or it is any process by which individuals, groups, or institutions try to help men and women improve in these ways (Houle 1996, p. 41).
- Adult education denotes the entire body of ongoing learning processes, formal or otherwise, whereby people regarded as adults by the society to which they belong develop their abilities, enrich their knowledge, and improve their technical

or professional qualifications or turn them in a new direction to meet their own needs and those of their society (UNESCO 1976).

- Any learning experience designed for adults irrespective of content, level and method used (Gakhar and Saini 2010, p. 29).
- The Exeter Conference in 1969 defines it as the process whereby persons who no longer (or did not) attend school on a regular and full-time basis (unless full-time programmes are especially designed for adults) undertake sequential and organized activities within a conscious intention of bringing about changes in information, knowledge, understanding or skills, appreciation and attitudes, or for the purpose of identifying and solving personal or community problems (Livwright and Haygood 1969, p. 8).
- Adult education is all the activities with an educational purpose that are carried on by people, engaged in the ordinary business of life (Bryson 1936 cited at <http://www.fsu.edu/~adult-ed/jenny/Definitions.html>).
- Education is life—not a mere preparation for an unknown kind of future living... The whole of life is learning; therefore, education can have no ending. This new venture is called adult education not because it is confined to adults but because adulthood, maturity defines its limits (Lindeman 1926, p. 6).

From the varied definitions, it is clear that Adult Education can best be understood by looking at the nexus of who an “adult” is and what education she/he is supposed to acquire to meet her/his developmental and intellectual needs. There have been arguments over who an adult is. The definition of an adult could be perceived from the legal point of view which is normally according to the chronological age (Merriam and Brockett 2011); biological, physiological, psychological and social perspectives. Since adulthood varies from society to society, the best way out has been to leave it to every society to define who an adult is UNESCO (1976).

Defining “education” is as controversial as defining “adult” itself. Education manifests itself as a process, product, synonym, an activity or an institution. All these various meanings of education add to the complexity and multiplicity of the term, adult education.

The above definitions do not only depict Adult Education as a discipline with a scientific basis but as a practice with broad perspectives. One can see the different perspectives of adult education in the definitions, be it formal academic programmes, informal or non-formal studies, on-the-job training, continuing education or simply liberal studies. From the dates of the various definitions it could be observed that not only has the definitions been influenced by the practice of the discipline in the author’s continent but by the period of writing as well. For instance, while Lindeman’s definition of 1920s show how Adult Education was perceived from a lifelong learning perspective in Europe during that era, the Corley definition of the Twenty firstcentury predicts the growing nature of the discipline from an American perspective. Could it also mean that because the discipline keeps growing and expanding in practice it has expanded over the period? Well, to clear the confusion, Knowles (1980), one of the founding fathers of adult education describes the multiple meanings of the discipline as follows:

One problem contributing to the confusion is that the term “adult education” is used with at least three different meanings. In its broadest sense, the term describes a process—the process of adults learning... In its more technical meaning, “adult education” describes a set of organized activities carried on by a wide variety of institutions for the accomplishment of specific educational objectives... A third meaning combines all of these processes and activities into the idea of a movement or field of social practice. In this sense, adult education brings together into a discrete social system all the individuals, institutions, and associations concerned with the education of adults and perceives them as working toward common goals of improving the methods and materials of adult learning, extending the opportunities for adults to learn, and advancing the general level of our culture. (Knowles 1980, p. 25 emphasis ours)

Another observation from the various definitions of Adult Education is that it appears that the shorter the definition the broader the perspective and the longer the definition the narrower the perspective. In other words while the long definitions narrow the scope of the discipline and practice, the short definitions broaden the scope of the discipline and practice to make it generic. Adult Education, thus, comprises the spectrum of informal and incidental learning available in a multicultural learning society, formal educational programmes such as university credit courses and non-formal learning activities. Such learning opportunities will include a wide spectrum of programmes be they vocational, technical, career and professional development, leisure and hobby pursuits, personal and social growth programmes, specific training, life experiences or general interest courses—the list can go on and on and on. The formal levels range from primary to post-doctoral in the form of adult basic education, continuing or higher education. The non-formal or informal/incidental learning can be anything and everything. The only limitation is on the learner, who should be an adult by the standards/criteria of the society the person finds him or herself in. Unlike other types of education, adult education is defined by the student population rather than by the content or complexity of a learning programme (Corley 2007). Adult education could therefore mean any educational activity that adults engage in. It does not matter the mode of delivery, content of the programme or level of study.

Purposes and Development of Adult Education

Merriam and Andre (2011) have identified purposes of adult education as to facilitate change in a dynamic society; support and maintain a good social order; promote productivity and enhance personal growth. Two factors determine the purpose of the discipline of adult education. These include the nature of human beings who seek to self-actualize and the nature of society, which is dynamic and always comes out with new things that must be learnt by the growing population. Specifically, Adult Education seeks to encourage the purposeful use of leisure through life-long learning, creates opportunity for the adult population to develop practical skills for wider career choice, and raises intellectual levels of the people to make them self-determining.

Several developments in society have contributed to the growth and expansion of the discipline of adult education. Access to education and learning for adults is a fundamental aspect of the right to education and facilitates the exercise of the right to participate in political, economic, cultural, artistic and scientific life. A person's desire to participate in an educational programme is often the result of a changing personal, social, or vocational situation. This individual orientation has resulted in the creation of a continually changing, dynamic field able to respond to the varied needs of society. Recognizing the need to update information and skills, the desire for knowledge and information is also increasing among the adult population. Rapidly changing technical fields also require constant updating of information in order for workers to remain effective and productive (International Council of Adult Education [ICAE] 1997). Adult Education programmes are provided by a host of organizations or institutions. These include universities, colleges, community learning centres, folk high schools, libraries, museums, social service institutions, government agencies, non-governmental organizations, corporate agencies, churches, and mosques.

Another major development for the growth of the discipline of Adult Education is the increasing use of information and communication technology such as radio, network television, cable television, internet and other electronic media. Broadcast media are being used worldwide to provide public information, teach reading and writing, specialized seminars, and short courses, as well as to provide university-degree programmes. These electronic media offer the means for reaching populations that are scattered or isolated including rural communities (Kwapong 2007).

The discipline of Adult Education manifests in different related concepts. These include continuing education, life-long learning, liberal education, recurrent education, distance education, community development and community education. The concept of life-long learning depicts adult education as a discipline that promotes learning throughout one's lifetime. In this principle education does not terminate even when one decides to terminate formal schooling. Education has no end; it begins from the cradle to the grave or the womb to the tomb. One never stops but keeps learning formally, non-formally or informally until death.

Liberal education as a component of the discipline of adult education seeks to free people as they study to liberate their minds. Through liberal adult education, adult learners develop the intellectual powers of their mind to become critical thinkers. The concept of continuing education, which is based on the acceptance that formal education is terminal but that does not equip adults with all the skills necessary for solving future problems, portrays Adult Education as a discipline that creates opportunities for further studies in the formal system of education. For instance, a person who completes a Diploma programme could continue to do a Bachelor's degree while a person with a Bachelor's degree could continue to pursue a Master's, Doctorate or any postgraduate degree. Within the scope of continuing education is the concept of recurrent education which describes adult education as meeting the needs of adult learners to be able to make repeated (recurrent) entrances and exits from institutions in the formal system. Since educational levels are spread over an individual's lifespan, adult learners can study, take a break to build career or family

to a level and return to continue schooling after gaining some experience or income. Through distance learning and the use of technology and various delivery modes, adult learners can now conveniently combine work, family, and study while being separated in time and space.

Community education is a component of Adult Education as well. Community education is a process of building the capacity of a group of people who have a sense of shared identity and interest. Such people commit to the education and leisure of their adult population through local participation in the setting of priorities, sharing resources and the study of circumstances. Through community education, we obtain one of the outputs or products of adult education, which is community development. Such interventions bring about improvement into the life of any group of people who identify themselves as having a common interest.

Philosophy of Adult Education

One cannot discuss the discipline of Adult Education without looking at the philosophical thoughts that have guided it. The philosophical perspectives of adult education serve as a foundation for the nature and the practice of discipline. The philosophies can contribute to improved design of curricula and instruction, better communication with fellow educators, and the development of the field as it offers a vision of where the field of adult education is heading.

Adult Education has borrowed from the Eurocentric and the indigenous philosophies. The major Eurocentric philosophies of education that guide adult education are liberal, progressive, humanistic, behavioural and radical philosophies of education. Liberal adult education is a popular philosophy underlying education in colleges and universities. Progressive adult education, behaviourism and humanistic adult education are the three philosophies that dominate corporate training. Radical adult education is a lesser known, but equally influential philosophy in the field of adult education. The indigenous philosophy of adult education has enhanced the discipline to make it relevant to its local African and Ghanaian environment.

These philosophies are based on ethics, reason and knowledge. Facilitating adult learning in the perspectives of the philosophy of adult education enables adult learners to develop the affective, psychomotor or behavioural skills. Thus, the philosophies help adult educators to put all programmes into composite format, which in turn helps to develop all rounded adults.

Philosophy of Adult Education helps adult learners to find answers to the following questions (Tisdell and Taylor 2001, p. 7):

- What is the purpose of education?
- What is the role of the adult educator?
- What is the role of students or adult learners in the classroom?
- How does one conceptualize differences among adult learners?
- What is one's worldview, or the primary lens used in analyzing human needs?

Philosophy of Adult Education has further helped to influence decision-making about issues such as establishing teaching-learning objectives, selecting instructional content, selecting and/or developing instructional materials, choosing teaching-learning methods and evaluating educational outcomes. We could emphasize that:

- In liberal adult education intellectual development takes centre stage with lesson plans and courses designed to build abilities of critical thinking and logic.
- Behavioural adult education instils survival skills in adult learners to be able to navigate any situation.
- Progressive adult education promotes cultural and social development and change.
- Humanistic adult education advocates total nurturing in education.
- Radical adult education seeks that education should instil a desire to fight for political and economic changes.
- Indigenous adult education situates the discipline in its local environment to make it meaningful in cultural-specific contents.

Adult Education Research

Adult Education had to define its own methodology because of its peculiar nature of targeting the adult population. The discipline has developed its own research to test the applicability of existing knowledge to the education of adults and to discover new knowledge. It has also been able to develop its own research to explore its relationship with disciplines such as sociology, psychology, social work, economics, or anthropology. The discipline of adult education utilizes both qualitative and quantitative research designs. Research in adult education has focused on motivation to learn among adults, participation in adult education programmes, the characteristics of adult learners, media and delivery, evaluation of programmes, self-directed learning of the adult, empowerment of women, peace education, citizenship education, retirement education, learning at a distance, counselling of adult learners among others.

Adult Education providers expect research to be more practice-oriented and results to be delivered in a simplified format in order to gain the interest of busy professionals. Policy-makers are also interested in research collaboration if it produces explicit benefits to their work. This is what should guide current research endeavours as the discipline grows to respond to current trends.

Merriam and Brockett (2011) have argued that the range of knowledge that is relevant to adult education transcends the boundaries of traditional research and scholarship. In examining the nature of knowledge in adult education, practitioners must focus on the knowledge that counts in adult education; the source of ideas and how the ideas should be incorporated into the fabric of adult education. It is clear that much as adult education has attracted more practitioners and experienced growth in research and practice over the past six decades it has lived to some extent on borrowed knowledge from other disciplines.

From Adult Education to Continuing and Distance Education

The need for professional adult educators necessitated the then Institute of Adult Education to introduce its first academic programme leading to the award of the graduate diploma in Adult Education in 1971. Subsequently the Master of Arts; Master of Philosophy, and Doctorate programmes were introduced in 1985. The Bachelor of Arts (BA) in Adult Education is the most recent addition, which started in the 2010–2011 academic year. The Institute also offers non-degree programmes including Diploma in Adult Education and Diploma in Youth in Development Work. The design of the academic programmes has been in response to the needs of former students and the society at large. The diploma and masters programmes are delivered in three modes: regular face-to-face classroom lectures; sandwich during long vacations; and distance learning with the use of modules.

The academic programmes of the Institute facilitate forward-looking research that uses multiple methodological approaches and theoretical frameworks. Awards in Adult Education at the University of Ghana are recognized at the community, national, and international levels. The discipline propels the Institute to educate and train future researchers and scholars, practitioners, and leaders for a wide variety of governmental and non-governmental organizations. The outputs of our Adult Education programmes are sought after as development workers, staff of the university, organizations and local communities who are concerned with improving productivity and fostering life-long work-based learning through individual and organizational development. The academic programmes also offer pathways for the young and older adults to pursue studies for career advancement, the world of work, and community development.

Following global trends that now emphasize the fact that education is a lifelong endeavour that continues throughout the lifespan of people seeking credentials, advancing their careers, changing their careers, and/or enhancing their earning potential, the Institute of Adult Education was re-named *Institute of Continuing and Distance Education (ICDE)* in 2009. The new name reflects the broad range of programmes that the Institute now offers for individuals to meet their diverse learning needs for academic, personal, and professional growth while maintaining jobs and fulfilling family and other obligations. The adoption of the new name was accompanied by a new mission statement—commitment to the development of world-class human resources and capacities relevant to the needs of Ghana and other African countries through continuing and ICT-based distance education. The Institute's new vision is to be the centre of excellence for the efficient delivery of university-based continuing and distance education to meet the challenges of national development and global competition of the Twenty first century.

Another significant change that happened at the Institute is the re-designation of its teaching staff from “Resident Tutors” to “Lecturers” in conformity with current practice worldwide. At the establishment of the Institute, its lecturers were not resident at the university and were in the communities organizing classes in

liberal education and community development programmes. Indeed, teaching at the university was not part of their work. Over the years as the orientation of the Institute changed, the academic senior staff who were appointed to the Institute were expected to teach, conduct research, and engage in public/community service just as their counterparts in other academic units of the university. However, the name “Resident Tutor” was not changed until 2010. The change of designation was also very timely; and significantly enhanced opportunities to recruit more “Lecturers” and researchers to fulfil the vision and mission of ICDE.

Distance Education and E-Learning in a Rapidly Changing World

The challenges of conventional systems and approaches of delivering higher education have provided new strategies and dimensions for distance education to thrive. Open and distance learning hints on flexibility. Students can be at a distance from the teacher and can, therefore, overcome spatial and time barriers, especially for traditionally excluded individuals and groups. Despite the uncertainty about the previous performance of some distance education systems, confidence seems to be growing globally that open and distance learning will be important in future education and training systems. Examples of this growing confidence can be found in many countries including Bangladesh, Brazil, China, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Nigeria, and Pakistan. The European Union has in recent years consistently increased distance education components of its educational programmes, and has included open and distance learning explicitly in its Maastricht Treaty. In Central and Eastern Europe, distance education is seen as an important means of supporting the transformation process towards democratic and market-oriented societies. Similar initiatives and statements had been done from a wide range of individual countries as well as from regional and international organizations and agencies (Chung 1990).

Distance education has been variously described as a discipline and a practice. It has also been given different terminologies at different times and by different writers and scholars on how it is practised. International interest in open and distance learning continues to increase with subsequent expansion of the respective institutions and programmes as the most remarkable development in the field of education and training in recent years (Osei 2008). Through new developments in information and communication technologies, there is no doubt that open and distance learning is in a process of establishing itself as an integral part of educational delivery systems. UNESCO, which since its foundation is committed to the provision of both formal and non-formal learning opportunities within the framework of the principle of life-long education, has continuously encouraged and supported the use of distance education from its early initiatives of correspondence studies for adults (Osei 2008).

History of Distance Education

The history of distance education goes back more than one hundred years in North America and it is now firmly rooted in the education systems of both Canada and the USA. There is a rich variety of programmes and institutions in a range of areas, and there are examples of the use of almost every conceivable technology. Distance education is used for outreach to remote population groups, support of school education, provision of education and training opportunities for adults, vocational courses, corporate and military training, professional training, higher and continuing education, and life enrichment courses. Modalities in frequent use are correspondence education, television and video courses, audio and video conferencing, satellite transmission and computer-mediated communication. North America has more extensive experience than most other parts of the world in the application of advanced technologies of telecommunication in distance education. Increasingly, a mix of different technologies is used in the same programmes. Electronic services and networks are available to a considerable proportion of the population, and governments see a future in expanding capacity and access through “information super highways.”

According to Osei (2008), Sub-Saharan Africa is one of the regions where the “knowledge gap” between North and South takes on the most dramatic character. There is a tradition of distance education in many of the countries, where governmental institutions were often established after the former colonies became independent. In these countries, distance education has mainly been used to improve access to basic education for an increasing proportion of the population through open programmes, correspondence education and radio. Such programmes had been used to maintain and improve quality in the conventional education system through in-service training of teachers and support for non-formal education and community development activities.

Nevertheless, distance education has shown persistence and there are signs that it is becoming more central to the education policy of many countries. Distance education is seen as a low-cost alternative for the expansion of educational opportunities at all levels (Badu-Nyarko 2000). For instance, Zimbabwe’s expansion of secondary education from 66,000 students in 1979 to 700,000 in 1989 was only possible by using a system of school-based distance education, supported by short in-service training courses for teachers (Chung 1990). Also, South Africa has reinforced its strategy of making extensive use of open and distance learning with the University of South Africa (UNISA) leading the way. Similar ventures in distance learning are established in Tanzania. The main challenge for distance education in the region is to secure continued national commitment on policies and funding at a level needed to enhance quality and economy of scale.

The demand for higher education in Ghana has increased in recent years as a result of population growth and the increase in the number of senior high school graduates. For the past ten years or so, the universities in Ghana have had the unpleasant duty of turning away a large number of qualified applicants every year as

a result of their inability to admit not even half of these applicants. This situation has been attributed to limited and deteriorating facilities. Coupled with these limited facilities is the rising cost of providing quality education at the secondary and tertiary levels. The government of Ghana is finding it increasingly difficult to fund tertiary education all alone. The underlying effect is that the government of Ghana has encouraged institutions to adopt distance education as a viable complement to the conventional face-to-face education. This step is inspired by the vision that all Ghanaians should have access to all forms of education and training regardless of where they live (Article 25 1992 Constitution of Republic of Ghana).

Distance Education at the University of Ghana

Educational institutions in Ghana were few in the 1950s before Ghana's independence and just after. The practice of distance education thus started when persons who desired to obtain higher academic qualifications were compelled to enroll in correspondence courses run by colleges in the United Kingdom and later in the United States of America. Brilliant and enthusiastic students whose parents could not afford the high admission fees demanded, had to secure jobs and study on their own. In the 1960s, many Ghanaians took advantage of the opportunities provided by correspondence colleges in the United Kingdom to acquire higher academic and professional qualifications. Many Ghanaians enrolled as students of Rapid Results College, Wolsley College, Bennett College among others for various academic and professional courses (Aggor 2004).

The Institute's long history of successfully developing and delivering academic programmes through the distance mode includes:

- Serving as the implementing agency for the *University of Ghana's External Degree* programme established at the Accra Workers College from the 1963/1964 academic year until 2002 when the University transformed the programme into the Accra City Campus. The External Degree Programme offered courses leading to the BA and BSc (Administration) degrees for persons who are normally qualified for entry into the university but who, for a variety of reasons, prefer to study as part-time off-campus students over a period of not less than eight semesters and not exceeding 12 semesters; and also for "Mature" persons (aged 30 years and above) capable of pursuing degree programmes but who, do not possess the requisite university entry qualifications.
- Preparing candidates for General Certificate of Education (GCE) Ordinary Level programme from 1971.
- Offering *Diploma in Youth and Development Work* since 2001 as one of 24 programmes of the Commonwealth Youth Programme of the Commonwealth Secretariat.
- Coordinating the University of London MSc Programme from 2003 for Ghanaian students to obtain *MSc in Rural Development and Environmental Management*.

- Offering *HIV/AIDS Counselling and Care-Giving*. This is a 4-month course which began in 2003 with the support of the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA).
- Offering *Reducing HIV/AIDS Stigmatization by Education*. This is a 6-year project which started in 2005 with support from the Canadian International Development Association (CIDA) and run in partnership with Simon Fraser University in Canada, the University of Cape Coast, and the University of Education, Winneba.

The relevance of Distance Education (DE) was recognized by the University of Ghana as far back as 1986 when the Academic Board set up the Haizel Committee to explore DE as a partial solution to the University's problems with congestion and its inability to admit more qualified students on the main campus. The development and growth of the Distance Education Programme (DE) at Legon to tackle the issues of access and equity started with the appointment of Prof. W. A. Asomaning as the Coordinator in 1997, followed by Dr. E. Dovlo (now Prof) in 1998, Mr. R. A. Aggor in 2001 and Dr. S. K. Badu-Nyarko in 2006. Based on recommendations from the university, the Institute of Continuing and Distance Education (ICDE) was asked to manage the DE Programme. The Institute under the directorship of Dr. D. Oduro-Mensah marshalled its human, physical, and material resources to launch the DE programme with the support of the university in November, 2007.

In 2007, the University of Ghana could only admit about 51 % of qualified applicants, leaving over 9,000 qualified applicants due to limited residential and academic facilities. Distance education, therefore, became an important conduit for providing Legon education to this large segment of the Ghanaian population. The target group for the university's DE programme consisted of workers who qualify but cannot attend school on full-time basis, senior high school graduates with aggregates 6-24, mature students not below 27 years who pass an entry examination and diploma certificate holders from the University of Ghana and its affiliates with a minimum of 2.5 FGPA.

At the outset, a total of 1,127 applicants were admitted with 907 of them duly registering for the 2007/2008 academic year in five (5) disciplines: Geography and Resource Development, Economics, Sociology, Psychology, and Linguistics. As at the beginning of the 2012/2013 academic year, Distance Education courses are delivered in Accounting, Banking and Finance, Public Administration, Marketing and Human Resource Management from the University of Ghana Business School; and Adult Education, Economics, Geography and Resource Development, History, Information Studies, Linguistics, Psychology, Sociology, Social Work, and Political Science in the Humanities. With a student population of about 8,400, the university's DE programme is being run at eight Regional Centres (formerly *Workers' Colleges*), namely: Accra (Greater Accra Region), Koforidua (Eastern Region), Kumasi (Ashanti Region), Sekondi-Takoradi (Western Region), Tamale (Northern Region), Wa (Upper West Region), Sunyani (Brong Ahafo Region) and Tsito (Volta Region). The centres provide physical facilities such as classrooms, which are used for tutoring, counselling, group discussions, storing and distributing of study materials.

E-Learning at the University of Ghana

The increased availability of computers and the interactive communication technologies such as video and audio conference, on-line education, and the internet have the potential of solving a myriad of problems and issues associated with the provision of distance education courses by means of giving access to all categories of students and levels of education (Botchway 2010). Thus, the University of Ghana recognizing the shortfall of the print media has decided to adopt E-Learning as a supplement to its distance education provision and to reach more students at a very low cost. The university's approved Information Communication Technology (ICT) policy on E-learning states that: "it is the university's policy to promote E-Learning or integrate ICT in teaching and learning to enhance faculty unit effectiveness."

The primary purpose of E-learning at the University of Ghana is to promote academic excellence through enhanced teaching and learning, and greater interaction between lecturers and students in pursuance of the university's strategic vision. It is also to provide opportunities to prospective students who otherwise would not have access to the programmes offered, either because they work at odd times or are limited by distance. The programme at Legon has been enabled by the completion of the first phase of the ICT-Based Distance Education by the Unisplendour Software System Co., Ltd, Tsinghua University, China with loans and grants from the Governments of Ghana and the Peoples' Republic of China. This project, which has enhanced and improved ICT infrastructure, is a component of the university's five-year IT Strategic Plan, which is also in line with the National ICT Policy on Education developed by the Ministry of Communications and the Ministry of Education, Science, and Sports.

A significant boost to E-Learning at the University of Ghana is the initiation of the second phase of the ICT-Based Distance Education. The overall goal and objective of Phase 2 which is a follow-up to Phase 1 is to enhance Distance and Continuing Education using Information and Communication Technologies. This is a turnkey project implementation that will involve the Supply, Installation and Commissioning of various ICT Equipment and Services by Unisplendour Software Company of China. This two-year project to commence in 2013 seeks to extend the University of Ghana's computing network (UGNet) to ICDE's ten Regional Centres as well as provide fully-equipped computer laboratories and multimedia classrooms at all the centres.

In order to pursue the national objectives for tertiary education, Phase 2 plans to introduce an Integrated Digital Mobile Learning Platform for Distance Education (IDMP) that will create a convenient and secured environment for learning, and real-time interaction between the Institute of Continuing and Distance Education. This will improve upon the current situation where students are tutored using paper based teaching materials.

The proposed solution will provide distance education students with an internet enabled mobile Tablet device that has been pre-loaded with specialized software (ICDE MobileTM) that will have several App icons to access digital textbooks,

register for programmes and courses at the beginning of each semester, using the internet, enabled mobile device, allow distance education students to work on homework and quizzes, complete and submit these using these devices. In this way, students could be enrolled and access tertiary education from the 10 regions of Ghana.

In addition, the project will adequately equip these regional ICDE centres with the appropriate hardware and software, to diffuse ICT-based education methods. More importantly, these regional centres could be the Key Internet Port connecting local high schools. The proposed platform provides both a hardware and software solution which offers an online web presence and portable mobile solution. This will include the conversion of all the paper-based course modules of the Institute into digital formats that will be accessible, using the supplied internet-enabled mobile device.

Challenges with Distance Education and E-Learning

Distance Education and E-Learning as education products have challenges that have to be overcome to ensure overall quality of delivery of learning. Much of the quality of instruction in distance education depends on the attitude of the administration and the instructors or tutors. The success of these modes of instruction requires administrators who understand the concept and tutors well trained to deliver course materials at distance and/or electronically. Many times it seems that the administration believes the technology itself will improve the quality of the class. Palloff and Pratt (2000) cited in Osei (2008, p. 4) remind us that “technology does not teach students; effective teachers do.” This indicates that the issue is not technology itself, but how it is used in the design and delivery of courses.

Besides the cost of the technology, there is the possibility of not utilizing all its potential. These problems arise from lack of training, instructor’s attitude about using technology, issues of software and hardware, power stability, and Internet connectivity. Advancement in technology does not lead to effective distance education. The best distance education practices depend on well-informed and creative instructors (cited in Osei 2008). Instructors should thus be trained to take advantage of both their experience and being able to adapt that experience to the new environment of distance education and e-learning. The instructors must be trained “not only to use technology, but also to shift the way in which they organize and deliver material” (Palloff and Pratt 2000, p. 3).

One overlooked factor in the success or failure of electronic learning programmes is the role that technicians play in the instructional process. Technicians could indirectly influence the learning environment by orientating participants to the technology, reducing the anxiety of the participants and the instructor.

In spite of its importance, distance education at the University of Ghana does not only face the problem of institutional organization and effective structures, but also there is no effective institutional policy that differentiates main campus students from those studying at a distance. Thus, requirements and conditions expected of on-campus students are transferred wholly onto distance students. Although we en-

visage a parity of esteem, there is the need for some flexibility in accommodating the varied needs of the distance learners, most of who are adults working and/or raising families. In terms of student support services, orientation, tutorials, academic counselling, library and computer laboratory services are offered to the students.

Admittedly, the University of Ghana has a long way to go to ensure full implementation of Distance Education and E-Learning. However, the Vice-Chancellor in his congregation address to the pioneer graduands in April 2012, affirmed the university's commitment to work with the Institute to "enhance facilities at the Regional Centres to promote effective learning... with the ultimate aim to attract equal numbers of applicants to all our delivery modes, and to ensure that all our students have access to the same level of facilities" (University of Ghana Congregation, April 21st, 2012, p. 23).

Conclusion

The Institute of Continuing and Distance Education (ICDE) has, for over 60 years, become the vehicle that transported the University of Ghana's teaching, learning, and research into Ghanaian homes. The chapter has provided a critical review of the history of Adult and Continuing Education in Ghana, highlighting the global efforts that shaped such form of education in the country from colonial times, through independence. The chapter evaluated the concept of adult education by examining the various meanings attached to it as an academic discipline and practice. There was a discussion of the expansion of educational delivery at the university to include Distance Education and E-Learning.

With expanded vision, the Institute is now in a position to transform itself into a more visible, resource-enhanced, dynamic Institute that is responsive in providing life-long learning opportunities and distance education to all Ghanaians regardless of where they live. This expanded vision is very timely and reaffirms our resolve to provide wider educational access to Ghanaians in and out of the classroom through the use of ICT, community outreach, inter-departmental and inter-university partnerships. Overall, a well-resourced ICDE at the University of Ghana will contribute to the development of Ghana's human resource capabilities to meet the contemporary challenges of national development and global competition.

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Chapter 17

Conclusion

Joseph R. A. Ayee, Samuel Agyei-Mensah and Abena D. Oduro

Introduction

We set out in this book to present a comprehensive volume on the social sciences in Ghana from two broad perspectives, namely (i) a historical perspective; and (ii) specific issues (evolution, theories, methods, substance and policy-relevance). The 15 chapters have focused on various disciplines of the social sciences largely through these two perspectives. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the contribution of the chapters to the theoretical, comparative and empirical literature and make a prognosis of the future of the social sciences.

The analytical framework of most of the chapters, namely, evolution, growth, theories, methods, substance and policy relevance is in itself an effort to deal broadly with the theoretical issues in the debate over the social sciences. It is a methodological venture that seeks to provide a framework that suggests that social science research can generate and produce positive benefits and if vigorously and proactively pursued can oil the so-called “dry wells of policy-oriented social science research” (Smith 1998, p. 1). In the end, in principle, most of the chapters reinforce the view that research in the social sciences is no different than research in the physical or natural sciences in that it provides new knowledge that alters the status quo and improve state and society for the betterment of mankind (Hunt and Colander 2004).

In addition, the chapters have sought to emphasize the two approaches to the problem of identifying the benefits of social science research. One is to develop

J. R. A. Ayee (✉)
MountCrest University College, Accra, Ghana
e-mail: jraayee@yahoo.com

S. Agyei-Mensah
Department of Geography and Resource Development University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana
e-mail: samensah@ug.edu.gh

A. D. Oduro
Department of Economics, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

“grocery lists” of different types of benefits (Norton and Schuh 1981) and second is to induce institutional change (Ruttan 1982, 1984). Indeed, taken together the chapters have suggested indirectly that the first step in measuring the benefits of social science research should be to specify the sources of demand for that knowledge. This buttresses the viewpoint of Ruttan 1984, p. 551 that:

The demand for knowledge in economics and in the other social sciences—as well as in related professions such as law, business and social service—is derived primarily from the demand for institutional change and improvements in institutional performance.

From a comparative perspective, the analytical framework shows that the social sciences can be gauged from a set of criteria notwithstanding different outcomes and their methodological orientation. In addition, a volume of 15 chapters on the social sciences is in itself a Herculean comparative task that has the ambition of promoting common generalizations and new insights in spite of differences, nuances and perspectives.

From an empirical perspective, the chapters have shown two things. First is the vibrancy and fluidity of the social sciences. Second is that the social sciences are not watertight disciplines. They are interrelated in spite of their diversity and complexity. In the words of a Nobel prize-winning physicist “understanding physics is child’s play, but understanding child’s play is a nightmare” (quoted in Marar 2012, p. 1).

The optimism which we have is that in spite of efforts by governments to reduce spending on funding students and research in the social sciences all over the world, the future of the social sciences is not bleak but still bright. They will continue to shape academic discourse and the population of universities. Above all, history does tell us that where some sections of society are not receiving their fair share of wealth and income, then the seeds of unrest and revolution are sown. This is where the legacy of the social sciences will continue to glow rather than fade!

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