ANTI-COLONIAL EDUCATIONAL PERSPECTIVES FOR TRANSFORMATIVE CHANGE

Indigenist African Development and Related Issues

Towards a Transdiciplinary Perspective

Akwasi Asabere-Ameyaw,
Jophus Anamuah-Mensah, George Sefa Dei
and Kolawole Raheem (Eds.)

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Anti-colonial Educational Perspectives for Transformative Change

Informed by an anti-colonial spirit of resistance to injustices, this book series examines the ways and the degree to which the legacy of colonialism continues to influence the content of school curriculum, shape teachers' teaching practices, and impact the outcome of the academic success of students, including students of color. Further, books published in this series illuminate the manner in which the legacy of colonialism remains one of the root causes of educational and socio-economic inequalities. This series also analyzes the ways and the extent to which such legacy has been responsible for many forms of classism that are race- and language-based. By so doing, this series illuminates the manner in which race intersects with class and language affecting the psychological, educational, cultural, and socio-economic conditions of historically and racially disenfranchised communities. All in all, this series highlights the ways and the degree to which the legacy of colonialism along with race-language-class- and gender-based discrimination continue to affect the existence of people, particularly people of color.

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SENSE PUBLISHERS
ROTTERDAM/BOSTON/TAIPEI

A C.I.P. record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

ISBN: 978-94-6209-657-8 (paperback)
ISBN: 978-94-6209-658-5 (hardback)
ISBN: 978-94-6209-659-2 (e-book)

Published by: Sense Publishers,
P.O. Box 21858,
3001 AW Rotterdam,
The Netherlands
https://www.sensepublishers.com/

Printed on acid-free paper

We dedicate this book to the hardworking men and women of our local communities whose sweat and toil keep our nations afloat in the sea of change.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Co-edited book projects are never conceptualized in the head of a single individual. Similarly, the successful execution of any neat idea does not rest on a single-handed approach. Writing and/or theorising about a topical issue such as African development, demands a hard look at the vast literature in the field. This takes time, effort and dedication on the part of so many. Right from the word 'go', this project has been a collective exercise. As editors, we pay tremendous amount of intellectual tribute to the countless individuals whose conversations, ideas and teachings helped propel us to release this book. We say a big "thank you" to our colleagues, family and friends who have assisted us in this endeavour. It is our desire that the perspectives that have been shared on African development can only help build and strengthen existing scholarship in the area. We would like to thank colleagues at our various institutions and our collective conversations that have informed the presentation of an intellectual vision for the collection. Permit us to mention Mr. Stephen Dennis and the other staff of the Centre for School and Community Science and Technology Studies [SACOST], University of Education, Winneba, Ghana. We also thank the University of Education that sponsored our retreat and meetings in August, 2013 to complete the full draft of the book. We thank George J. Sefa Dei's doctoral students, Yumiko Kawano, Isaac Darko and Anita MacFarlane of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto for the administrative and editorial work to get the volume to the publisher. As in the past, we also want to thank Sense Publishers for the many ways of taking up the challenge to publish a book on Africa which is governed not strictly by market considerations but by the intellectual justice and rewards that accrue from such undertakings.

A. ASABERE-AMEYAW, J. ANAMUAH-MENSAH,
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INTRODUCTION
INDIGENIST AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT AND RELATED ISSUES FROM A TRANSDISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVE

An Introduction

INTRODUCTION

There is no term that is so heavily contested in social science literature/nomenclature than 'Development'. Why is this so? In many ways, the contentions speak to the failure of development theories, theorists and field practitioners to agree on what development is, what constitutes development and how such development practice ought to be pursued. One would expect that with the generous vast literature on the subject of development, scholars and field practitioners should at least have arrived at some shared intellectual consensus on what really constitutes development. For one thing, the problem has been one of colonial making and a cultural imposition. This is because what passes as development in one cultural context has been imposed and promoted as what is the 'correct' path to development. So, why is another book contesting development necessary? This book provides more than contexts development. It speaks of viable options of development rooted in African cultural knowledge and the rich legacies of intellectual tradition. Given the diversity of communities and our cultural specificities, one would have expected that those who claim to know development and would want to promote it everywhere will temper their boldness with caution and some humility. The reader should not get us wrong. As social theorists, we are expected to develop and work with a series of ideal hypothetical set of facts, principles or circumstances about how we understand "development". Such knowledge can and has constituted a body of generalizations, general statements, principles developed in association with development practice in the field. These principles or ideas about development have also become a set of postulates and intellectual opinions formed on basis of assumed facts which are presented as a way of thinking out problems of development. Our problem is with how we have arrived at these facts and principles, the power of some particular ideas, and how certain bodies of knowledge and experiences have constituted either

A. Asabere-Ameyaw et al., Indigenist African Development and Related Issues, 1–13.

"missing dialogues" or been dismissed, negated, devalued and/or de-privileged in debates about what constitutes or ought to constitute development.

What we find troubling is those particular metanarratives or theories about development which speak about what "development" is and how it should be promoted internally and globally. Those who have the power to define development are not satisfied with simply letting their views and ideas be respected. They want to pursue their particular agenda on development on others and communities who resist face consequences and/or reprimand. Fortunately or unfortunately, there is now an on-going fierce counter-resistance in many local communities to the metanarratives as imposition of development ideas and practices. However, it is troubling that the more local communities challenge "conventional development", then further the power of the metanarratives of development are pushed to strengthen the reasoning of the chief proponents. For example, it is argued that contrary to development as we know it not working, a greater part of the problem is that conventional development approaches that work have in fact not truly been followed to the letter and hence the quagmire. All this is ironic since everything we do about our world is development. So, how come there is "difficult knowledge" when it comes to learning from what we know, i.e., what local peoples do and have done for centuries as a starting point to reconstructing and reframing 'development'? In getting our heads around this paradox, we are tempted to ask more questions.

How do we as African scholars and researchers begin to develop "home-grown solutions" to our problems? How do we pioneer new analytical systems for understanding our communities and offer a pathway to genuine African development, i.e., Indigenist African development? (Yankah, 2004). Do we run a risk of being stuck in the past when we place local Indigenous knowledges on the table? Should we be concerned that the outside world will not wait while we revisit such past, cultures, histories and our Indigenous knowledge systems? How do we speak of Indigenist development mindful of global developments and entanglements around us? Can we afford to pursue development still mired in a "catch up" scenario? Are we in a race with the development world and where do we see this race ending or where do we define as the 'finishing line'?

This book emerges out of a genuine attempt to think creatively about African development that is promoted through local creativity, imagination, ingenuity and resourcefulness of local peoples. It is also an attempt to design our own futures as African peoples using our local cultural resource knowledge and without being forced to mimic dominant/conventional forms of development patterns. We take the stance that African scholars and Indigenous scholarship must lead a way to rethink or reframe "development" from a cultural knowledge base, pointing to learning form and reclaiming our creativities, resourcefulness and sense of agency. These are important considerations not only for Africa but the global community. But, we begin the discussion focusing on Africa. This book seeks to re-theorize African development from the standpoint of African and Southern scholars using local knowledge, everyday peoples' experiences and scholarly research data. We

provide social, educational, economic, ideological and political dimensions to Africa's development challenges and opportunities and bring to the fore some of the key issues and challenges in the promotion of what we are terming an "Indigenist African development". We also point to related issues regarding the implications of Indigenist development for schooling and education of the young learners of today.

Hopefully, our discussion will add to the existing literature setting the context for identifying the challenges and possibilities of using Indigenous science and local cultural resource knowledge of African peoples to ensure an endogenous and Indigenist development. The link between education and development is often assumed. However, the linkage needs to be theorized and operationalized and, particularly, the educational, social, cultural, spiritual and political dimensions that need to be properly fleshed out in the search for understanding the society-nature-culture nexus. By identifying key questions on Indigenist development and its related issues, our discussion will broach the challenges and possibilities of social theory and academic research in the search for relevant knowledge for understanding African development from an Indigenist perspective. It is important for us to highlight key questions (see also Dei, 2010): What is studying about Africa? Why study Africa? What does it mean to teach and research on Africa endogenous development? What is an Indigenist perspective to development as far as Africa is concerned? What knowledges and paradigms do we employ in such undertakings? How do we address distorted Eurocentric views of Africa? How do we interrogate "endogenous development" from an African-centered perspective? What are the contentions and contestations over tradition, modernity and knowledge production in post-colonial Africa? What are the politics of development, and the roles of science, culture, gender and local knowledge in such politics of education? How do we locate a discussion of Africa in a global/transnational contexts, particularly, in looking at themes common to many Southern peoples contending with, and resisting the effects of [neo]colonial and imperial knowledge? Among the specific topics, we encouraged contributions from: What is the philosophical and epistemological basis of local cultural resource knowledge for development? What are local understandings and conceptions of development? How do we tap into such wealth of local knowledge to promote genuine development for Africa? How can such knowledge be studied? How do we deal with issues of custodianship of local cultural resource knowledges? How can these knowledges be communicated across communities, including schools? What are the ethnic, gender, age, class, and intergenerational dimensions of these knowledge forms? How do we introduce these knowledges into the school science curriculum to promote an Indigenist African development? And, what is the link between education and development?

Following Wilson's (2007) use of "Indigenist", we define and conceptualize development as a process and practice informed by home grown, locally-informed and locally-driven human initiatives to satisfy local needs and aspirations through self-reliance, resource autonomy and ecological sustainability while respecting the fundamental freedoms and rights of all peoples and including collectivities. Local

definition and control of the development process is critical but more importantly the development practice works with a knowledge base grounded in local history and culture teaching of the Land and Mother Earth that are gained from long-term occupancy of a place. Indigenist development works with Indigenous perspectives that are "steeped in culture-specific paradigms" (Yankah, 2004, p. 26). This development takes as a starting point, the importance and centrality of local culture, history, Indigenous knowledges, the continuing forces of colonial history and relations as well as the role and implications of the nation state. It is 'development from within' that asks tough questions of the colonial and imperial order, on-going colonial relations, local complicities, as well as the implications of the nation state in the pursuit of the development agenda. Development is Indigenist to the extent that it emerges from a relationship to the Land as an important knowledge base while working with local cultural histories and identities, and utilizes what local peoples know as a sense of agency of those who are experiencing the development practice.

Development can be 'endogenous', locally contextualized and grounded. Development can even be seen as emerging from the local peoples' needs and aspirations and yet still working within a colonial and colonizing prism. We attribute such problem to the power of colonial education which can distort our imaginations and distort the realities of development. Development can start as being endogenous and end up inserting communities into a global capitalist hegemonic agenda, stripping local people's agency, their power of imagination and ability to design their own futures. Indigenist development while embracing the positive aspects of endogenous development (i.e., local culture and science, local initiatives, Indigenous knowledge, bottom-up and emerging 'development', etc.) further articulates a specific and distinct anti-colonial agenda. It is an anti-exploitation and imposition development agenda that sees "colonial" as more than "foreign" or "alien" but also inclusive of anything that is imposed or dominating along the lines of internal social dynamics. In effect, Indigenist development works with a theory of the "anti-colonial" as the understanding of colonial and re-colonial relations and their aftermath and the implications of imperial power on knowledge processes, interrogation and validation, the power of Indigenous, indigenousness and identity and the recourse to power, subjective agency and resistance (Dei and Asgharzadeh, 2001).

Indigenist development sees a link between local knowledge and development. In broaching the subject of Indigenous and local cultural knowledges and the relevance for African development, we take the discursive position that local knowings is crucial and relevant to implementing effective change. In the discussion, we use 'Indigenous' and 'local' interchangeably to denote the complexity, dynamism and variegated nature of knowledge systems. Local peoples and their knowledges must be centred in the search for solutions to development challenges and problems. Development must first proceed by critically interrogating, validating and utilizing relevant knowledges from local peoples' cultural histories, Indigenous traditions, culture and history as a starting base to devise solutions to current social problems. Indigenous knowledge emerges in the immediate context of the livelihoods of

local peoples as a product of a sustained process of creative thought and action within communities when local peoples struggle to deal with "ever changing set of conditions and problems" (Agrawal, 1995a:5). Such knowledge is never static nor frozen in place and time. It is dynamic and fluid, undergoing constant modifications as a people negotiate and come to terms with the complex relations with nature, land, culture and society. Indigenous knowledge is relevant to the extent that it addresses the needs of the community. While this knowledge is localised and context bound, it does mean it can be boxed in time and space and/or does not transcend boundaries. This knowledge like other knowledges borrows from other ways of knowing and does not claim a monopoly as to what constitutes knowledge. In many ways, the fluidity of such knowledge system gives it life and energy and it is knowledge that can be fallen upon to offer interpretations and explanation to suit emerging conditions.

We ask: How can we pursue development in ways that effectively help understand the ways cultures interact with one another and engage in issues of poverty, democracy and environment? We believe we can begin to engage this question by placing a central role for science and culture in the development process. We can engage science and culture as we seek to understand contemporary advances in knowledge creation, innovation and technologies of development. We take this position because as Gueye (1995) long time ago observed, Indigenous communities, for example, work with a specific cultural understanding that is centred around a particular conception of the world which assigns the human being a specific role around a certain representation of time and space which structures mentalities and behaviours. Such Indigenous conceptions of both culture and science shape peoples' thought and mental processes to offer social explanations.

The understanding of everyday social activity/practice within communities and nation states points to the importance of the science, culture and development. Just as culture is central to development so is science knowledge. The science of development can be the culture of development and vice versa. The challenge is how we define and understand science and culture to be useful for the development practice. Culture is a way of life guiding the norms, values, ideas of social practice. Culture is both material (artefacts/technologies) and non-material (knowledge/values). Science is basically a system of thought with shared reasoning and cultural logics. Arguably, Western science has generally been viewed as a methodological tool for understanding society. There are however different bodies of sciences each with its core principles and ideas that are and can be gainfully employed to help human society deal with its problems and challenges. As we point out in this book, there is also Indigenous science that also focuses on the understanding of the broad existential questions of life and existence. So, as we pursue a role for science and culture in development, we must connect Western and Indigenous sciences as legitimate each constituting knowledge systems. Each of the knowledge systems has its own fundamental principles and ideas (i.e., significant ontological, epistemological, and axiological questions) of knowledge that guide/regulate human

action and social practice, and as such, offer meanings and interpretations to social problems and challenges. Each of these sciences brings their particular histories, experiences and cultural reasonings to bear on the interpretation and understanding of the broad existential questions of society. They are each steeped in rich traditions of thought and social practice. Both of these sciences (Western and Indigenous) are connecting and help to address some fundamental challenges of contemporary society.

One such challenge is development. Development cannot be understood outside the realm of culture and science. Development can also not be achieved in the absence of science and scientific knowledge, including technologies. Where we take a departure from conventional thought is to argue that science and scientific knowledge must be embraced in all its diversity (e.g., Indigenous and Western, etc.) in order to arrive at development for all communities. We see development as a social possibility when we recognize the contributions of science and technology as inclusive of natural, biological, physical, metaphysical, as well as the different forms and expressions of technological knowledge utilized to offer practical solutions to daily encounters among communities. The latter will include not only Western scientific, industrial and technological advancements in the realm of dominant thought, but also Indigenous arts, crafts and technologies utilized by local artisans, craftsmen/craftswomen to provide basic necessities of life. The challenge is to be able to offer a connecting web of these different bodies of knowledge and to locally contextualize such knowledges to ensure that local peoples rightly identify and own the development process. It is through recognition of the local knowledge base as a starting point to development that local peoples can own the development process and practice. In this way, development is perceived as more than economic, technological and material, but also as inclusive of considerations of the social, spiritual and metaphysical. Such thinking also helps us to avoid binaries in our modes of thought, and begin to seek multiple action, logics and understandings of development.

For example, speaking about Indigenous knowledges does not, and should not necessarily commit one to a dichotomy between ‘Indigenous’ and ‘western knowledge’ (see Agrawal, 1995a, b). It is indeed a false dichotomy. Indigenous knowledge does not reveal a conceptual divide with ‘Western knowledge’ nor is it strictly in opposition to ‘Western’. The concept of ‘Indigenous’ is to be thought of in relation to Western knowledge. However, the conceptual and philosophical differentiation of such knowledge systems is both an intellectual and political act.

Political in that claiming such knowledge is for a decolonization purpose and to challenge the dominance of particular bodies of knowledge (e.g., Western science knowledge) masquerading as universal knowings. Intellectual in the sense of highlighting the philosophical differences that exist among knowledge systems (e.g., fact that Indigenous knowledges are about community, reciprocity, sharing and holism, while dominant forms of knowledge accentuate the core values of individual, rights, fragmentation, competiveness, individual ownership, etc.).

Perhaps more importantly, 'Indigenous' simply alludes to the power relations within which local peoples struggle to define and assert their own representations of history, identity, culture and place in the face of Western hegemonic ideologies. The interactions of different cultures and cultural knowledges have always been part of human reality and existence. Claiming Indigenous knowledge as a way of knowing in some ways different does not mean we do not have shared knowledge systems. Such understanding of different bodies of knowledge ought to be distinguished from an uncritical claim that what emerges from an articulation of two or more disparate elements as often constituting a new distinct form such that the former disparate elements [form] often lose their character, logics and identities. There is a degree of 'authenticity' to the Indigenous claim as not to be defined as pure, uncontaminated, untouched or pristine knowledge system. Such claim of authenticity alludes to the validity of such knowledge as tracing its origins to a place, Land and particular contexts. Of course, we adhere that there are moments and situations when we are presented with new and distinct elements as a result of these integration and synthesis of knowledges. In a culture, where there is hierarchy of knowings, it is prudent to be politically-informed by a project that holds on to what is unique about different bodies of knowledges.

In order to promote development, there is a need to integrate Indigenous science and Western science knowledge as a knowledge synthesis. This allows communities to tap the relative strength of multiple knowledge systems in a bid to find solutions to practical problems and challenges we face. In articulating a knowledge synthesis, we must be fully aware of the power relations and politics that shape all forms of knowledge including the processes of production, validation, interrogation and dissemination of knowledge. A synthesis of different knowledge systems must truly destabilize power relations that accord privilege to particular bodies of thought. Even if we acknowledge parallel bodies of knowledges, we must still challenge the dominance of certain bodies of knowledge and the tendency to devalue other bodies of thought and local communities. When development work dismisses Indigenous ways of knowing the whole approach to development practice can be alien to local communities. Similarly, when multiple knowledges are made to co-exist, the need to understand the appropriate sources of knowledge must also be upheld. Development practice must, therefore, confront the issue of knowledge appropriation and the tendency to universalize knowledges while speaking to a particular dominant body of knowledges. Western science is steeped in a particular culture of Europe. There is nothing wrong in making such claims and acknowledgments. But, we must not pretend that Western scientific knowledge is the only legitimate science worthy of pursuit in development practice. Furthermore, as Andreotti, Ahenakew and Cooper (2011; 42) have also noted in the "politics of knowledge synthesis", there is the real difficulty of working with Indigenous ways of knowing that do not fit the "parameters of acceptability established by so-called modern knowledge (Santos, 2007). This difficulty should caution against dismissing knowledges because they do not fit into our accepted norms, values and conventional wisdom of what is worthy

of development practice. This is the case when spirituality is never acknowledged in dominant thinking about development while on the other hand it can appropriately be argued that spirituality is the bedrock, the sub-structure upon which development in the Global South is anchored (Wangoola, 2000). Consequently, we cannot even hope to create a knowledge synthesis when Western science knowledge dismisses spirituality as a site of knowing.

Internationalization of development is generally perceived as mutually beneficial, and we may be right in explicitly aiming for this. But, in order for such development to be beneficial to all, African peoples need to decolonise and liberate ourselves form the mantra of Western development. We must simply see the benefits of development for all as a by-product of critical pedagogies of liberation as they require decolonisation. This collection presents some interesting and challenging readings that shed light of the dilemma and possibilities of African development for the 21st Century. Kola Raheem, Jophus Anamuah-Mensah and George Dei's jointly-authored paper sets the tone for the discussion. The essay is a succinct attempt to set an agenda for African development in the C21st interrogating what has become conventional analyses of development success and failures in Africa. The three co-authors offer a counter-visioning of development, one that locates local knowledge at the base of critical African development thought and practice. They note that "the development field is abound with a host of theoretical propositions or discursive frameworks as to how the objective and practice of development can be met within communities and nations". Unfortunately, many of these ideas and theoretical presuppositions have not resulted in genuine African development. Raheem, Anamuah-Mensah and Dei urge African scholars to continue to probe what really is development and to think through carefully how development can really come about. Their main thesis is that we need to affirm "the place and context of local Indigenous knowledge" in understanding local culture, sense of self, community, social interdependence and the pursuit of development goals.

George Dei and Jophus Anamuah-Mensah's essay on the coloniality of development situates the question of South-South cooperation as both resistance and counter to conventional development. The authors examine the possibilities of South-South dialogue and cooperation that could create the necessary conditions and pathways to development for Africa and the Global South. In this endeavour, Dei and Anamuah-Mensah situate the North in the discussion as a critique of dominant notions of development and also as part of a search for the best avenue for further opening up and creating an 'authentic dialogue" among Southern partners. The paper argues that the coloniality of development as we know it must be understood in terms of globalization of colonial and re-colonial relations of development, a new colonial dominant, the emergence of new Empire or Imperial Order in the image of a Southern power, and the persistence of human rights abuses as we promote development. To deal with the coloniality of development, any new "South – South Dynamics" must begin to understand history and contexts, highlight questions of strategic partnerships (their possibilities and challenges), a shift to a new geo-politics

that go beyond trade and economic relations. The paper also offers new theoretical insights in the debates around international exchange, highlighting the power and value of local and Indigenous knowledges in the search for collaborative solutions to decolonizing development. Dei and Anamuah-Mensah pinpoint particular anti-colonial struggles in myriad social contexts that show how co-operation has been sought among nations and communities in the search for genuine development. The paper then concludes looking at some possibilities going forward.

"Why Teach Social Studies from a Global and Multicultural Perspective?" by Augustine Quashigah brings an expanded view of development and education. While the paper is not focused directly on the question of "Africa development", it nonetheless has merits in debates about how education is and can be connected to global pursuits for human development as broadly defined. His thesis links development and global education. In looking at teaching social studies from global and multicultural perspectives and the possibilities for education and social transformation, the author notes that "a lot has also been written over the last thirty years or so about integrating global and multicultural perspectives in schools' curricular". Those who advocate teaching from global and multicultural perspectives see the world as an interrelated system. The paper shares a concern that in today's world "technological, ecological, economic, educational, political and developmental issues can no longer be adequately addressed by individual nations" except through a social collective action. Education pursued from a pluralistic perspective can help meet a global yearning to educate young learners to be able to deal with contemporary challenges such as violence, security, conflict and peace within the reality of collective existence. Quashigah is hopeful that a critical social studies education that embraces transformative pedagogy has some potential benefits for the advancing human society beyond the dictates of globalization.

Nina Moore looks at the impact of Me to We, specifically within Canadian schools. Founded and led by white middle-class brothers, Craig and Marc Kielburger's Me to We is a movement that encourages Western youth to "be the change" in the lives of those living in "third" world countries. While examining Me to We's role in African countries and Canada, the author examines the systemic denial of white and Western privilege and power bestowed upon yet another generation of Canadians that will fail to lead to effective change. The author highlights the Eurocentric principals that misdirect young well-intentioned volunteers. The shameless promotion of materialism, consumerism and corporate power are investigated and linked to the West's denial of responsibility of Africa's current struggles. The author bases her arguments on Me to We's embedded support of the single story of Africa and on the Western foreigner as "expert". Alternatives to counter these fallacies in African "development" are discussed.

Asabere-Ameyaw's essay, "Improving Education Standards in Africa: The Place of University of Education" is very interesting read. It pinpoints some crucial responsibilities of the African university of education, especially in the context and possibilities of globalization. While drawing attention to some of the unprecedented

challenges in African higher education, the author expresses some concern with and hope about how universities of education can become key players in the development of education through policy research and intellectual service vital for the continent's advancement. The paper broaches some key areas including the implications of the African university in improving educational standards, a need for critical curriculum changes to students' academic success, teacher education and training, professional development of teachers, research and development, policy development and planning, all within the context of a re-conceptualized 'university of education' in Africa.

The paper, "The Contributions of Continuous Assessment to the Improvement of Students' Learning of Junior High School Science: A Case of Ghana" by Mawuadem Amedeker, is replete with some revealing statistical accounts. The author argues that a major education reform in Ghana in the 1980s saw the introduction of continuous assessment as part of students' assessment in the basic schools. The general belief is that such assessment measures are potent for improving teacher performance in the classroom, and subsequently students' learning outcome. Since its inception, continuous assessment has been extended to assessment systems at all levels of education, including the second cycle and tertiary level institutions. Interestingly, continuous assessment has continued to be implemented in the basic schools mainly for summative purposes with little or no benefit to teachers and students. The paper presents hard data on the continuous assessment practices of science teachers at the junior high schools in two education districts in Ghana to determine its current status and quality [employing a teacher questionnaire (n = 158); interviews with teachers (n = 6), students (n = 24), teacher educators (n = 2) and education officers (n = 5); policy and curriculum document analysis; as well as, samples of students' exercises to collect baseline data on the implementation of continuous assessment]. The findings reveal that the teachers have limited training in continuous assessment and organise continuous assessment as a series of frequent short tests, giving little or no feedback on students' exercises. The majority of teachers were found to have limited experience of integrating assessment and instruction. It is opined that the current quality of continuous assessment in the schools portrays a teacher-centred approach that lacks a focus on using assessment to promote students' science learning. These are new challenges that were not anticipated in the introduction of the continuous assessment. Amedeker suggests that the new challenges may be confronted with rigorous training of teachers in the skills of designing student-centred continuous assessments that are integrated with teaching for promoting students' science learning.

In his second piece in the collection on: "Enhancing Scientific Literacy of the African Learner – Possibilities and Challenges", Akwasi Asabere-Ameyaw reflects on some critical questions: How do we account for the fact that a number of young African learners are adverse to science? How is science taught? What constitutes science knowledge? How do we promote a holistic view of science to enhance

science learning for the African youth? The author brings a holistic view to science as encompassing Western science knowledge and local science knowledge in the interrogation of the ways science is generally conceived in many African schools and the importance of science for youth education. Exploring some of the socio-cultural background factors, language issues and students attitudes and how they mitigate against science learning the author points to more fitting direction for change in science education that will promote the cause of African development.

Solomon Faris paper is an autoethnographic research that examined the different forms of resistance and tension that occur in a backdrop of a conscious effort to build a science education founded on local spiritual and cultural values. As part of decolonizing curriculum this autoethnography engaged students, science teachers, parents, employers, curriculum experts, policymakers, elders, and religious leaders in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The idea and practice of secular government and secular education including the religious diversity within the nation have been found some of the causes of tension in the building of indigenous curriculum. This chapter presents in detail the forms of resistance and some ways to counter them. The engagement of key concepts such as resistance, tension, spiritual, cultural values, science education serves to offer food for thought for rethinking educational practice in science to contribute to African development.

Chelsea Han Bin's paper examines the theoretical and methodological limitations of food security scholarship. The case study of hunger in Ghana in the aftermath of the 2007 global food crisis illustrates how the Ghanaian government has been perceived as the primary agent to address the issue of food security. The centrality of the Ghanaian government in food security implies that official development assistance has been instrumental in bolstering the government capacity to implement programs that reduce hunger. Indeed, aid is an indispensable component of solutions to hunger, as 20 percent of Ghanaian government's revenue derived from official development assistance from foreign governments in 2007. Since Ghana is expected to obtain the status of middle-income country, foreign aid has been gradually dwindling. The paper evaluates how the prospect of scaling down foreign assistance operations may have negative repercussions on the capacity of the Ghanaian government to maintain and expand food security programs in the future.

Jennifer Jagire examines the case of Indigenous women science teachers of Tanzania touching on questions of power and knowledge read through the lens of women farmers as science teachers. It is argued that Indigenous African women are most often written as "powerless, exploited, oppressed, uneducated farm wives, invisible, etc". Jagire elucidates the gendered roles of Indigenous African women in Tanzania as science teachers of the community, conservations, and custodians of invaluable knowledge necessary for development. In fact, her discussion highlights the visibility of Indigenous African women pointing to their powerful grassroots contributions whose knowledge is enriched by traditional training, oral cultural knowledge, practical field experience and the established ways of

transmitting local cultural resource knowledge for community development. Aman Sium, Anamuah-Mensah and George Dei in their chapter on African Governance explore fundamental questions such as: what do Indigenous political structures and practices mean in/to Africa today? How has Indigenous governance historically engaged with and been engaged by the African state? How can we situate intersecting questions of Indigeneity and decolonization in reforming the African state? In this paper the co-authors employ Indigenous knowledges and an anti-colonial discursive framework to answer two primary questions. First, what are the common core principles of Indigenous governance in Africa? We see it as important to theorize Indigenous governance as both a *site* (village, regional and national assemblies, regulatory bodies) and a *practice* (guiding principles, songs, dance, storytelling, proverbs, morals and ethical teachings). These principles are revealed through case studies that span both time and space, while moving away from the Eurocentric categorization of time into 'pre' and 'post' colonial periods, and recognizing the pervasive nature of Indigenous knowledges in transcending these categories. Second, the co-authors briefly consider the pedagogical possibilities and limitations of pursuing a synthesis of state and Indigenous governance. What is advocated here can be summarized as a more culturally rooted form of African governance that is historically produced, locally tested, and draws its legitimacy from a diffused leadership rather than professionalized elite. The joint authors work from the premise that the African state is itself an embattled institution that lacks widespread legitimacy and cultural resonance with African peoples. Clearly, the goal of their essay is not to advocate the strengthening of Indigenous governance *in place of* the state model, but to advocate its strengthening *in spite of* it. We do not believe reformist and revolutionary strategies are always antithetical. There are spaces where the two intersect and overlap. Even reformist strategies of governance can help us find new frameworks to move beyond the state model. We understand this project to be, primarily, a question of political development and located within the broader body of development studies.

Finally, we cannot write about African development and not link it with issues of the African Diaspora. Isaac Darko illustrates one of the ways African development is linked to the struggles of other marginalized groups around the world. Using the Canadian experience, the work specifically looks at how African immigrants or Diasporan African could collaborate with Indigenous Aboriginal communities in resisting prevailing imperialist tendencies. The paper sets off by establishing the relevance of solidarity and establishing the importance of not just talking but acting. Darko uses the shared histories as well as the same or similar values and perspective shared between Africans and Aboriginal people, as bases for arguing for solidarity and collaboration. By this, spirituality and the whole colonial experience become significant, historical and cultural roadmap for present and future actions and decisions. It also establishes the importance of solidarity as it offers a greater chance at decolonization, deconstructing, interrogating, and challenging existing imperial

and colonial oppressive policies and knowledge that turns to negate and devalue the importance of Indigenous peoples' knowledge and culture.

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K. RAHEEM, J. ANAMUAH-MENSAH & G.J.S. DEI

1. RE-THINKING DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH THEORIES FOR AFRICA

Issues in the 21st Century?

INTRODUCTION

> "A concept is neither true nor false, only propositions are. A concept is neither valid nor invalid, only arguments." (G. Bergman, The Philosophy of Sciences, 1957, p.50)

Development and growth theories abound, especially for the economic development of developing/third World countries since the 1960s. The strong and common notion during that period, and even now, is that the development of Africa, for example, has to follow the same processes (economically, educationally, politically and environmentally) which the Western countries, known as more "developed" or "industrialized countries", went through. Rostow (1960) in his book seemed to suggest that the only way for any nation to develop is to follow the "path" taken by the industrialized western countries. The development field has since then been swarmed with a host of theoretical propositions or discursive frameworks as to how the objective and practice of development can be met within communities and nations. Many of these scholarly positions on development particularly in the Global South have engaged the already existing extensive literature, while seeking to explore to expand upon the conceptual underpinnings of "development". Clearly, if the success of development is to be measured in terms of the sheer volume of academic writings, then there will be no problem. There is simply too much that has been written about development such that for anyone to claim that he or she is rethinking 'development' or 'growth' theories is no longer perceived as holding the possibilities of some creative scholarly and professional work. Unfortunately, many of these writings, ideas and presuppositions of development have not materialized in the concrete lives of ordinary peoples in the African case at least, even with their 'adoption' of western development system. Globalization, which has created what Hobsbawm (1994) long ago termed 'the age of extremes', has added to the complexity of development. Is it then even possible to reinstate a proper and effective counterforce to replace what Awoonor (2006) sees as the "historical political counter force to Western hegemony" that has been eliminated since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989? But we cannot give up. So our aim should be to continue to try to resolve the problems which Fanon

A. Asabere-Ameyaw et al., Indigenist African Development and Related Issues, 15–26.

(1965) said "Europe has not been able to find the answers" (p. 253) and which Africa has also not been able to resolve.

As African scholars and critical thinkers, we need to constantly probe what really is development and how development can really come about. We need to trace the place and context of local knowledge in understanding local culture, sense of self, community, social interdependence and the pursuit of sustainable development. It is such understanding that could positively restructure the African educational, scientific, political and socio-economic systems for genuine and sustainable development. This paper attempts to set an agenda for African development in the 21st Century by interrogating some of the conventional analyses of development. We suggest a counter-visioning that locates local knowledge at the base of development practice.

FAILED DEVELOPMENT?

It is generally felt that Africa is a case of development 'failure'. This is contentious to some extent when we simply use the word "modernization" as a synonym for "development" (Bendix, 1967) focusing on the failures and not pay attention to how rural peoples resist and survive the global onslaught. But the fact is, while we may quibble with how development is understood and conceptualized, there are pressing legitimate challenges that confront the continent in the 21st Century. Most of the colonized African countries got their independence more than fifty years ago. However, the dreams and aspirations of African peoples for just and fair world, where all are able to actualize their lives and aspirations are still to be met. Among the challenges the continent faces are food supply and security, water, oil and gas, health and education, rising debts, effective governance and environmental sustainability to mention a few.

This paper suggests, however, that if we begin to reframe the discussion about what constitutes development and focus instead on what local peoples know best through their cultural resource base, we may perhaps embark upon a different discourse about African development (see also Dei, 2010). Let us start from our own cultural knowledge base to see what these offer in our understanding of development. For far too long, we have shed our culture and local knowledge and assumed development presented to us through a foreign lens with theoretical arguments that have simply not worked for African peoples. This is why Africa is still faced with serious crises in the education, health, environment and technology sectors. We need a new mindset that acknowledges that African development cannot be imposed but must be from the ground and local peoples themselves.

Africa is usually seen as a continent that has no scientific knowledge or background except the one introduced by the Western world. But recently, the scientific materials by the Centre for School and Community Science and Technology Studies (SACOST) in the University of Education, Winneba, Ghana, for teaching and learning in the Ghanaian schools show that there are many Indigenous activities

which have scientific concepts relevant for formal school education in science (see Anamuah-Mensah, Asabere-Ameyaw, Dennis and Aiduenu 2008). We must learn from everyday practices and see the possibilities, challenges and failures and work from there forward. The so-called developed countries, claiming and monopolizing scientific knowledge, are on their way to "disaster" if the current state of material overconsumption, environmental abuse and social inequities among its peoples continue unabated. With a few exceptions, generally, the Global North offers dubious lessons in material greed, obscene material acquisitions, and major aspects of technological advances which are all NOT what true development is about. For African peoples, we must reclaim our spiritual sense of self, spirit and souls, learn more about what it means to be human, to become community members responsible to each other, to have a sense of reciprocity, to learn to share what we have and to appreciate nature and protect our lands.

Early theories of development saw it in a linear direction of progression of human history. Consequently, it was argued that Africa will follow the West/Europe to 'development' (Rostow, 1960). In his book, Rostow (1960) posited that there are five stages to growth/development i.e. traditional society, precondition for take-off, take-off stage, drive to maturity and finally age of mass consumption. This is what many have termed 'catch up' development. This linearity was the justification for the proposition for Africa to steep herself in Western values, ideas and technologies of development. For example, the infusion of Western capital was seen as a done deal for development to occur. Capital accumulation prerequisite for development is to take off absence of such capital infusion. African will be lost in the wilderness. But it was not just the infusion of capital, but also, regulation of such capital. Among the prescription for development were trade liberation, open market reforms, entrenched roles for the private sector and a need for African governments to cut down on state redundancies (e.g., retrenchment of the workforce). The development agenda was planned and executed through an export-led development prism (see also, Valenzuela and Valenzuela 1981; Naanen 1984). This has led to the present day practice of underdevelopment economy, which is also dependency economy, in Africa which Schatz (1984) termed "pirate capitalism".

Resistance to such development thinking came in the form of an open acknowledgement and critique of existing colonial relations among nations as power saturated, exploitative and as constitutive of an unequal distribution of global wealth, resource power and prestige. The unevenness of development secured its foothold in the context of an unequal international division of labor and terms of trade. Africa and the Global South were deemed primary producers while the West would become the home of industrial products. Even today most African countries have not shed the tentacles of primary producers of the world's raw materials. Centre-periphery linkages were about resource extraction and uneven development. Metropolis satellite nations would exploit the rich resources of the peripheries (see Frank 1966, 1967a & b; Galtung, 1971; Wallerstein 1974; and Amin 1974, 1976). Later refinement of the dependency thesis would focus on the internal dynamics

of production (modes and relations of production) around which issues of class, gender, ethnicity and other forms of social difference would suffice not only as sites of difference but sites of power and asymmetrical relations of power.

IDENTIFYING THE PROBLEM AND INTERROGATING THE LITERATURE

Unfortunately, almost all attempts to promote African development has been mired in the colonialist approach to development without a critical examination of how Africa can search for its own path to development through its past, culture, tradition and indigenous knowledge. In effect, critiques of development have not been informed by a 'thinking outside the box'. For example, long ago, Adeboye (1997) noted Africa as "locked in a development tragedy" and yet still holds the possibilities of extricating itself from the development malaise. The author acknowledged what is conventional wisdom on African development pointing to a "growing consensus" that sees science and technological innovation as critical for rapid economic development. What is not clear is what kind of innovation we are speaking about. Adeboye (1997) discusses current models of development arguing that they each have far-reaching implications and consequences for Africa. In examining "three dominant models of innovation that can be characterized as the US, the European (or early industrial revolution) and the development-driven models respectively" (p. 2), Adeboye (1997) opines these innovations are respectively technological advances first, "fuelled by highly qualified scientists, engineers and technologists and is sustained by large research and development spending derivative of the mission-oriented aerospace armaments efforts of the US government"; second, by the multi-billion development environment of "shared technical culture which produces a large number of practical and trained entrepreneurs and workforces and an educational system that is biased towards hands-on technical apprenticeship, vocational and technological training" (p. 2). In this second model of development innovation, the emphasis is on the cultivation of "broad tacit skills", the effective "learning of new skills, in a nation where there is intense interaction among the entrepreneur, the workforce, the customers and other producers". The third model is a "vision model… based largely on the transfer, adoption, adaptation of existing knowledge" (p.2). Education and training is key to this model of development in that "the ability to learn, use and adapt new knowledge" is the engine of growth. Research and development is a key component of this model.

However, the educational system introduced by the colonial Western countries to the developing countries, especially in Africa, 'suppressed' the existing indigenous knowledge (Freire, 1971). Instead of allowing the schools to be based on cultural and traditional knowledge of the Africans, the colonial schools sought to 'destroy' the indigenous educational system in Africa and replaced it by a system that did not encourage indigenous scientific activities, and indeed stopped such activities. For example, indigenous industries based on local scientific and technological knowledges were not considered, or even banned; i.e. making of local indigenous

medicines, house-building materials, alcoholic beverages, arms and ammunitions, etc. Such were replaced by those imported from the 'mother countries'. The type of science and technology education established in the African colonies was exploitative and exclusionist. The formal colonial school system was seen as an end in itself and thereby taken to be education in its totality; that means a school system that does not take into perspective the reality of the society, and thus made the people's culture irrelevant. The cultural and home activities of the people do not have any influence on the school system. This we argue to be the greatest undoing of the education sector in the present day Africa. In any case, colonial policies were not meant to be altruistic or favor the colonized (see also Fanon, 1965 and 1967, Rodney, 1972, Aina 1995). Myrdal (1968) clearly stated that education is a powerful instrument of social control. The colonial school systems in Africa were focused on producing people who would become "outstanding clerks" (see Awo, 1960), enterprises in which the operations needed no technical skills. Today in the independent Africa countries, science and technology education is neutral and indifferent. Hence African scientists, products of the colonial schools, have not been able to successfully adapt and use the new knowledge they obtained from such schools. What we presently have in the African countries is what we can term 'dependency school system (DSS)' which does not recognize the outside-of-school training and activities that make a holistic education (see also Raheem, 1980).

Bryceson and Bank (2001) write of the "end of an era" arguing that "the new century is witnessing a shift in African policy discourse from neo-liberalism, with its unshakeable belief in the benefits of market optimisation, to what might best be called 'post-modern liberalism' with a professed commitment to poverty-alleviating welfare measures and backpedalling on African prospects in world markets". He notes that there is an emerging discourse counter to neo-liberalism that alludes to 'livelihoods' and 'linkages' as key concepts in the coalescing discourse of poverty awareness (p.6). The problem in poverty alleviation is understood in terms of matching what the West has acquired and of course with this kind of understanding as a point of departure in 'attacking' poverty in Africa, poverty is likely to increase and extended in another form. This is because the West will continue to strongly protect its exploitative roles of science and technology and dictate the pace of development and growth for Africa.

In his discussion about factors accounting for the 'development deficit" in Africa, Mistry (2005) takes to task the effectiveness of development aid arguing that aid "has not worked because human, social, and institutional capital – not financial capital-poses the biding constrain "(p. 665). It is observed that the "aid's community current obsession with poverty reduction and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) may be harming rather than helping the cause of development in Africa and. .[that]…. the focus on growth and development should be restored" (p. 665). The question should be how do we harness Africa tremendous human, social and institutional capital for development to take off and not be asking for "hand out" or going around with a cup in hand to reduce poverty. Human capital is about knowledge, power and

leadership. As long as the basis for development aid is to *reduce poverty*, and not to *eradicate* it, it will continue to be difficult to attack poverty from the roots.

There continues to be a lack of progressive leadership able to stir Africa away to a genuine path of development. Gottschalk and Schmidt's (2003) essay highlights some of the major problems afflicting the African Union (AU). It is noted that the AU's decision in 2002 to adopt the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) as a development program subordinated NEPAD to the AU. It is argued that both NEPAD and the AU can be regarded as unprecedented developments in Africa, whether sub-Saharan or North, but to meet its challenge, AU and the goals of NEPAD must engage the "continent-wide Indigenous initiatives providing the continent with a vision for Africa in the twenty-first century. The problem as the authors see it is that there is a general "lack of resources, leading to weak institutions and insufficient capacities" (p. 3).

Not many would dispute that development thrives in a climate of peace and security. But what is not properly theorised is what constitutes the mechanisms to arrive at peace and security informed by local understanding of human and community relations. Udombana (2005) examination of African conflicts "in the light of the refurbished continental organization, the AU, and the new development agenda-NEPAD" (p.1) only leads to a lament of the "reiterated failure and incessant peril" of development as we know it. The author questions what these "new bodies (e.g., AU, NEPAD) have to offer in tackling the problem of conflicts in Africa". In offering suggestions to address some of the conflicts in Africa, Udombana (2003) advises the leaders of these new creatures to put the problem of conflicts on the front burner of their continental development agenda, because peace and security are the keys to the restoration of the continent's greatness and glory (p.1). It is rightly asserted that "there will always be economic and social development anywhere that there is internal and external peace and security" (p.1). But in the absence of working with Indigenous understandings of reciprocity, shared existence and community belonging to any attempts at conflict resolution will be half hearted.

In recent years, there have been attempts to link development to good governance. Good governance is about political leadership, service and management of community affairs in ways that ensure all legitimate stakeholders duly recognize their roles in the political and economic process. Political instability, incompetence and mismanagement have been cited as part of the mitigating factors to African development. However, the sort of governance that is being touted as a panacea to Africa's woes is Western liberal democracy and political participation which simply heralds political involvement such as participation in free and fair elections in a climate of multi-partyism. The hard truth is that the Western liberal democracy will not succeed for decades to come in Africa unless it is adapted to seriously consider the indigenous political, social and economic ways of the people.

Globalization has very much changed the direction of governance and leadership in most of the Global South. The corruption of the political process is such that motivation for involvement in politics are driven more by selfish ends. Szeftel's

(2000) essay is helpful in theorising any link between governance and [under] development. The paper explores "aspects of the tension between, on the one hand, international efforts by multilateral and bilateral creditors and aid donors to reduce corruption in developing countries and, on the other, the role played by political corruption in promoting local accumulation of wealth, property and capital in Africa". Globalization and democracy have been presented as intertwined. Yet, the rewards of globalization are distributed unevenly. Countries may be rewarded by the international financial community to the extent that national economies are fully integrated into the capitalist economy. Globalization, notwithstanding any benefits, has come at a price. Szeftel (2000) argues the "process of globalisation includes a concerted effort to reduce the costs and increase the predictability of international business activities, [and that] the effort has been particularly directed at countries undergoing economic restructuring and democratic change" (p. 287). It is conceded that "the weak bargaining position of African states, where debt and underdevelopment make dependence on international creditors and aid donors especially acute" has had a resultant or cumulative effect of "variety of direct, unsubtle pressures to force these states to undertake 'governance' reforms" (p.287). The sad aspect is that while many of these measures of incorporating national economies into the Western capital modernity purport to address important problems undermining African development, they also actually intensify the nature and extent of political corruption as an acute African problem. If Africa is to embrace the link of governance and development, then it must also be understood that genuine African development can only occur by working with Indigenous understandings of governance, political participation and the matching social and citizenship responsibilities.

In similar a vein, many are quick to point to the problem of brain drain as a major contributory factor to the lack of development in African countries. While the problem of brain drain has been much talked about as an obstacle to Africa's development, there has not been a corresponding attention paid to how to stem this tide in Africa's favour. There is no doubt that brain drain robs Africa of some bright talents, competencies and expertise to think through home grown solution to our own problems. Sako (2002) enthuses "the phenomenon [of brain drain] represents a major development constraint" because "brain drain challenges capacity building, retention of skilled workers, and sustained growth on the continent" (p. 252). It is noted that "unless it is effectively addressed, the flight of skilled professionals and academics from Africa will severely undermine prospects of gains expected from implementing the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) initiative (p. 25). To understand the complex nature of the problem we must also examine first what shapes the frame of thinking of many African scholarly experts on development and second, how Africa's own experts and expertise are under-privileged and under-utilised compared to the high regard for foreign expatriates and their skills and expertise. We however, at this stage think that 'brain drain' may be an infused-instrument added to the pool of methods used to perpetuate the inequality among nations.

NEPAD has been seen by some as presenting Africa's best hope for "achieving sustained growth alongside good governance". Alex De Waal (2002) starts a discussion with a brief, critical overview of NEPAD governance processes. It leads him to conclude that while NEPAD modestly "holds out the promise of transforming Africa's development prospects" the organization faces major constrains primarily given its ambitious core activities…. [and urges NEPAD]….. to scale back and focus on some essential core activities….(p. 463). He highlights these core activities as "necessary to sustain development and governance in the face of HIV/AIDS pandemic, matching its aspirations to the financial and human resource and institutional capacities in Africa today" (p. 464). The problem is that we are putting too much hope into NEPAD when it is framed by expert scholarly thinking very situated within the Western global capital paradigm and agenda of what constitutes development.

Perhaps it may be argued that local co-operation among African governments and nation states holds true possibilities for genuine African development for the future. Gibb (2009) observes Africa's cooperation with new and emerging development partners and posit some of the options for Africa's development. It is argued that the "increasing engagement in Africa of emerging development partners is broadening the options for growth in the continent and presents real and significant opportunities for the development of African countries, including particularly, for implementation of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals". Furthermore, it is argued that "in the light of the prevailing global economic and financial crisis, this new cooperation becomes even more significant (p.2). Such regional and national cooperation can begin at the level of local communities in Africa utilising their own knowledge base, local creativity and resourcefulness to think through solution to their own problem (see also Dei, 2010). Clearly, development must tap into the available human resources and skills potential in Africa. Africa is not a homogenous entity. Social difference within local populations constitutes a strength that can be tapped into to enrich the collective existence. But we need a form of schooling and education that work with local cultural values in shaping the minds of our learners.

Bates (2000) work on "ethnicity and development in Africa" is useful in helping to critique the conventional wisdom by mounting an alternative interpretation to the strengths of difference and diversity. Using both qualitative and quantitative data from Africa, he argues that (i) by providing political structures that render credible implicit contracts between generations, ethnic groups promote the formation of human capital; and (ii) ethnic diversity does not imply political violence (although the reverse may be true) (p. 131) but constitute a rich reservoir of knowledge and human capital to be tapped into. There is much to say for development that taps the richness of our cultural, ethnic.

Of late, Africa has been seeking international economic partnerships outside of the major Western powers to promote development. Yet, these partnerships come with their own problems. Bracking and Graham (2003) explore some of the "complicated effects of growth and production economies in Africa as new ways imperialism has

reared its heard creating social inequities". Imperial relations have a long history in Africa. In fact, Bracking and Graham (2003) note that imperialism has come to encompass different meanings to the extent that "one has to clarify what one means by imperialism before using the term. Imperialism has a much longer history than its contemporary pretender, 'globalisation' (p.6). New imperial forces in Africa can mask their activities in the development as simply about benevolence and a desire to assist or help.

China has become a major player in Africa. Davies (2010), for example, discusses how the global financial crisis is "accelerating China's investment in Africa, a region that is becoming more important to Chinese firms that are beginning to venture out into the global economy". In particular, the author poses three significant questions with implications for the sustainability of Africa's development: "What contribution will China have on industrialization efforts in Africa? Does China's concessional finance model offer a new mode of developmental finance for Africa's extractive industries? And, will China's investment in infrastructure on the continent assist regional integration of African economies? Answers to these three questions should provide an overview of the impact China will have on the long term developmental prospects of Africa.

We would reiterate that a more effective approach to African development must start from within, what Africa peoples know best, and working with our own culture, environments and local knowledge base. We can begin by thinking about our local knowledges differently and find ways to educate and teach local peoples ways we can apply local understanding to solve pressing human problems. African schools, colleges and universities have a tremendous responsibility here in shaping the minds of learners. We can apply our local knowledges to the contemporary times. In his excellent work on *Sacred Ecology,* Berkes (2008) examines bodies of knowledge held by Indigenous cultures globally and asks how we can learn from this knowledge and ways of knowing. Berkes (2008) exploration of the" importance of local and Indigenous knowledge as a complement to scientific ecology and its cultural and political significance for Indigenous groups themselves" (p.1) is significant. Indigenous knowledges have their component in science, mathematics, technology, arts, humanities and literatures. This brings a broader understanding to "social ecology".

SETTING THE DEVELOPMENT AGENDA

We have attempted to show that there is need to re-interrogate the existing concepts and theories of development and growth for socio-economic and political development, especially in Africa. Thomas Malthus in his book, An Essay on the Principle of Population (1798) raised some concerns about population growth as it might affect socio-economic development. Factually, the present economic crises all over the world can be attributed to what Malthus pointed out as the reckless interactions of human systems with the earth. Among these reckless interactions is also the reckless exploitation of humans by humans; the slave trade, colonialism, capitalism, corruption, etc. On the other hand,

the development and growth theorists focused on the steps of what they understand as 'development for all'. There are two issues we shall attend to here.

Firstly, we can say that the concerns raised by Malthus have become more real in the present century; almost four Centuries from the time he wrote his book. However, we can say that it is because of the one part of the world, the West, which has driven the rest of the world to a disastrous development. Within the three centuries from the time Malthus wrote his book the Western countries intensively exploited the rest of the world, especially Africa, through colonialism, capitalism, pseudo socialism and imperialism all in the name of leading the less developed countries towards development. On the contrary, however, it was a steep road to underdevelopment. While the population was effectively controlled in the West, the Western economic system encouraged African countries to become more chaotic by rapid population growth, more rapid exportation of their raw materials and cheap labor.

Secondly, the limits of growth have also become a reality. The accumulation of wealth by the Western countries in the past two centuries has come to the climax and now crumbling the world economy. We are now faced with the reality that no matter how much you control the population growth, a ferocious exploitation of natural resources will surely make it impossible for sustainable development, either in the north or south of the globe. The most negatively affected is the southern part of the globe because they are lacking in what we termed 'cultural technology'. This is a situation where the technology in use is either wrongly adapted or adopted resulting in its irrelevance for the everyday living of the society.

Presently, the terms colonialism, capitalism, socialism and imperialism are no more targets for discussions because other succinct methods, which are even more disastrous than the terms mentioned, are being used to promote perpetual dependency economy, chaotic copy of Western democracy and educational and judicial systems. These are in form of factories that do not manufacture/produce, schools that teach abstractly and thereby produce unmarketable graduates, judicial systems that rely on Western laws and democracy that are alien to Africa and thereby promotes a wider gap between the rich and the poor in the societies (see also Myrdal, 1957; Hoogvelt, 1978). The outcome of the school systems in Africa confirms that even though the science students in the African schools learn science and mathematics, they however, perform very badly. The health, sanitation and environmental standards in almost all the countries in Africa are too low for positive development. In short, the so called modern development systems in Africa seem to be incapable of gearing the continent towards sustainable socio-economic development.

CONCLUSION

In a forthcoming book, Eweagwali and Dei (In press) note that "our ancient civilizations bore sophisticated knowledge systems deeply embedded in local culture and social politics and that our local/Indigenous knowledges reside in us and in our cultural memories" (see also Dei, 2000). The authors stress that through

time such knowledges far from being abandoned have actually been transformed local communities as they adapt their cultural knowings to solve pressing social problems. These knowledges are not just simply the ownership of African peoples. It is knowledge that is connected to the Land, local environments (social, physical and metaphysical) and to culture and everyday politics. Unfortunately, what we are witnessing today particularly among the youth and a number of African intellectuals is the devaluing and dismissal of such local cultural knowings as superstitions, myths and mythologies. On the other hand, while Western science knowledge has borrowed and appropriated such local cultural knowledges to suit its purposes, there has been a downright denigration of such knowings as science or knowledge in the African countries. Instead, we need to trouble our conventional understandings of what constitutes knowledge and how such knowledges should be produced, interrogated, validated and disseminated. We must move away from narrow definitions of science to acknowledge the important place of Indigenous science in academic scholarship and everyday practice (see Asabere-Ameyaw, Dei, and Raheem, 2012). Africa must not be contended with the theories of development and growth presented to her but, according to Frantz Fanon (1967) referring to the Third World in general, "ought to do their utmost to find their particular values and methods and a style which shall be peculiar to them" (p.78). It is therefore postulated that more studies interrogating the development and growth theories should be revisited.

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G.J.S. DEI & J. ANAMUAH-MENSAH

2. THE COLONIALITY OF DEVELOPMENT

Reframing South-South Co-Operation and Resistance

INTRODUCTION

Among the much-heralded conceptual terms in the development literature, one would be hard to find the word 'development' left unchallenged. For many, 'development' has become a term of much contention. This paper acknowledges this fact. However, we argue that rather than discard the term as some mal-development theorists may argue, what is most appropriate is to work with it by bringing a more critical gaze to our search for genuine development options for Africa and, in fact, the Global South. We begin this chapter with more questions than answers (see also Dei, 2011). As African scholars and students of the Global South, how do we speak and address the "coloniality of Western-style development" so as to offer genuinely Indigenous-centred options of development? How do we think through viable options for development for the Global South in order to challenge what appears to be a more scripted development defined by the dictates of global capital and neo-liberalism? What are the possibilities of South-South dialogue and cooperation that could create the necessary conditions and pathways to development for Africa and the Global South? Given the colonial legacy of North- South relations how could South-South partnership be a viable transformative alternative to current global power structure? How do we create a genuinely "New International Economic Order"? What are the possibilities and limitations of BRICS – Brazil, India, China, Russia, South African partnerships and leadership in helping to design futures for the Global South? How does the ever-changing global power dynamic affect critical work for transformation of our societies? Are we theoretically prepared to capture the promises and the perils of these emerging global power dynamics? If the new South-South dynamic is in part about creating "a world community" how do we work with differences [broadly defined] and develop a shared and collective consciousness and social action for the South? How do we situate the North in this discussion? What would be the best avenue for further opening up and creating an 'authentic dialogue' among Southern partners? Are there lessons for the North to guide us?

These questions are not posed as mere intellectual exercise. We must begin to think of how anti-colonial approaches to development discourse can further the cause or facilitate the project of "authentic dialogue" in the first place beginning with the respect of sovereignty of nation states to "seek development" on their

A. Asabere-Ameyaw et al., Indigenist African Development and Related Issues, 27–47.

own terms. This does not mean what one does in their own backyard is no other's business. Of course, such development will have to address social justice issues and rights abuses within nation states. But we must bring to the table an important recognition of the need to address and respond to the challenge of continuing Northern complicity, meddling and complacency in the development for the Global South. The Global South is still mired in the colonial legacy being perpetuated in dominant discourse of North- South relations. There are interesting intellectual takes of how the on-going colonial legacy of imperial development is being perpetuated in current discourses of development whether in North - South relations or even in South - South partnerships (see also Bangura, 2010; Rosenbaum and Tyler, 1975; Ravenhill, 2001; Alden and Vieira, 2005; Aguilar, 2010; Bearak, 2010; and Jiabao, 2011). In fact, what appear to be progressive initiatives of South-South cooperation are still steeped in colonial discourses that have historically shaped the pursuit of "development". What comes to mind are the activities of Southern emerging powers such as China in African countries relating to the control and exploitations of oil and gas, looking to the South for trade investments, searching for 'new' markets for industrial products, entanglements of continuing debt crisis, questions of environment degradation, the intensity of human rights abuses, governance and immigration issues (see Rosenbaum and Tyler, 1975; Ravenhill, 2001; Alden and Vieira, 2005; and Aguilar, 2010;).

As noted elsewhere (Dei, 2010), there exists a good amount of critical literature offering social, political, economic, and knowledge critique of what has constituted 'development'. For example, in his critique of the "myth of development", Tucker (1999) notes that "the model of development now widely pursued is part of the problem rather than the solution".....and that this Western ideology of development..... "distorts our imagination, limits our vision, [obscuring] us to the alternatives that human ingenuity is capable of imagining and implementing" (p.1). In order to imagine new possibilities, Southern peoples must deconstruct the myth of development using local and Indigenous cultural knowings. This is a knowledge-based critique of development. A fundamental challenge facing African development is to unravel how Eurocentrism continues to cast a "dominant shadow over development studies" Munck, (1999: 198; see also Sardar, 1999). Similarly, Sachs (1992:5) long ago noted how many so-called development studies and practice have been caught "in a Western perception of reality". The negative consequential effect of conventional development has led to a counter positioning of anti-development as Indigenous and local peoples struggles for new cultural, economic and political imaginings and imaginaries. Clearly, it is not heard to see that much of on-going intellectual discussion on 'development' is caught in the dominant paradigms of Western thinking. This paradigm is so powering that it seeks to overpower other perspectives. Alternative visions and counter theoretical perspectives of development even struggle to disentangle from the dominance of the Eurocentric paradigm. The challenges for critical scholars of the Global South is to begin to think through our own concepts and approaches for development and avoid an easy, quick and

appealing slippage into the form, reasoning, implicit assumptions and logics of the very things we are contesting.

There is one question that some of us may be afraid to ask: Who benefits for keeping the Global South and, specifically Africa "under-developed" and "poor"? Even if one disagrees with this characterization that Africa is "poor" or "underdeveloped" the fact remains that certain segments of the West (e.g., multinational corporations, the international financial community, foreign-based NGOs, etc.) do benefit and have benefitted tremendously when they seek to 'develop' Africa from their altruistic standpoints. Many organizations will be out of business if Africa was rich! We wonder to these international bodies when given the choice of Africa becoming rich and the organizations going out of business they would opt for the former! This is not a cruel statement. We would rather ask readers to ponder why we would even be thinking this way. It is simple. We have witnessed a scene. We have been presented with a picture, and we do not like what we have seen. Development for some has been at the expense of others. When some claim to be helping in development they end up benefitting from their purported help and assistance. This is the injustice and coloniality of development and unless there is fairness and justice some of us are not going to be silenced about it. We have not become skeptics and cynics without a foundation.

In this paper, we argue that there is a disturbing coloniality of development which takes as an important starting point, the understanding of modernity as solely an European construction. This development can be seen in the imposition of particular modernizing worldviews anchored in Euro-modernist conception of what it means to be developed, and how the tenets, values and beliefs of Euro-modernist world have shaped global modernity. But, as Escobar (2004) long ago pointed out, we must challenge the location of modernity with European Enlightenment that rooted its phase with and within the colonization of Indigenous populations. The fact that enlightenment began even well before Europeans got lost in the Americas over many centuries ago is often negated. Speaking of a colonial and cultural imposition of development is not to say Africa is not taking responsibility for its own development challenge. It does not mean we are only interested in blaming European colonial powers for all our problems. We must understand the nature of the problem in order to find fitting solutions. I have seen many development projects which claim to be locally-initiated take a colonizing path to development due to the imposition of imperializing ideas. Such practices have and continue to shape how development is proceeding unabated through what I am calling "a technological-industrial complex". Among the values cherished in the modernization and modernization projects of development is that the notion of the "individual" as free from community bondage and acting as rational economistic subject who is privileged. Technology and science are also seen as a key to development without troubling what is deemed technological, science or scientific. In the techno-fix approach to development the true and tried traditions of community, solidarity, mutual interdependence and working with local Indigenousness are challenged when those who ask for counter and oppositional

development are branded as simply romanticizing poverty, tradition and Indigenous culture.

We need a critique of cultural and material imperialism of conventional development. We must understand and conceptualize the coloniality of development through the on-going professionalization of development in which a whole cadre of "foreign" experts, specialists and scholars are let loose on the Global South. A number of such experts are still mired in colonial and racist thinking about Africa's approach to development - Africa is helpless - She is a perpetual basket case - Crisis is all about Africa. There is a need for an imperial savior to come to Africa. We are the White man's burden. Our mindset, cultural practices and traditions are big impediments to developments. We cannot get our house in order. Such sentiments, shaped by particular Western modes of thought, undergird even the altruistic concerns of a good number of "development workers" and their approach to African development. Of course, the cultural and economic imposition of capitalist development has not been without internal complicities. To some extent African scholars have not in all earnest embarked upon an extended definition of development that pays attention to building social and community relations, inter and intra-personal skills and communication methods. We have not been steadfast in our claims for upholding certain African values such as community, mutual interdependence, ethical responsibility and a spirit-centered of life that are in consonant with development.

The coloniality of development as we know it then must be understood in terms of globalization of colonial and re-colonial relations of development, a new colonial dominant, the emergence of a new Empire or Imperial Order in the image of a Southern power, the persistence of human rights abuses as we promote development. To deal with the coloniality of development any new "South – South Dynamics" must begin to understand history and contexts, highlight questions of strategic partnerships (their possibilities and challenges), a shift to a new geo-politics that go beyond trade and economic relations. We must strike new areas of such alliances, for example, in cultural solidarity, trade and investments, political alliances, aid and assistance, governance and democracy, human rights (accountability/transparency) and sustenance of the environment in ways not fettered by any degree of colonial relations (see Bearak, 2010; Dei, 2011; Jiabao, 2011).

Today colonial relations continue to be reproduced at the political, economic, cultural and ideological levels of society by internal and external forces. There is a higher and more sophisticated form of colonialism that marks the contention of 'post' in phases of 'colonial' and 'coloniality' as hypocritical and intellectually dishonest at best. How do we demolish grand narratives and make room for a discourse of 'bourgeoisie liberalism' that sees everything as disconnected, disparate and particularistic? This is the escape to the age of innocence and non-complicity at its worst. Sardar (1999) enthuses that Eurocentrism has its origins in colonialism, and that in fact, "many categories of Western thought, from political concepts to analytical tools, stem from European colonial cultural milieus and are therefore intrinsically Eurocentric" (p. 47). Eurocentrism is intrinsic in the ways we think, conceptualize

and organize knowledge about development. Development has been shaped by the cultural forces and the political agendas of the West (Sardar, 1999: 52).

The 1980s and 1990s witnessed some serious intellectual debates among academics, researchers, analysts and policy-makers regarding the way out of what are perceived as "Africa's development quagmire". Irrespective of which stance one takes, these debates have been extremely informing and relevant as current processes of globalization continue to foment and cement neo-colonial and imperial relations among the North and South. The Global South is increasingly forced into dependent status with the North. While some Southern countries are trying to break out of these colonial relations, the picture is bleak for the majority. In fact, it may even be argued that the new South-South partnership is not a viable transformative alternative to the current global economic power structure. Are we theoretically prepared to capture the promises and the perils of these emerging global power dynamics? Internal colonialisms have been a constant variable in global geo-politics and we need to ask how we can envision global and African development change and transformation given this dynamic? If the new South-South dynamic is in part about creating "a world community of the South" how do we work with differences [broadly defined] and develop a shared and collective consciousness and social action for the South? What would be the best avenue for further opening up and creating an 'authentic dialogue" among Southern partners? Are there lessons for Africa specifically?

In promoting "Indigenist development" as home grown development, we broach South-South cooperation in resistance to global colonization. We ground our intellectual standpoints in the area of education as broadly defined. Relationships across borders have seen a rise of interest, especially connected to the internationalization of education, especially as located in North America. Within this trend, we are seeing a rise in ideas such as democratic education which has a global scope and, even more broadly, ideas of global citizenship education. Unfortunately, a search of the literature leads to the sharp realization that the center of 'international education', 'global citizenship' or 'international relations' is the Western student/subject, with much emphasis going to how to educate them to interact with others, the creation of awareness of others, and how they can cross borders responsibly. While this is undoubtedly valuable to a limited extent, there is a distinct caution to be brought forward here: Why is it that in an age of increased awareness around global citizenship that more and more people around the globe are facing diminished citizenship and a loss in corresponding rights? Looking beyond potential of these global citizenship initiatives, is there something dangerous and disadvantaging in the centering of the Western subject and their privilege? As Brock-Utne (2000) argues, education for all is actually a new face of colonization. We bear these questions in mind and look, instead, to questions of relationships across borders between the global South.

South - South collaboration and initiatives necessarily have a decolonizing aspect to them as they disrupt what has been taught through colonialism, and that is: Southern, 'developing' countries must rely on the North for development because

of their own natural deficiencies. South-South collaborations recognize the skills, knowledges and models of the Indigenous peoples as valuable and worth learning from. South-South collaboration breaks down the 'dependency theory' model of development and education in advocating exchange based not on dependency but on mutual collaboration. South-South collaboration is also necessarily decolonizing in that it purposefully engages with a language of hope and change (Brechner, Costello & Smith (2000). In fact, these authors also note this is how social movements begin, with the belief that change can be brought about.

Sitrin (2006) takes the Argentinean idea of *horizontalidad* as an example of how collaboration in this fashion is decolonizing. He states that *horizontalidad* "implies democratic communication on a level plane and involves—or at least intentionally strives towards—non-hierarchical and anti-authoritarian creation rather than reaction; it is a break with vertical ways of organizing and relating" (p. 3). One inclination in this process is to see South-South relationships as transfers happening on a 'level playing ground' or to horizontal relationships as a flat line, as between equals, but there is the need to challenge and contextualize this. Even within the global South relation are unequal based on myriad reasons such as proximity to resources, Western patronage, histories, conflict, trade, and the list goes on. In examining South - South relationships, there is the desire to seek connections and similarities through histories of oppression and location but there is danger in collapsing difference. Even within South - South relationships, equality and 'level playing fields' are hard to come by and relations rarely fit into neat boxes. As Brechner, Costello & Smith (2000) argue about their theory of globalization from below, it is a movement with contradictions and conflicting interests at times – How can we facilitate collaboration that recognizes and values diversity while still creating political and philosophical solidarity to resist neoliberal globalization and colonization?

THEORETICAL FRAMINGS

In many debates, the issues around international exchange are framed within "localization vs. internationalization". This dichotomy is limiting and, instead, there is the need to examine how the localization of knowledge can, in fact, benefit the internationalization and vice-versa. With a renewed focus on the power and value of local and Indigenous knowledges, there is also the need to connect localized knowledges to larger theoretical frameworks, to connect with other localizations around shared experiences of colonization and oppression, and to seek out collaborative solutions to decolonization. With this, there is use for Brecher & Costello's (1994) *globalization from below*, which is also expanded on by St. Denis (2000) to explicitly include Indigenous understandings (which is largely absent from Brecher and Costello's original theorization). As St. Denis states,

> "Colonized and Indigenous people have been dealing for a long time with many of the currently identified effects of globalization, such as seizure of their lands and their resources, and their confinement into structures of cheap labor.

> Therefore, any consideration of globalization and its effects would benefit from understanding these people who have already experienced such effects" (p. 37)

As global actions displace Indigenous peoples and endanger their traditional ways of living, there is the need to connect in resistance to globalization, creating globalization from below which Brecher and Costello (1994) define as "an array of transnational social forces animated by environmental concerns, human rights, hostility to patriarchy, and a vision of human com munity based on the unity of diverse cultures seeking an end to poverty, oppression, humiliation, and collective violence" (p. 80). Brechner, Costello & Smith (2000) see globalization from below as Lilliputian in nature, using the power of hundreds of small threads to pin and submit a much larger foe. As Hall & Fenelon (2008) note, Indigenous peoples have different forms of social organization and an emphasis on cultural identity that poses a deep threat to neoliberal globalization; there is much to learn from them.

St. Denis (2000) calls the similarities between Indigenous communities 'striking but not surprising' which points to the need for an anticolonial/decolonizing lens which recognizes both the similarities and deviances within experiences of colonization. While there are local differences and those based on time, gender, etc… colonization operates under a particular logic that makes similarities unsurprising and expected. Through the connection of experiences, a new depth and richness to the analysis of colonialism can be achieved with the stated goal of being able to resist it and, ultimately, topple it. There are similar struggles happening around the globe, which for the most part, remain isolated moments void of connection to other struggles. Examples of this include Indigenous struggles against oil and mineral extraction that are happening in the Peruvian Amazon, in British Columbia, Canada, many locations in Africa, and also in the Arctic.

In highlighting these connections between Southern peoples/Indigenous peoples, there is also the need to highlight connections in their own epistemologies with a need to find common ground for resistance. An example of this comes from Lauderdale (2008):

> One important issue concerns the kinship structure of many indigenous cultures. Ideas emerging from this structure are not used as a simple social technique or as a punitive moral standard for a nation. The ideas include a respect for diversity rather than mere tolerance, and a critical examination of fundamental concepts such as individual responsibility, group rights, time, and nature (p 1839).

There will always be challenges in recognizing the diversity and difference inherent in such large solidarity movements but it is also necessary to focus on connections and similarities with the recognition of common goals, common obstacles, and common values. It is also noted, as done by Igoe (2006) in the case of Tanzania, that being able to understand oneself as Indigenous and connected to global Indigenous struggles, opens new avenues for struggle and new understandings of local problems. These ideas of traditional ecological knowledge often fall prey to images of the 'noble ecological savage but, as Ritskes (2012) states, "…within this framework of sacred ecology, there needs to be a willingness to interrogate what undergirds such

romanticism and a willingness to question how Indigenous spirituality can exist in relation to other forms of knowledge" (p. 5).

Land also becomes an important connecting point as Indigenous knowledge is born out of interaction with land and remains the sacred connection to knowledge production. Traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) works to connect Indigenous understandings of a sacred ecology. Berkes (2008) describes TEK as "a cumulative body of knowledge, practice and belief, evolving by adaptive processes and handed down through generations by cultural transmission, about the relationship of living beings (including humans) with one another and with their environment" (p.7). This theory allows both an understanding of local relations with nature but also how this impacts our relations with others, both locally and globally. Neoliberal globalization is directly accountable for ecological destruction and displacement of Indigenous peoples from their land.

Dirlik (2003, 2007) argued for a framework of 'global modernity' that is distinct from the hegemony of Eurocentric globalization, which he saw as the driving force of the past decade. In this, he argues colonialism and socialism have been the road blocks to true global modernity. Dirlik (2003) argues that modernity is not a thing but a relationship, challenging the connection between European conceptions of modernity as something to be held and as definitional. Here, he argues that modernity has been held by nations and civilizations (the Eurocentric, colonial construction) and there is the need to move modernity to ways of thinking. He takes up Barlow's (1997) point that, "the modernity of non-European colonies is as indisputable as the colonial core of European modernity" (p.1). This works to bridge the discussion about the divide between Indigeneity and modernity, recognizing that the ways that modernity have been conceived have been colonial and has often denied any recognition of the value of Indigenous knowledges and cultures. Modernity, once re-conceptualized, connects to globalization in the way that Wittrock (2000) sees it, modernity as "a common condition on the global scale that we live in" (p. 58). All peoples are seen as 'modern' and with equal contribution to modernity.

This leads Dirlik (2003) to examine the call for a 'global multiculturalism' which "abandons the claims of Eurocentrism while retaining the consciousness of globality" (p. 283). He argues that this is a reification of culture and failure to recognize that "contemporary differences derive their meaning from a common experience of modernity" (p. 288-289). So, while there is something perhaps useful in Dirlik's reconceptualization of modernity, there is still a reliance on the centering of European modernity as shaping difference and a rejection of rooted, historical differences as seen in Indigenous ways of knowing. There is certainly the need to recognize the impact of colonialism and Western modernity as a colonial project and tool, but there is also the need to begin with the historical differences, the locational and cultural differences, of Indigenous peoples to see how they can create and conceive of new 'globalization'. How can we reconceptualize connection outside of Western centered flows, methods, and discourse?

WHAT ARE WE CONNECTING FOR? THE NEED FOR ANTI-COLONIAL STRUGGLE.

When one searches the literature, it is quickly realized that struggle, resistance and the need for solidarity are readily thrown against a multitude of forces, from neoliberalism to capitalism to globalization to colonialism/neocolonialism to Westernization to modernity. Many times, those who advocate for resistance to neoliberalism or globalization see it as a separate moment from colonialism that gets posited in the past and purely in its historical enactments. There is the need to recognize a) the connections between capitalism, colonialism and neoliberalism and their rootedness in the same project, as well as their connections to race and Whiteness and b) to be able to historicize the trajectory of colonial power as connected to the present moment, tactics and logic. When we look to the definitions of much of these terms, there are large areas of overlap which can be viewed through the historical trajectory of colonial power and its reliance on Eurocentric economic domination.

The beginnings of South - South collaboration, as conceived in the modern era, were born out of connections against European colonization and this is a trajectory that can be honored and continued by expanding the definition of colonialism beyond its historical moments and by expanding decolonization beyond national struggles for 'flag independence'. South-South collaboration has also, historically, as part of resistance to American imperialism and capitalism been viewed as within the sphere of socialism, especially during the Cold War era. There are lessons to be learned from this period of anti-imperial struggle but also the recognition that there are limitations to confining collaboration with particular political realms, especially when those realms are still Eurocentric in nature. While there have been attempts to "Indigenize" socialism and Marxism (ex. African socialism, etc.), its roots remain in Eurocentric political theory. As Smith (1999) and many other Indigenous scholars remind us, the methodology and theory matter, especially when there are Indigenous theories that speak to the lived realities of specific locations and peoples. In centering Indigeneity, there is the move away from national or regional politics and their particular limitations to a more connected, international movement against the transnational force of colonialism.

Intimately connected to these critiques of continuing colonial power and neoliberalism are critiques of a different stage of the colonial project – international 'development'. As Sardar (1999) notes, the very term 'development' is stuck in Eurocentric, linear notions of civilization and literacy. As Mehmet (1999) enthuses in his examination of the economic development theories, the causes of the persistent 'underdevelopment' of Southern nations rests on the shoulders of the West who insisted on the rationality and superiority of their models, ignoring that they did not fit the realities of Southern nations and refusing to consider the rationality or appropriateness of Southern models. Development has always been colonial, a 'softer' approach of imperialism, a Trojan horse hiding the same insidious forces.

EXAMPLES IN THE PAST AND PRESENT

In looking to possible avenues of South-South collaboration in the future, it is important to note that history is not absent of these collaborations and that there are lessons and perhaps models, to learn from in these. As many writers have pointed out, the idea of South-South transfer has existed in some form since the end of World War 2 and, thus, works within a particular historical discursive construct. These first attempts were often between newly 'independent' countries and those who were still struggling for independence against a shared enemy. Hickling-Hudson (2004) explores the example of Cuba and its educational exchanges through the 1970's and 1980's. Cuba sent more than 20,000 teachers to Southern countries such as Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and Jamaica while thousands of young people from those nations were sent to study in Cuba. This was part of a much larger international thrust initiated by Cuba to export the socialist revolution through education, health care, and economic support and trade. She examines how these collaborations are still happening today, where students are, in many cases, fully funded by the Cuban government to study in Cuba. Artaraz (2012) also details Cuba's focus on literacy programs that have been easily adaptable to local cultural contexts and have seen five countries in the area who have used it declared 'free of illiteracy' by UNESCO. These programs were inspired by educators and revolutionaries such as Paulo Freire and Che Guevara. Hickling-Hudson (2004) calls these programs decolonizing in that they are reconfiguring traditional inter-national relationships and challenging the Eurocentric schooling hierarchies and systems that were established in Southern nations. Still, as Broadfoot (2000) points out, many of these cross-cultural collaboration still take the Western schooling model of books, classrooms, and Eurocentric learning methods as a given – failing to critique the methods and model, content to add new content onto a failing framework.

More recently, through policies such ALBA, Cuba has focused on a much broader policy of regional integration which has included regional energy infrastructure, a 'development bank of the South', independent of traditional, northern-dominated development institutions such as the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund (IMF), a digital television network and a single currency (de la Barra, 2006). ALBA is insistently political in that it emphasizes collaboration outside of Western economic structures and it focuses on collaboration, solidarity, and human development (Smith, 2009). This is not to say that collaborations such as these are ideal; as Artaraz (2012) notes in regards to Cuba's collaboration in Bolivia's literacy program, despite being able to officially eradicate illiteracy, fewer people are choosing to speak in Indigenous languages and choosing Spanish.

Outside of Cuba, other forums of cooperation have opening, including examples such as the World Social Forum (WSF) which Santos (2003) calls a set of initiatives brought forward by scholars, activists and non-governmental actors which acts as an 'epistemology of the South' and as highlighting alternatives to neoliberal globalization. It is an annual meeting which they self-define as "'"an opened

space – plural, diverse, non-governmental and non-partisan – that stimulates the decentralized debate, reflection, proposals building, experiences exchange and alliances among movements and organizations engaged in concrete actions towards a more solidarity, democratic and fair world...a permanent space and process to build alternatives to neoliberalism" (World Social Forum Charter of Principles). Their most recent meeting in 2011 was held in Dakar, Senegal and included 75,000 participants from 132 countries. While including members of NGOs, governments and political movements, the WSF is clear on the subordinate role they play in seeking "emanation of civil society as organized in social movements and non-governmental organizations" (Santos, 2003b, p. 243).

Within the WSF and their emphasis on neoliberal globalization as a new form of capitalist oppression, there are also some problematics in their relations to Indigeneity and cultural ways of knowing. There is their reliance on globalization and capitalism as the primary marker of oppression, a focus on economic benefits, that presents globalization as rootless and colonialism as in the past (Leite, 2005). Much like more recent Occupy movements, the focus has been on the exploitation of the 1% which, while connected to colonization, has been missing critical interrogation of larger systems of domination, such as colonization, that has been historically grounded and involves the participation of a much larger percentage. Instead, there is the need to see global hegemony and colonization as Santos does, as "globalized localism" rooted in Western thought (Dale & Robertson, 2004). Still, the WSF has been explicit in creating spaces for Indigenous voices and solidarity and in these spaces Indigenous bodies have been able to state, "Indigenous nations and peoples have been subjected to colonialism right down to the present day" (Makuxi *et al.*, 2003, p. 183) and counter the ruthlessness of capitalism and colonialism. The solidarity and acute political consciousness that the WSF brings to the global sphere is a rare example of cooperation that centers Southern peoples and seeks to resist Western domination.

Out of the WSF has stemmed ideas such as the Popular University of the Social Movements (PUSM) which brings together collaborative local learnings with the shared goal of a 'critical utopia' (Santos, 2006). The rationale behind PUSM is that, with the increasing influence of neoliberal globalization there is the need to connect counter-knowledges at a more global level in order to counteract and resist better (Santos, 2003a). Santos argues that there has been a divide between theory and social engagement and that PUSM aims to bring these together activists, scholars and artists to connect these and counter neoliberal globalization. It seems, though, that PUSM has not been able to leave more than the initial planning stages or been able to expand to meet the need.

Other examples exist of attempts at collaboration across borders in education, especially with a focus on Indigenous peoples. Tebtebba (Indigenous Peoples' International Centre for Policy Research and Education) is one example (www.tebtebba.org). They are grounded in the Indigenous context of the Philippines but look to connect and impact policy on a global scale. They are heavily involved

with issues around climate change, biodiversity, and human rights as they extend to Indigenous peoples around the globe but also have research and training centers in the Philippines that focus on local Indigenous ways of knowing.

There are also examples of Indigenous universities that have begun and look to connect with similar institutions abroad. Mpambo Afrikan Multiversity is one example in the African context, where it seeks to bring together various African Indigenous knowledges. Still, many of their connections outside of Africa are with universities and funding in the West. Another example is the Amautawasi Quechuan University in Equador which is fighting to create Equador's first Indigenous University focused on Indigenous methodologies, Indigenous knowledges, and Indigenous languages. Part of their overall philosophy is not only the strengthening of Indigeneity in Equador but also connecting with others: "We cannot isolate ourselves when there are so many opportunities now to unite with our counterparts elsewhere" (Macas, 2006). Yet, especially in the realm of education there are challenges to spaces such as the WSF, especially around ideas of sustainability and organization. As Torres (2002) states, "Resistance by social movements and their increased capacity to veto political initiatives does not guarantee the ability to create a lasting, long-term, comprehensive political agenda for reform" (p. 376). There has been an inability to create sustained connection and resistance and, perhaps, this can be attributed to the inability to engage and center Indigenous groups who have long histories of resistance and knowledge production for resistance. Indigenous peoples have not only the long term connections to places and land but also have been long term carriers of resistant knowledges.

GOING FORWARD: CHALLENGES

Much of what has been done in the name of South-South cooperation has been focused on finding new donors for aid and development. While there can be no excluding of the economic aspect of development, as Samoff (2009) notes – international aid and the models that Southern countries are pursuing and following have little to do with knowledge generation or transfer and everything to do with capital. These models are stuck in the colonial, neoliberal model of capitalism. In fact, as Steiner-Khamsi (2009) argues, this is why South-South development has gained the traction that it has, because aid and development have become standardized in Eurocentric models and South-South development offers no threat to this. The packaging might have changed but the contents are the same. In fact, as she argues, South-South development is really North-South-South development and has become a vital tool in the belt of Western aid.

Observing these problems, many have turned to various forms of co-operation or partnership to attempt to mitigate the gaps. Problematically, few of these collaborative solutions are able to leave the unequal relationships and frameworks of the past. For example, Daniel, Kanwar & Uvalic-Trumbic (2006) see private institutions facilitating cross-border collaboration as the answer and advocate the potential of

an increase in private institutions. Problematic is the inherently Eurocentric nature of development and aid, which is often the framework for understanding South-South transfers. Samoff (2009) argues that both sides of the partnership need to take responsibility for subverting traditional, Eurocentric ideas of aid into real partnerships. Problematically, his chapter in a book titled South-South Cooperation in Education and Development still deals in its entirety with West-South relations and yields nothing in ways forward. Obviously, as we are constantly reminded - the West is a central figure in re-configuring development relationships along a Southern axis.

One of the significant shifts of the 21st century has seen the rise of 'Southern' nations such as China, India, South Africa and Brazil as major players in political and economic spheres. With this comes what is seen as an increase in South-South aid and economic development, with these Southern nations taking on the role of donors and major players in the global stage. Particularly in the case of Africa, trade and development has shifted dramatically in the last decade with China becoming one of Africa's most important partners for trade and economic cooperation and also intensifying its cultural and political relations with the continent (Lumumba-Kasongo, 2010; Maswana, 2009). The problem seems to remain: the same Eurocentric structures are remaining only, in these cases, those who occupy the role of the West have shifted to so-called 'Southern' countries (based on geography) such as China and India. Obviously, these relationships and models are much more complex than a simple 'swap of masters' because India, for example, now occupies multiple positions in the global sphere, always a racialized 'Brown' nation and a colony in relation to the White colonizers and, yet, eager to wear the master's shoes in relationships with other Southern nations in Asia and Africa. Also of note, is the historical trajectory of these dual relationships as the colonial powers have historically used India (and other 'Brown' nations) in the colonial hierarchy as complicit in the colonization of Africa – showing them the carrot of equality despite always being out of reach. In education, much of the discussion of development transfer has been around 'best practices', a type of South - South promoted by the World Bank and, as Steiner Khamsi (2004) notes, it is rooted in efficiency, calculability, predictability and control.

Worldwide, there has been exceeding growth in higher education which has been attributed to the perceived role of universities in Southern countries movement from developing to developed (Daniel, Kanwar & Uvalic-Trumbic, 2006). The growth needed in infrastructure, trained faculty and staff, and research is a major challenge for most Southern countries, especially after the crushing effects of World Bank imposed Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) which regulated a focus on primary schooling to the neglect of tertiary education. The university, by design and implementation, is Western and derivative of colonial power and desires. Part of the challenge, then, is how to reimagine the very structure of higher education with an eye toward solidarity across borders as well as the promotion of Indigenous knowledges and epistemologies. Universities in Southern nations

are currently oriented, again through their very genesis and organization, towards Western universities – dependant on funding, scholarship and, as Altbach (1981) states, pulling no punches, they "copy development from abroad, produce little that is original, and are generally not at the frontiers of knowledge" (p. 602). Arguable, this is due to the colonial structure of these institutions which is oriented to Western realities and globalized markets exploitation which divorces these institutions from their communities and local struggles and realities.

As Guo, Shugurensky, Hall, Rocco & Fenwick (2010) note, often collaborative or international projects are driven by small scale, one off research projects driven by personal interests rather than looking at larger issues and trying to connect problems across disciplines. These projects are naturally limiting in that they seek to answer specific questions and address particular problems without understanding the often interconnected nature of problems, especially in how they connect through colonization, capitalism and increasing globalization. There is the need to examine how to work across cultural, linguistic and national borders in new ways and this must begin with the local. Collaboration across national boundaries begins with universities and researchers that explicitly engage with their own communities and recognize local peoples as knowledge producers and politically involved in the same projects they are. It is this model of the university that works to break down the colonial modes of communication that hold back South-South cooperation and a mode that willingly seeks political engagement. This also speaks, as previously noted, to the need for interdisciplinary projects – engagement within the university. Without these commitments at a local level there will not be the will to engage in productive ways outside of the university.

To begin with the local demands forging what Gow (2008) calls a culturally informed moral imagery. This is the creation of a counter narrative to Western development and perceptions of Southern or Indigenous peoples, a rejection of the denial of agency. It is also a rejection of the methods and means of collaboration that have dominated "university partnerships", "cross-cultural exchanges" and "capacity building" which have been dominated by unilateral exchanges (West to South) and by a colonial, Eurocentric paradigm that always privileges Western ways of knowing and the institutions that use and produce this knowing.

Collaboration and cooperation are still driven by and operated through Western models. This is seen primarily through the interventions and management of education through non-governmental organizations that are based out of and funded by Western nations, but also through the heavy-hand of organizations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) who, through funding attached to education reform (among other 'adjustments') have had inordinate control over educational policy. How can we re-envision these processes? How can we connect universities, scholars, and educators who live and work in the global South?

There is no ignoring of the role and positioning of the West in this process, to do so would be to proverbially stick one's head in the sand. Rather, how can we work to

dismantle the privileged role that Western institutions play and create new methods and matrices that center the collaboration of Southern scholars? There is the need to engage empire through these collaborations and moments of solidarity.

Language is a major issue in cross-cultural exchanges and the prominence of colonial languages adds an extra power dimension. African scholars and leaders, such as Toure and Ngugi, have advocated for the power of local languages and also for Pan-African politics. Rassool (2004) shows how, while English (as an example of the common, dominant language) aids in the accumulation of cultural capital, local languages aid in sustaining community and cohesive social identities. As Gandolfo (2009) shows, with the increase of English as a necessary language for entry into the globalized marketplace, as well as entry into the globalized field of higher education, there is a direct threat against Indigenous languages and communities. As Freire (1985) notes, there is a dialectical unity between thinking and language. Echoed by Ngugi wa Thiong'o and many others, language carries the weight culture of a people and through language the thought processes of communities are actualized in speech and acts.

One may ask how does this work in practice? Saliou Camara (2000) sums up some of the challenges and advocates, in the case of Africa, a reorientation away from Western schooling abroad that many Africans choose for their children, to a more Africa-to-Africa exchange, where universities and scholars choose to learn from others in Africa. In this way, local languages are spread and colonial languages such as English and French are decentered.

Beyond language, there are also other challenges to bringing people together to dialogue about shared problems, especially problems as large as globalization or colonization. Christakis and Harris (2004) detail a forum that brought together Indigenous leaders from North America and New Zealand and detail two challenges faced in trying to reach collaboration. 1) The scope of the problem seemed vast and bewildering. While individuals brought expertise and knowledge about particular pieces, it was difficult to start putting these together to collaborate on large-scale solutions. 2) Individuals perceive the problem differently and use different terms to describe the challenges they face. Forums or groups do not always allow enough time for learning to happen around these issues, for people to explain why they have described it in the way they have and why they think this is important.

GOING FORWARD: POSSIBILITIES

There is the need to create spaces for scholarship and dialogue to happen between Southern peoples. Often, the only spaces available are Western spaces in which Southern or Indigenous knowledges are rarely featured and, when so, are given 'special issues' or rare spaces which only serve to exoticise them and render them unique outside the rubrics of Western knowledge (Alcadipani, Khan, Gantman & Nkomo, 2012). There is the need for deeper understanding of the praxis of Indigenous and Southern ways of knowing, the knowledges they produce, and how they act in relationship to one another.

Education has, in more modern times, been the domain of the nation state. With the rise of globalization, we have seen a new thrust and emphasis on creating the global citizenship education with an emphasis on creating more just relationships between citizens and nation states. Perhaps, instead, we need to be challenging the borders of the nation state and its control of education and ask, in the face of globalization and questions of solidarity: How can we re-envision education as not only across borders but in ways that break down borders? This is consistent with the general understandings of globalization in challenging the dominance of nations in the favor of more open, fluid interactions guided by global actors. Unfortunately, this globalization has too often meant the covering of Western hegemony under the guise of openness, creating the universalized White subjectivity under the guise of the global citizen. How can we re-envision the breakdown of borders in ways that still recognize the locationality of cultures, communities and individuals? We cannot look to nation states for the answers, as they are both superseded and implicated by neoliberal globalization.

Indigenous people have an important role to play in this re-envisioning both as resistors to their own marginalization but also because, as Hall & Fenelon (2008) remind us, their presence has been a thorn in the side of the nation state as they challenge the neat borders drawn up by colonial governments (ex. Treaties in North America, USA/Mexican border, Somalia, Sudan, etc.). As Mander (2006) notes, Indigenous peoples have become targets for global corporations exactly for this reason, because many Indigenous cultures have been so successful in maintaining distinct cultures and worldviews that are in opposition to that of globalization. It is the same for nations, who have been working for centuries to try and assimilate and subsume Indigenous communities in the national rubric in effort to make them disappear. Their failure tells of the importance of looking to Indigenous cultures and epistemologies.

As mentioned before, localization and internationalization (or Indigeneity and globalization) do not need to necessarily be seen as inherently opposite. Reinke (2004) details some of the ways that Indigenous schools in Mexico have both fought for the recognition and inclusion of Indigenous curriculum and schools and also been open to international collaboration. An example that she gives of this is The Union of Teachers for a New Education in Mexico (Union de Maestros de la Nueva Educacion para Mexico, or UNEM) which is a coalition of Indigenous teachers who created organizational structures to not only benefit the Indigenous movement in Mexico but to become better connected globally with research centers and grants to get, as Vargas-Cetina (1998) put it, "the global world to reinforce their local concerns, bringing the world into their classroom, but shaping it according to the indigenous communities' interests" (p. 158). Another example that Reinke (2004) gives is that of the Zapatistas in the Chiapas region of Mexico that advocated both for the end of global neoliberalism that forced Indigenous peoples into poverty, but also for Indigenous rights and education in their region. They were able to tap into global connection to gain support when it was not available through their government.

As Reinke notes, in this case it was the Mexican government that was trying to enforce assimilationist policies and 'globalization' as the way around this for the Zapatistas. This analysis, while accurate, simplifies 'globalization' and politics and fails to see how Mexico's assimilationist policies are connected to a larger neoliberal globalization that is dangerous for Indigenous peoples and their rights.

Technology has new power to connect people across borders and great distance and many have seen the possibilities of distance education and cooperation through technology such as the internet and email. Sardar (1999) details the problems with reliance on technology as it has too often been the measuring stick of civilization for the colonial order, permanently creating Southern nations as 'under developed' through their lack of competency with Western technology. This has been played out in many educational development projects, where the goal is to 'help Africa (or other Southern location) catch up technologically' (Amutabi & Oketch, 2003). Often, distance education or technology programs are generated in the West with the purpose of technological literacy for integration into the global workforce. As Dunn (2010) notes, digital literacy follows in the time honored tradition of Western concepts of literacy that act as a divide between history and myth, civilized and uncivilized. Technology is not innocent but are there ways to use it as a tool for the furthering of local dialogues and connecting to these to more global struggles?

Reinke (2004) gives the example of the Zapatista movement (as mentioned earlier) which advocated both the end to neoliberalism and the poverty it forced Indigenous peoples into but also advocated for strong cultural and Indigenous rights, including around Indigenous education. Reinke notes that the first secondary Indigenous schools and training of Indigenous teachers was funded largely through the Zapatista's connections based on the internet and global solidarity movements, which provided through the internet manual labor to build the school, financial support and pedagogical support (p. 492).

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

This section is an early attempt to generate some creative and practical possibilities to find ways to connect Southern nations, particularly Indigenous peoples, with each other for sustained resistance to colonization and neoliberalism. They are born out of snippets of thought and very little research.

Reimagining the University

Some examples have been given of higher education institutions that have started or been conceptualized as ways of resisting the Eurocentric model of the university (Mpambo, PUSM, etc.). The university must be community-centered as a space for local communities and educational institutions coming together to deliver education to students from over and all ages and to research on pertinent issues that affect local communities. In effect, the university on the Global South must have the components

of basic/primary, secondary and the tertiary education. It must be situated in the heart of the community. It must be relevant to local communities' needs and aspirations and must be grounded in the pursuit of knowledge informed by Indigenous cultural knowings and languages.

Reimagining Transfer

Intellectual, physical and material transfer cannot be a one-way track but must be perceived as mutually beneficial. It must also proceed with the question: Is this what local peoples want? There may be a need to such material, physical and intellectual transfers among countries in the Global South understood in the contexts of one is transfer what one has which the other lacks but in a spirit of reciprocity, respect and mutual understanding. Such transfers cannot be exploitative nor lead to fermenting power relations.

The Diaspora: Meeting Its Challenges

The various diasporas also have an important role to play, especially when we recognize them as connected to Indigenity and similarly fragmented and marginalized by the Eurocentric colonial apparatus. Through terms such as 'brain drain', the diasporas are seen as disconnected from the struggles of their home communities but, in reality, if we are going to speak of South-South connections, there are roles that need to include those in the diaspora who can still be conceived of as 'Southern'. Not only are they perhaps a solution to some of the material and financial realities facing South-South connections but they offer modes of connection, new spaces and possibilities, and different experiences of struggle to enrich the dialogue.

There is also the financial support link of remittances which, in many cases, plays a major role in furthering the possibility of secondary and tertiary education in the Global South. The World Bank labels remittances the most tangible and least controversial link between migration and development (Ratha, 2006). Still, the role of remittances can still be questioned as they do little to build educational infrastructure in most cases, entrench privilege albeit in often new ways, and do little to further new ways of knowing or schooling or further collaborative schooling practices. There is also the tendency to entrench North-South relationships within remittances because, as Ratha (2006) notes, in South - South transfers, the cost is higher and often the infrastructure to do less. This leads to a further entrenching of the ideas that success resides in the North and to access it one must work, reside, and learn from these locations.

The diasporas need to begin seeing other Southern nations as viable destinations for more than migrant labor and for this to happen, there has to be pushes from Southern nations to attract Southern diasporas. This would aid the transfer of knowledges, especially if, instead of Southern universities pursuing Western scholars for top positions, or those trained in Western universities, there was an

emphasis on hiring and retaining scholars who have trained in and are from other Southern communities. There is also the connection that the diaspora has to the development project, both from an NGO perspective but also through remittances. There needs to be an increased commitment to supporting local development and infrastructure. Remittances constitute a huge amount of financial support ($440 billion in 2010) and, in places such as the Philippines which is the fourth largest recipient of remittances, where remittances make up as much as 10% of the GDP. If this money was, instead of going to school fees, individuals, etc…) able to be directed in a more focused manner on infrastructure projects such as new schools, teacher training, economic growth domestically, etc. How would this impact the development prospects of Southern nations? What if the diasporas viewed South-South cooperation as a solution to 'underdevelopment' and remittances were targeted at projects that furthered these goals?

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We acknowledge the graduate research assistance of Eric Ritskes of the Department of Humanities, Social Sciences and Social Justice Education of the University of Toronto for conducting literature search and review that shaped ideas of this paper.

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NINA MOORE

3. ME TO WE

Unpacking the Realities of White Privilege in Development Praxis

INTRODUCTION

Me to We describes itself as an "innovative social enterprise that provides people with better choices for a better world" (www.metowe.com). It was founded by white, middle-class, suburban brothers Craig and Marc Kielburger in 2008. This enterprise is a far-reaching one. It offers fans "socially conscious and environmentally friendly clothes and accessories, life-changing international volunteer trips, leadership training and materials, an inspirational speakers bureau and books which address issues of positive social change" (www.metowe.com). Fifty percent of Me to We profits go to Free the Children, a foundation also founded by Craig, this one at the age of twelve. The other half is reinvested to expand Me to We. Within Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom, Me to We provides "active citizenship education" for 3500 schools annually (www.metowe.com). What is problematic is that only the stories of Africans' hardships make it to the frontlines of the Me to We agenda. The West, as a whole, is of course guilty of this. An acute example is the fact that of the 13 motivational speakers featured, ten were whites. The lone black speaker, Michel Chikwanine, a Congolese former child soldier, is portrayed in a way that supports the single story of Africa because he is a survivor of a horrible atrocity (http://www.metowe.com/speakers). "Of course, Africa is a continent full of catastrophes," said Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, a Nigerian novelist and academic, but continue to "show a people as one thing, as only one thing, over and over again and that is what they become" (Adichie, 2009). There are other stories that need to be told as well. "All of [my] stories make me who I am. But, to insist on only these negative stories is to flatten my experience and to overlook the many other stories that formed me" (Adichie, 2009). Does Chikwanine's story need to be told? Absolutely, but as Adichie outlines, "The consequence of the single story is that it robs people of dignity" (Adichie, 2009). Conversely, the white Western *Me to We* speakers come from an array of professional backgrounds that include a musician, an illusionist, a graduate of an elite university and include several social activists, authors, development workers and business men (www.metowe.com/speakers). Indeed, there are no victims of tragedy present from the West.

This paper focuses on Me to We—which has a long reach due to its presence in our schools—because it embodies what I see as problematic to "development." As a

A. Asabere-Ameyaw et al., Indigenist African Development and Related Issues, 49–63.

concerned classroom teacher, I argue this because Me to We promotes consumerism to Western youth and partners with the very type of multinational corporations that benefit from Africa's struggles. Also, Me to We precisely exemplifies the West's oversimplification of possible solutions—all through a colonial lens that denies white privilege and reinforces the single story of non-Western countries. Mohanty (1991, p.352) notes that "since no connections are made between 'first' and 'third' world power shifts, it reinforces the assumption that people in the 'third' world just have not evolved to the extent that the West has." These factors continue to feed rather than diminish the inequalities between nations. I write this paper as a middle-class, white Westerner who is only beginning to grasp the privilege and power that I am afforded because of this status. It is this awakening that has allowed me to intellectualize the gut feeling that something is dreadfully wrong when Westerners are too easily portrayed as heroic saviors of Africa.

In mainstream educational systems, the definition of good schooling is based on a Eurocentric model of education. Authors such as George Jerry Sefa Dei, Leeno Luke Karumanchery and Nisha Karumanchery-Luik speak to the research that shows that teacher expectations, the curriculum, and a generic approach to teaching can disadvantage students who are in the racial, gender or class minority (Dei et al., 2004, p. 94). A school system based exclusively on Eurocentric ideology is a recipe for failure and further damage. Me to We only compounds this phenomenon with its Eurocentric approach to "development." It is an interesting paradox that in the western world there is usually a positive response from the dominant society when we see ourselves as "helping Africa" and yet a ferocious outcry when we are looking to empower our children to learn from Afrocentric values, contributions, and approaches to education.

I am reminded of a friend who, as a member of a sorority back in university, would make sandwiches and give them out to the homeless. While it was heart-warming and clearly a positive outcome that a homeless person would receive a sandwich, something about the endeavor seemed hollow to me at a gut level although at the time I would have been ashamed to admit it. In fact, I felt conflicted and confused about how something so ostensibly altruistic could be even the least bit troubling. However, in better exploring privilege, I turn to some key works, albeit problematic. In her article, White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack, Peggy McIntosh (1988) comments on majority groups' willingness to improve a minority group's status in society and unwillingness to consider lessening their own power, which only maintains inequality. The assertion that advantages are gained by one group at the cost of another has become a taboo, which only protects privilege from being scrutinized and therefore ended. I see now that making sandwiches for the city's very poorest and most powerless was no threat to the giver's position of power and yet enabled the sorority to benefit from a boost to their image. On the other hand, donating time to, say, an organization that looked at increasing immigrant student enrolment would in fact threaten their power.

But here I am appearing to critique feeding the homeless. I do not mean to vilify the sorority's intentions but perhaps it is the risk of doing just that too often silences this argument. The taboo of critiquing someone's good intentions is powerful. How can we address "development" without studying the differing racial demographics between the "have" and the "have not" nations? If we, as educators, are unable or perhaps unwilling to speak to this, then I believe initiatives such as Me to We will continue to be harmful because our Western white and non-white children are deprived of any opportunity to make real change when they are given a set of tools that ultimately reinforce and contribute to inequality. With the knowledge that "whiteness coexists within a system of economic, political, cultural, spiritual, psychological, emotional and social advantages for the privileged—at the expense of racialized other" (Dei *et al*., 2004, p. 92), students would be better equipped to make real change.

As educators, ideally, we strive to foster in students the ability to critically reflect and problem solve. Instead, however, with half-truths (i.e. the denial of white privilege), we are instead fostering attitudes of neo-colonialism among a new generation. Curriculums are failing to connect anti-racist education methods to learning expectations that look at teaching our students to be responsible world citizens.

In the book, Playing the Race Card: Exposing White Power and Privilege by Dei, Karumanchery and Karumanchery-Luik (2004), the dedication speaks to me greatly about the way we, as a collective people, need to unite against the imbalance of the world's wealth. "While we may be differently positioned in the struggle, we must be collectively engaged," the dedication reads. "We work alongside you, together—in solidarity and resistance." Dangerously, the difference of our positioning is often ignored, which falsely leads our kids into thinking that we (as in we, the West, the rich and/or white people) need to rescue our less independent counterparts (the South, the poor and/or non-white people). Adichie reminds us that "it is impossible to talk about the single story without talking about power" (2009). Founded in the West, Me to We is empowered to reinforce the single story of Africa. Because she grew up in Nigeria, Adichie has developed a vast collection of stories of Africa. Ones that include "a very happy childhood full of laughter and love in a very close-knit family" (2009).

But she is quick to point out that if she had not been able to collect her stories first-hand, she too would only have a single story based on the popular images we are all exposed to. "I too would think that Africa was a place of beautiful landscapes, beautiful animals, and incomprehensible people, fighting senseless wars, dying of poverty and AIDS, unable to speak for themselves, and waiting to be saved, by a kind, white foreigner," (Adichie, 2009). Dei outlines that "Many people in the West are unaware of the historical processes that have led to the accumulation of massive external debts by African countries…The South continues to subsidize the development of the North" (1998, p. 151). I, myself, am only beginning to comprehend these truths.

Rather than challenging it, Me to We is contributing to a new generation of Western youth's belief in the single story of Africa. As Adichie outlines, "Start the story with the arrows of the Native Americans, and not with the arrival of the British, and you have an entirely different story. Start the story with the failure of the African state, and not with the colonial creation of the African state, and you have an entirely different story". From a position of power that is implicitly denied, Me to We fosters our sense of ownership and empowerment over Africa, as well as a sense of duty to save. "How [stories] are told, who tells them, when they're told, how many stories are told, are really dependent on power". Adichie explains, "Because of America's cultural and economic power, I had many stories of America". When the fact that we are "differently positioned in the struggle" (Dei *et al*., 2004)" is denied, effective change will elude us because truth is denied. "Power is the ability not just to tell the story of another person, but to make it the definitive story of that person" (2009). Actions based on incomplete truths, no matter how well intentioned, can be nothing more than Band-aid solutions.

How strange would it be if a Nigerian, for example (born and raised there), spoke internationally as an "expert" on Canada? What if she spoke exclusively about the poor, the unemployed, the victims of violence and neglect in Canada? How would the world respond? How would Canada respond? Why have we embraced the Kielburger brothers as "experts" on Africa? This phenomena speaks to what Chandra Talpade Mohanty in her article, Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses (1991), describes as the "age-old 'legitimate' and 'scientific' bodies of knowledge" (p. 334) in that their knowledge, because it is Western-based, is assumed to be accurate and without bias due to its *scientific* nature. She argues that this is "discourse that sets up its own authorial subjects as the implicit referent, i.e., the yardstick by which to encode and represent cultural others. It is in this move that power is exercised in discourse" (p. 336).

The voice of a foreign expert models a paternal role over the subject. It also negates cultural context and implies that a Eurocentric approach is in fact the universal social norm. This is a point Dei makes so eloquently:

> Local peoples have culturally constructed ways of reflecting on their daily lives. They can give their own accounts of what is happening to them and what their needs are, as well as what they are doing, can do, and intend to do about these issues. Many well-meaning development programs have undermined local peoples' abilities to control their own lives and have made them objects of exploitative patriarchal economic systems. Local peoples, for the most part, conceptualized development in the sense of belonging to a community and connecting with other people in a way that makes possible the satisfaction of mutual interests (Dei, 1998, p. 143).

When I travelled abroad, including parts of North Africa, Central America and Europe, locals shared many of their ideas about Canada. They spoke of our cold winters, our bilingual status, our multiculturalism, our vast prairies, our big cities, our usage of 'eh', etc. It became apparent to me when they inquired about life in

Canada that while they knew all about what makes Canada great, they knew little of the hardships faced by some of the Canadian people.

Never, for example, did anyone inquire about our shameful past and present treatment of our First Nations Peoples, our culture of neglecting our elderly or our vast discrepancies between the academic achievement of our rich and our poor children. Rather, they wanted me to reinforce their stories of high standards of living and of endless possibilities for education and employment. In my experience, populations outside of Canada have exclusively positive stories of Canada.

"We are disciplined to believe that the entire world depends on the charity of the White race and that it is they who work to resolve the planet's misery, to feed and clothe 'the wretched of the earth'" (Dei *et al*., 2004, p. 98). Could it be this innate belief that makes so many of us respond so enthusiastically to those who are the most removed from the realities of Africa's struggles? Would the world embrace Angelina Jolie and Bratt Pitt as voices for the needy if they were non-white and non-American? Whose voices do we listen to? "Conventional [Western] processes of producing, interrogating, validating and disseminating knowledge about development have privileged certain voices and thoughts as more legitimate than the experiential reality" (Dei, 1998, p. 151).

The book Me to We (2006) authored of course by the Kielburger brothers, reads like a self-help book for directionless and disgruntled wealthy North Americans. It is riddled with gimmicky "you can do it" slogans. Helping the poor, after all, will make you feel better. "We believe that the Me to We philosophy can provide both a starting point for change and an antidote for what ails us" (p. x).

How did this "movement" get started? Craig gives credit to a random newspaper article he read one morning as a twelve year-old boy. It was about the murder of 12-year-old Pakistani activist, Iqbal Masih, who had escaped child slavery and had become vocal in his fight against child labor. The article explained that when he was just "4 years old his parents sold him into slavery for less than $16. For the next six years, he remained shackled to a carpet-weaving loom most of the time, tying tiny knots hour after hour" (p. 1).

What followed for Craig were healthy and empathetic questions for a 12-year-old North American kid to ponder: "What kind of parent sells a four-year-old into slavery? Who would chain a child to a carpet loom?" (p. 2) But is it not time to revisit these questions? What circumstances could make a parent sell her child to slavery? Why did Indian parents make this desperate move?

"Many families are tricked into selling their kids into slavery by being promised money in return for their child's work and that their children will be sent to school to receive an education while working for the family…" (Catanese, 2006). Questions that come to my mind include, "Did these carpets make their way to the floors of Western homes at a handsome profit for all involved except the child who made it?" It is no secret that many Western corporations' pay slave wages for products sold at exorbitantly marked up prices in the West. Who was buying the carpets that Iqbal Masih was forced to make? The greater context of this systematic exploitation

is never explored. The single story of the abandoned non-Western child left to be rescued by caring whites is thus reinforced here.

In the aforementioned book, through a privileged lens, Craig reflects on the last 10 years: "We have had the chance to spend time in more than forty countries meeting with people of all walks of life" (p. ix). But the question needs to be asked, should we applaud Craig for this? Why is he a hero for this paramount privilege? But instead of such questions, his privileged opportunities are used to reinforce his credibility. "We have come to know some of the greatest spiritual, political, and social leaders of our time, and have been fortunate to learn from luminaries like the Dalai Lama, Nelson Mandela, and Pope John Paul II" (p. ix-x).

"Along the way we have shared simple meals of rice and roti with people struggling in the slums of Calcutta and attended opulent banquets with some of the world's most powerful business moguls at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland" (p. x). The Kielburger brothers' white skin and Canadian passports allow them to freely and comfortably jump between worlds. "In the war-torn villages of Sierra Leone, we've had discussions with people whose limbs were savagely amputated by armed militias, and at major United Nations conferences we've sat on panels with heads of state and royalty" (p. x). This speaks to one of the features of white privilege. "Privileged group members have the implicit option to ignore oppression and not speak out against it, an advantage evidenced in their ability to often 'forget' about race and racism for a while" (p.99). The Kielburgers consciously or unconsciously deny their privilege in being able to safely travel extensively and have access to such a wide variety of people.

We also need to examine why the Kielburgers are able to influence political leaders. Craig writes, "We learned that Kailash Satyarthi, a leader in the fight against child bonded labor, had been detained. We wrote to the prime minister of India and demanded that he be set free. We collected three thousand signatures on a petition and mailed it to New Delhi in a carefully wrapped shoe box" (p. 3). Would the prime minister of India respond in the same manner had three thousand Indian youth signed a petition?

Also in the book Me to We, Marc Keilburger recalls his first trip to Asia that triggered his commitment to "development." Upon his arrival in Thailand, it is assumed that he is a medical doctor. Despite having clarified that no, he does not have any medical experience whatsoever, within hours of his arrival Marc has learned to clean wounds, administer IVs, treat bedsores, and dispense medicine in the AIDS ward of a hospice in Klong Toey, a Thai Slum just outside Bangkok (p. 21). Then he is left alone with his patients: "I counted to twenty-four. That's how many AIDS patients were in my charge" (p. 21). He stays for nearly a year, living and teaching English in Klong Toey and putting in days at the AIDS ward.

Marc misses a crucial opportunity here to write to his young Western readers about why this scenario is so very disturbing. No matter his lack of qualifications, his white face represents competence, intelligence, reliability and an angelic good in any situation. He is not the useless worker, rather he is the white rescuer who

heroically sacrifices so many missed opportunities back home to care for the poor Thai people. Conversely, qualified doctors immigrate to Canada from non-white nations only to have their education and work experience negated and dishonored (Dei *et al*., 2004, p. 94). While non-white immigrant doctors in Canada are driving taxis, white young adults are caring for the severely ill abroad.

After his trip to Thailand, Marc accepted a full scholarship to Harvard University to study international relations. "Upon graduation, I was presented with a series of lucrative job offers" (p. 25). He decided instead to pursue a law degree at Oxford University. As a graduate and a Rhodes Scholar, he speaks to having to resist pressure to enter the corporate world with starting salaries at $160 000 along with signing bonuses, cost-of-living and relocation expenses (p. 25). "Judged by the standards of my middle-class upbringing, the salaries they were offering were unimaginable," says Marc (p. 25).

As a graduate of two elitist universities, instead of commenting on the inequities that right out of university he could have such a salary when so many kids in his own country never get to go to university, he instead comments on what he has sacrificed by turning down such privileged positions. "I'm humbled to be able to do this work on a daily basis. Unlike my friends on Wall Street, I don't have a $5000 watch. My $100 model works great. I don't dine in five-star restaurants every night. And I still do make spaghetti using canned spaghetti sauce. But I can look in the mirror at the end of the day and see myself smiling back. I am simply happier helping other people" (p. 26).

This mentality reflects that "a White middle-class man's societal placement, his experiences and his opportunities are fully understandable only in relation to the social conditions and oppressions of those located outside that locus of privilege" (Dei et al., 2004, p. 83), in this case those living in the South. In Marc's daily reality, he can associate a $5000 watch with privilege but not a $100 one. Elitist jobs and opportunities to travel abroad are perceived as solely fruits of labor and white privilege is denied. Because "white privilege is infused into the norms of our everyday lives, it becomes a difficult aspect of experience to separate and recognize, let alone implicate. So for the most part, while the racially privileged may recognize the existence of oppression, they often do so without perceiving the relational tissue that runs between that oppression and their power" (p. 83).

“Racial identity contributes to knowledge production about development” (Dei, 1998, p. 144). That is, of course, a most natural affect. After all, one’s race largely shapes one’s life experiences. However, when we, as white people, are either unaware of this or choose to ignore it, we are misguided in our approaches to “development.” Dei states that “race has long been absent from development theory and critiques” (p. 144). When I reflect on all the training sessions and research I have done to prepare myself for “development” opportunities, never did I come across a voice that awakened me to the need to recognize my position of privilege. This is a problem. “Northern development experts…cannot continue to examine or promote development in the periphery as if they are not implicated in the structures of global domination and exploitation of the South” (Dei, 1998, p. 144).

Annually since 2007, Me to We has hosted We Day, self-described as not just an event but a "movement" (www.weday.com). Always held in a stadium, its locations have now expanded beyond Toronto to Vancouver, Montreal, the Waterloo region and Winnipeg. The day involves motivational speakers and musicians. In her article, Hope for Sale, author Janet Newbury, speaks to "the immense corporate presence" at We Day.

As a chaperone for a group of high school kids, Newbury attended Vancouver's second We Day in 2010. "The energy in the space was undeniable. And the intentions brought there by teachers, volunteers, presenters, and attendees were surely coming from the right place. So why did it feel so wrong?" she reflects.

Before even finding their seats, the students were offered chances to "win free stuff from Nature's Gate (a 'green' food company)" and could purchase t-shirts and bottled water (profits of which they are assured would be contributing to a good cause). Waiting on each seat was a bag full of goodies including coupons for Telus and Nature's Gate. As they wait for the show to start, screens flash advertisements from Telus and CTV among others. Later, during the lunch break, those same screens played advertisements from Coke Zero, CTV, Molson Beer, Air Canada and Disney.

"When the show finally began, I had some difficulty discerning the invited speakers from the corporate representatives," Newbury recalls. These corporate representatives included "spokespeople from companies such as The Vancouver Sun and The Keg Steakhouse and Bar [speaking] passionately to their captive young audience about the good their businesses are doing for the world's least privileged citizens." The applause in the Roger's Centre was deafening and to Newbury the message was clear: "It's up to us to change the world. And with the help of some powerful corporate entities, we can do it." Here we see a complete disregard for the "complex interconnections between the first and third world economies" (Mohanty, 1991, p. 336), and a denial that we "have" directly because they "have not", a truth that I am only starting to grasp.

Newbury bases her arguments on Delphine Rabet's article called Corporate Power in Global Governance (2010), which argues that a corporation's primary concern is not profit but rather the consolidation of power. This fact explains their enthusiasm to become involved in events like We Day.

Corporations are eager to present themselves as benevolent entities that benefit the people in the third world countries where they operate. Public relations opportunities such as Me to We offer corporations the chance to donate to the poor in a high profile way and thus portray their activities in the third world as mutually beneficial or even altruistically inspired. In reality though, CSR, which stands for Corporate Social Responsibility, "serves (and is intended to serve) the political purposes of corporations in that it confirms 'the imperatives to protect the wealth generation processes' by highlighting the central place of free markets in efforts towards positive social change" (Newbury with a quote from Rabet, p.7). In this way, Rabet argues, "CSR contributes to the construction of an ideological system which consolidates the power of particular actors in the international realm" (p. 7).

In order to justify the clout that corporations wield in the political arena, they must "develop the ideological justification for their existence" (p. 7) and Me to We goes a long way in helping corporations accomplish this. "What has been institutionalized as development has actually been an economic boom to transnational corporate capital interests in Africa" (Dei, 1998, p. 141).

When appealing to corporations to sponsor We Day 2012 (which is at no cost to students), organizers provide a long list of potential benefits. They include:

- gaining brand exposure through extensive social networks and broadcasts
- developing customized programs which specifically target regions crucial to their brand
- promoting their brand to youth who become brand ambassadors
- using We Day as a platform to achieve their key CSR objectives which will demonstrate to key audiences that "[their] company is a company that cares."

Additionally, it is boasted that the core audience is students from 12-17 years old. This would be enticing for any potential sponsor as a young customer is potentially a life-long one. Impressive numbers of viewers in the stadium and watching online and on television are also shared. (www.weday.com/doc/We%20Day%202012%20Sponsorship%20Overview.pdf)

Dei (1998) argues that "African academic institutions must be assisted to develop and maintain their own internal structures of research" (p. 152). It is not recommend that anybody hold their breath waiting, however, for any corporation dedicated to Me to We to start funding an Afrocentric university in Africa that looked to "loosen the dependence on the North" (p. 152). "We should continually challenge the legitimacy of external interference in the affairs of the South" (Dei, 1998, p. 151), yet we do not–and we are not teaching our younger generations to either.

"I understand the argument that we need to use the 'master's tools' in order to get the job done…But my argument is that in this case, this is not getting the job done. In fact, the implications of this kind of initiative direct us away from the stated intentions of freedom, justice and equality" (Newbury). Take, for example, the selling of bottled water at We Day.

Annie Leonard, founder of the non-profit Story of Stuff Project (2008) illustrates the devastating effects that the bottled water industry has had on the world, including the South. For example, only twenty percent of empty bottles make it into the recycling bin. But what happens next? Shiploads of this twenty percent are sent to India. As opposed to being recycled there, which would turn these bottles into new bottles, they are downcycled. This means that the plastic is made into lower quality products that will eventually be thrown out again. The remaining parts of the bottle that cannot be downcycled are thrown into the landfills of India.

Beyond this, especially in the South, much public water is polluted thanks in part to this industry, which is of course very willing to sell its products to these vulnerable populations. Additionally, "Around the world, a billion people don't have access to tap water, yet cities all over are spending millions of dollars to deal with

all the plastic bottles we throw out." This knowledge, for example, would empower students to make responsible choices as agents of change ("Me to We", www.thestoryofstuff.org/movies-all/story-of-bottled-water).

As Newbury exited We Day, she was left fearful that today's youth are being "duped into believing their power lies within their role as consumers, not citizens." I share her concern. Like its corporate sponsors, Me to We is directly taking advantage of Western youth's addiction to materialism. A visit to their website, www.metowe.com, lets visitors choose from a wide variety of jewelry, handbags, books, DVD's, and music. At www.metowestyle.com, one can choose from a variety of fashionable clothing. For example, as modeled by pop singer Nelly Furtado, girls can purchase "the Kisaruni Tee" named after its beneficiary, the Kisaruni All Girls Secondary School in Kenya, for $45.00. This off-the-shoulder t-shirt features a gold glittery map of Africa across its front. Next to Furtado's picture reads "Help Africa Radiate and Shine" and "If you really want to change the world, invest in a girl…Transform lives through education by buying this tee to support Kisaruni" (Me to We, 2013).

Browsing the web for Me to We information, I am flooded with gimmicky promises. "Download the new Me to We web browser, and help change the world at the click of a mouse. Fifty percent of proceeds from searches on the Me to We branded browser go to support Free the Children. It's that easy!" flashes across my screen.

Me to We also acts as a travel agency selling "volunteer trips" to many parts of the South that accommodate the needs of youth, families and corporate "volunteers." If Africa is your destination of choice, trips to rural Kenya are available. Packaged as a guilt-free trip to Africa, its website promises that "Me to We Trips open a world of learning and adventure" (www.metowe/trips). However, you must be relatively wealthy to "volunteer." A twenty-day trip to Kenya will cost a student $4995 plus taxes. Priceless is the fact, however, that you get to feel good about your holiday.

In Kenya, "volunteers" stay in luxurious, "rustic" cottages. A video clip narrated by Marc Kielburger highlights the comfortable couches and beds that furnish the cottages which have running water, a full bathtub, glass windows, stone flooring and a fireplace. "All the luxuries of home with the true experience of Africa," (http://www.metowe/trips/adult/overview) he boasts.

Video testimonials targeting potential youth "volunteers" feature white teenagers speaking about their experiences as clips of locals and white foreigners joyously building a school are shown, all to feel-good music in the background. Many high fives are exchanged. I am curious to know what Western youth of color might feel when they see this dynamic, especially those who are surrounded by predominantly white classmates.

Having travelled with her family, a white Western mother fondly recalls, "We've had the opportunity to go into some very small villages and experience firsthand what life is like in rural Kenya" (www.metowe/trips/adult). I wonder how the Maasai Mara region has changed since it has become a tourist destination. The website is riddled with tourists posing with colorfully dressed locals. Many video clips feature

Africans lined up dancing and singing as tourists get to make their way down the lines hugging or shaking hands with each local. I wonder how expected this is of the locals, how routine it has become. I wonder if they feel free to express disdain at consistently having foreigners study them, take their pictures and leave physical proof of their stay, whether it be a tree or another building.

Imagine black Kenyans routinely visiting the town of Keswick, Ontario. They take pictures, enthusiastically teach us their languages, play with our children, want to learn the way we dance, build things we are supposed to inhabit and then leave twenty days later only to be replaced by a new group of friendly "volunteers."

As a male tourist reflects on his trip, you hear him say "You can read all the books, you can watch all the documentaries but you don't get it until you see it yourself" (*Me to We*, 2013) as he is seen patting black children on the head. You don't get what exactly, I wonder.

One of many promotional video clips assures potential volunteers that "whether it's through school building, teaching English in a classroom, or simply by planting a tree you'll have an opportunity to meet and help some of the 5000 children who attend Free the Children Schools" (*Me to We*, 2013). Professional requirements in teaching or building are not required.

I wonder how it is that a school always needs to be built just as volunteers are arriving. I also wonder how it is that organizations are unable to find willing workers locally. Daniella Poppy, founder of Pepy, a non-profit organization working to improve educational opportunities in rural Cambodia, reflects on her own experiences as a volunteer abroad. "From the beginning, I recognized the value for me. I enjoyed and learned more on this kind of trips and decided that that was how I liked to travel." But she recalls that after having done a few of these trips, especially those that she could fundraise to cover her own costs, she began to realize that although she was greatly benefiting, the trips were being sold to her as though she was in fact giving a lot (Gomeshi, 2011).

Me to We's Eurocentric vision of what a school should look like is amplified in their appeal to potential volunteers to "help build a school for children who may never have set foot inside a classroom" (www.metowe.com/trips). Is a child uneducated and lost if their learning did not take place within four walls? Here, the African child is made to look desolate and dependent on a wealthy tourist to graciously come and build a school.

A source of pride for Me to We is the 650 schools and school rooms their volunteers have built in developing countries (www.metowe.com). I worry what kind of a message this is sending to our youth. In his article, Education and Schooling: You Can Have One Without the Other, Mwalimu J. Shujaa (1993) differentiates between education and schooling and connects "the process of schooling to the perpetuation of existing relations of power and politically dominant culture in the United States." He argues that it is likely that most "African-Americans receive more schooling than education." I draw many parallels here to the education of Africans by foreign volunteers.

"Education, in contrast to schooling, is the process of transmitting from one generation to the next knowledge of the values, aesthetics, spiritual beliefs and all things that give a particular cultural orientation its uniqueness" (p. 330), Shujaa states. "Every cultural group must provide for this transmission process or it will cease to exist" (p. 331). It is difficult to imagine that many Me to We volunteers, standing at the front of the classroom, are thinking about power dynamics or cultural contexts. Shujaa defines schooling as "a process intended to perpetuate and maintain the society's existing power relations and the institutional structures that support those arrangements." Me to We's denial of past and present power struggles is nurturing the young Western generation to take its usual position of authority and assumed expertise.

With a total disregard to indigenous school systems, Me to We also puts a misleading focus on providing aid in the form of stuff. Poppy comments on Westerners' desire to build something physical abroad. "There are empty schools all across Cambodia, empty health centers, empty schools with peoples' names on them." Why? "Because we invest in things. We can see a picture with a school with our names on it…versus 'seeing' a school where x amount of teachers were trained based on the same cost" (Gomeshi, August 15, 2011).

The Me to We volunteers appear to have embraced a parental role over their African peers. Referring to having built a school, one young volunteer reflects gleefully, "It's just an amazing feeling to look back and to think that people are going to get to receive an education now just because you built a place where they can go…It's amazing to think that what we did is contributing to their lives and is contributing to their dreams" (www.metowe/trips). I fear that this is the clear, over-simplified message being sent, not only to Me to We tourists, but also to the many students of schools that have embraced Me to We programming.

When one volunteer comments, "We are the ones who are going to be making decisions that will change the course of history in the next few years" (www.metowe.com/trips), I can't help but wonder who really is this "we"?

Another cause for concern is the simplification of complex issues and histories. When Western children feel empowered to end hunger by baking brownies, it reinforces a rescuer mentality. "Our oppressor sees himself as the superior savior of the poor, uneducated and starving masses: the benevolent patriarch whose 'coffee money' could save the lives of a number of children in Africa and Asia" (Dei *et al.*, 2004, p. 98).

In an interview with the CBC's Jian Gomeshi, founding member and current General Director of the Canadian section of Medecins Sans Frontiere (MSF), Marilyn McHarg, comments on the problematic over-simplistic solutions offered to potential Western donors. She uses the most recent crisis in the horn of Africa as an example. Headlines that read "Famine in the Horn of Africa," she explains, are problematic because "it engenders a very simplistic picture of what's going on. It's not just about drought. It's about 20 years of conflict, aid organizations not having sufficient access to people. It's about drought exasperating the situation for people on the ground." Dangerously, this oversimplification makes us think that this crisis might be solved by Westerners donating money for food and water.

I am only beginning to understand the complexities of what has really happened in the horn of Africa. To shed a little light on this, McHarg reveals that "aid organizations can't solve what's happening in and around Somalia. All we can do is keep people alive that we have access to in hopes of better times ahead."

Also, Valerie Amos, a top United Nations official, urges us to connect this drought with climate change, a factor largely exacerbated by the Western nations. (www.democracynow.org/2011/7/13/famine_in_somalia_horn_of_africa)

In a May 2009 interview, Noam Chomsky speaks to Somalia's history as being complex. For this interview, he keeps to the recent years leading up to the 2011 famine and explains that Western governments' policies have also directly contributed to Somalia's plight.

> As part of the so-called 'War on Terror', the treasury department's branch, the [American] Office of Foreign Assets Control went after an Islamic charity called Al-Barakat and claimed that it was involved in financing Al Qaeda. They closed it down. There was a lot of publicity about that as a great achievement of the 'War of Terror'. A couple of years later, they conceded quietly that it was a mistake and that they weren't involved at all. It turns out that this charity was a large part of the sustenance for Somalia…and that the charity was funding business activities, banks and private enterprise. It was making a substantial contribution to the economy and when they closed it down, it all collapsed.

Chomsky also speaks about the United States financially supporting Ethiopian-led attacks on Somalia in 2006. (www.chomsky.info/interviews/20090519.htm)

I do believe that our educators that enthusiastically welcome Me to We into our schools are widely well-intentioned. This makes them vulnerable to any like-minded initiatives as well. Therefore, although I am eager to see an end to Me to We in our schools, banning it would be energy misdirected. Without a deeper understanding, we would simply be vulnerable to the next idealist approach to "development".

In schools, Me to We exists in an environment that is denying our kids the right to learn why "international development as we have all come to know and understand has met with disappointment in Africa" (Dei, 1998, p.142). Instead, our kids are led to believe that they, somehow, are the first generation to care and to act and that that alone is a recipe for sustainable change. Adichie speaks to "how impressionable and vulnerable we are in the face of a story, particularly as children" (2009). This reflects our paramount responsibility in countering the single story of Africa.

It is our mission as educators to support our students in developing the critical thinking skills one needs to begin to understand past and present injustices that have led to an unbalanced distribution of wealth both in local and foreign contexts. Instead, however, our students are encouraged to jump on the Me to We bandwagon. What if we (as educators) started fostering a culture of asking questions? Fearless questioning leads to dialogue about the histories of corporate power, colonialism, and white and Western privilege.

Defined as "a standard for judging everything that is NOT European" (Dei, 2010, p.2), it is important that Eurocentricity is discussed and identified within Canadian and foreign contexts. But this is where a major shift must occur in education. Because if we, as teachers, come from predominately Eurocentric upbringings then we must learn to let go of being the "expert". Students, especially those who come to us from non-European backgrounds will be able to provide a multitude of examples of how we are functioning within European ideologies.

As I begin to open my eyes to this truth, I am struck by the many examples that I was blind to. For instance, Dei's simple example of how our society defines *ethnic* food. "Let us think about what food is not ethnic food and we will begin to understand the way Canadian and American societies are Eurocentric" (2010, p. 2). Secondly, Dei asks us to identify which holidays close our schools. "In North America, rather tellingly, the only holidays that will get the student out of school are Christmas, Thanksgiving, Easter… and Canada Day" (p.2). I now reflect on how much coverage St. Patrick's Day in Toronto is afforded in our schools and the media. We wear green in my inner city public school.

I also recommend that we move away from disproportionately pointing the finger at other countries, namely in Africa, for their acts of injustice thus fostering a false sense of moral superiority. Encouraging our students to think globally but act locally is more appropriate. Shailja Patel states "African women and girls [are] the world's favorite target for rescue, the population everyone loves to speak for and speak about, but rarely cares to listen to" (April, 2012). Movements like Me to We contribute to reactions like that of Adichie's American University roommate.

> What struck me was this: She had felt sorry for me even before she saw me. Her default position toward me, as an African, was a kind of patronizing, well-meaning, pity. My roommate had a single story of Africa. A single story of catastrophe. In this single story there was no possibility of Africans being similar to her, in any way. No possibility of feelings more complex than pity. No possibility of a connection as human equals(2009).

When looking to help, students need the skills to listen and reflect. Are those being violated perceived as passive? What power structures are enabling oppression? I argue that students should be supported in investigating the history, context and circumstance that surround injustices.

If Western children of all racial backgrounds see the problem as so very simplistic, are they not likely to infer a sense of condescension over their impoverished counterparts? Are they rescuing Africans from "their own laziness, backwardness and incompetence" (Dei *et al*., 2004, p. 98)? If they themselves can gather, get organized and raise funds, will they understand why youth abroad cannot?

At the age of 12, Craig Kielburger was understandably ignorant of his white privilege leading him to oversimplify the complexities of "development". However, he and the growing community of what is Me to We have a duty to revisit these realities.

If the Kielburger brothers were two black boys, would Me to We hold the status of influence that it does today? I argue that it would be perceived as a black movement rather than a humanitarian one. But then again, here I am, a white Western voice writing about the importance of listening to the African voice.

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A. Y. QUASHIGAH

4. WHY TEACH SOCIAL STUDIES FROM A GLOBAL AND MULTICULTURAL PERSPECTIVE?

INTRODUCTION

Multicultural education has become the intellectual flavour for the last decades as far as questions of cultural diversity and social difference are raised in schooling contexts. In a study of educational governance, social exclusion within the context of multicultures, globalization appears to suggest fatalism about society and schooling. In other words, globalization is presented as a fact of life to which schools must simply accommodate through revisions to their curriculum and expectations about who the child is and should be (Popkewitz & Rizvi, 2009). There are apparently, a number of issues that make teaching social studies from global and multicultural perspectives necessary, even more than ever before after the historic notoriety of September 11, 2001 (just a couple of days after I had, on a personal triumphant note, successfully defended my doctoral dissertation at the University of Kentucky, Lexington in the United States of America). Anyhow, according to Banks (2001) individuals and societies tend to acquire knowledge or beliefs, sometimes invalid, about ethnic and cultural groups. These biased beliefs and inaccurate knowledge about ethnic groups limit the perspectives of many and make a difference, in the opportunities and options available to members of ethnic groups.

Barely a decade and a half ago, Barber (1996) gave an illustration about human diversity globally noting that a casual count of the number of languages spoken around the world suggest that the community of nations can be well over six thousand members. This to me reinforces the need for national and international understanding, peace and stability. While Sputnik provided the first impetus from space for the forward movement in global and multicultural education, Astronaut Frank Borman of Apollo 8 gave the world its first human perception from space of the oneness of humankind, the organic relationship of people and planet, and the sense of common destiny. Here is how he described his feelings as he rounded the moon in 1968 on the last orbit and headed back toward earth:

> The view of the earth from the moon fascinated me – a small disk, 240,000 miles away. It was hard to think that, that little thing held so many problems, so many frustrations. Raging nationalistic interests, famines, wars, pestilence don't show from that distance. I'm convinced that some wayward stranger in a space-craft, coming from some other part of the heavens, could look at earth

A. Asabere-Ameyaw et al., Indigenist African Development and Related Issues, 65–77.

> and never know that it was inhabited at all. But the same wayward stranger would certainly know instinctively that if the earth were inhabited, then the destinies of all who lived on it must inevitably be interwoven and joined. We are one hunk of ground, water, air, clouds, floating around in space. From out there it really is "one world" (Leestma, 1979, pp. 236 – 237).

The notion of "one world" is succinctly captured as new knowledge which, when analyzed and synthesized in its connection with legacy of imperialism and mainstreaming academic knowledge, leads to emerging global understandings that have less to do with divisions among people or nations (Willinsky, 1998; Merryfield, 2001; Wilson, Guichun & Quashigah, 2008).

CONCEPTUALIZATIONS

The perceptual dimensions within global and multicultural education are essential and relevant for redressing contemporary global issues such as terrorism, conflicts/ wars, environmental degradation/quality, development, religion and racism. These dimensions include: open-mindedness, anticipation of complexity, resistance to stereotyping, empathy, and non-chauvinism (Merryfield, 1998). How might terrorists feel closed-minded, stereotyped, chauvinistic and non-empathetic to anticipate complexity around deadly activities perhaps comparable to similar obnoxious events in History – one of the key traditional disciplines around which social studies as a subject revolves? Indeed, Blanchard, Senesh and Patterson-Black (1999) defines the field of social studies education as constituting a vital configuration of disciplines and ideas through which a society's young people learn to situate themselves in the world (p. 63). Quite a lot from the literature emphasizes the benefits that the world will derive from interdependence of cultures, economic systems, social and political relations (Tye and Tye, 1992; Tye, 1999; Kniep, 1986, 1989; Becker, 1979). The challenge here is to prepare educators to educate young people for an interrelated, shrinking time-space, culturally pluralistic world.

A lot has also been written over the last thirty years or so (and they remain quite relevant today) about integrating global and multicultural perspectives in schools' curricular. Those who advocate teaching from global and multicultural perspectives see the world as an interrelated system. As such, technological, ecological, economic, educational, political and developmental issues, they state, can no longer be adequately addressed by individual nations. Also, as noted earlier on, scholars have conceptualized perceptual dimensions within global and multicultural education, as having to do with: resistance to stereotyping, empathy and non-chauvinism (Merryfield, 1998; Wilson, 1993, 1996 &1997; Garcia, Spalding & Powell, 2001). Bennet (1995) connects global and multicultural education in a model for teacher education in a culturally pluralistic society. Her model focuses on the core values and goals of both global and multicultural perspectives in the school curriculum. Banks (2001) notes that global and multicultural education share

important goals, while Davidman and Davidman (2001) show how multicultural education could be productively linked to other important curriculum emphases, such as global education, citizenship education and environmental education. The environment of New York (USA) after September 11, 2001 and that of Port-au-Prince (Haiti) after the earth tremor of January 08, 2010, has important implications for the rest of the world, perhaps for some African governments been the hardest hit in terms of humanitarian assistance they could give or would have otherwise being the recipients of, as usual. These developments perhaps give credence to Wilson (1993) and Ramirez and Gallardo (2001) assertions that, global and multicultural perspectives are both extensions of individual and societies lived experiences.

GLOBALIZATION OF KNOWLEDGE AND CULTURES

Not too long, Friedman's (1999, 2000; 2005) [and Lechner & Boli (Eds.) (2004)] concern for globalization was promoted as a measure for world peace and development, and towards an understanding of the concept as a sort of Americanization, but not in its entirety. In one sense, globalization is tantamount to placing the fate of the globe in American civic-style development and dominance. In yet another vein, globalization is a process towards increasing the possibility of the seeming smothering of poorer, less developed nations, for example in Africa, by the American model. Apparently, Friedman's idea is that globalization with its attendant democratization of finance, information and technology is the building block and defining system for the post-cold war era. Technological advances in the main have made it possible for governments to share information about almost anything and everything. Decisions of individuals are almost absolutely transferable and shared with the click of a mouse in response to varied economic, educational, political or cultural changes across the globe. The symbol of the Cold War was a wall, which divided everyone. The symbol of globalization is the World Wide Web, which, in theory at least, unites everyone (Friedman, 1999, 2000, p. 8). In unity there is supposed to be peace, perhaps the only free, floating-flame for a social studies curriculum and instruction in global and multicultural education, in the events of terrorism, ethnic conflicts, grown and growing democracies and space exploration for albeit yet uncovered cultures.

As long ago as 1976, before the term globalization was in vogue, Hanvey described certain modes of thought, sensitivities, intellectual skills and explanatory capacities necessary for attaining a global perspective. In my view, Hanvey's classic work, which has become time-tested and relevant more than ever before, listed attainable goals as: perspective consciousness, state-of-the-planet awareness, cross-cultural awareness, and knowledge of global dynamics (or the world as a system), and awareness of human choices and ethical awareness (Hanvey, 1976). Teaching and learning in the school's environment has gone through what I will call "chalking and talking", flip charting and talking, slide projecting and talking, white-board markering and talking, slide-projecting and talking, power-pointing and talking, to

video-conferencing and talking. What is next? Concerned about education for an interdependent nature of the world, Becker, in as far back as 1979, edited Schooling for a Global Age in which contributors recognized the diversity of humanity, the interdependence of nations and peoples, the need for international cooperation, and the role of individuals and schools in helping to shape an acceptable future. In more recent studies about curriculum and instruction, global education, according to Tye (1999), involves learning about those problems and issues which cut across national boundaries and about the interconnectedness of systems – cultural, educational, ecological, economic, political and technological. The movements related to global education include: peace education, environmental education, intercultural education, development education, human rights education, education for democracy, human geography, humane geographies, and world education (Tye, 1999, p. xvii).

As already mentioned, Friedman's (1999, 2000) globalization is largely Americanization. This seems to mean the importance and interconnectedness of the U.S. with most other countries and other countries with the U.S. In view of education, and from a pluralistic perspective, there is the worldwide responsibility to educate about globalization or the interconnectedness of nations, but it seems critical in the U.S. because of its place in the world. If global and multicultural education can be tailored to understanding and predicting the roots of conflicts, then perhaps most human issues can be resolved without warfare. For example, minerals and nuclear products are based on land, settlement and resources studies. Logistics and networks of military manoeuvres are socioeconomic concerns. Issues of religious fundamentalism are essentially the outcrops of cultures. Buildings and structural designs for forced migration out of endangered environments, for example refugee camps and "reed culture" are a matter of how humanity is sustained and can live with the environment. Social impact assessment by individuals and/or institutions in the event of communities' proximity to flood-prone areas, earthquake zones, military landscapes and missile sites is a possibility for social science inquiry, citizenship, global, and multicultural education. Communication in the 21st century deals with impacts of a shrinking world by way of concepts such as cyberspace and cyberboosterism, television, radio, newspapers, music, cartographic advertising, digital photography, and the internet-cafés, among others.

Education in the 21st century should stand for the value of civic competence; hence one of the priorities is to ensure that children are comfortable at school and that they can interact with civility and productively with others (Levstik, 1997; Gardner, 1999), through appropriate use of cyberspace, television, newspapers, music, radio, pictures and so on. We continue to float on a planet that exists because of what we think it is – education, politics, economics, culture, history, space, environment, science and technology. The building blocks of our planet are often rightly or wrongly defined in terms of these categories or subjects. We believe we can afford to imagine that we are all both global and multicultural educators and learners using a reflective-democratic curriculum and instruction for tolerance, peace and development, anywhere and everywhere.

GLOBAL AND MULTICULTURAL PERSPECTIVES

Given the above scenario and nature of the world in which many young pupils and older students will live, we must consider the teaching of subjects from global and multicultural perspectives. We should think that social studies education must lead on the path toward such pedagogy. Global and multicultural perspectives will enable individuals, groups, institutions, corporations, nations, and entire systems to reach each other around the world farther, faster, deeper, and cheaper, than ever before. The search for a configuration of ideas through which our societies' young people would be taught and the processes through which learning are mediated, are worthwhile.

We live on a planet of increasing inequality and environmental degradation. We are confronted with a continuing capacity for human activities, from environmental degradation to civil wars that are a challenge to growth and development. Most, if not all, these human issues transcend political, economic and cultural boundaries, hence the necessity for global and multicultural education in this era of intense hatred culminating into terrorists acts and ethnic/racial conflicts across the globe. Cynthia A. Tyson (2004, p. 430) writes, "Racism in the United States and ethnicity in Africa often rears its ugly head and gnaws at the very foundation of democracy" [Italics added]. For us in Africa, the social construct we call ethnicity is a huge challenge for social studies educators and researchers' paradigmatic thinking about this canker as a socio-political construct rooted inappropriately in biological or evolutionary reality. Belonging to an ethnic group such as Tutsis, Hutus, Ewe, Ga, Akan, Gios, and Mandingos, to mention a few is an accident of birth, and must be one of the greatest implications for participating in the dismantling of ethnocentrism that goes with ethnicity and not simply studying it. This write-up is being presented as a springboard to social studies educators to take heed to a clarion call for re-conceptualizing the place of ethnicity in Africa and in social studies education. In most of Africa, ethnic politics no doubt often matters just like Cornel West wrote, race still matters for the United States.

For ethnic politics in Africa, we may take a cue from Carole Hahn (1998) who wrote about civic education with emphasis on adolescent political attitudes and behaviours, gender and political attitudes, support for free expression of diverse views, classroom climate and investigation of controversial public policy issues. She also sheds light on conditions under which democratic attitudes and values take root in youth. She notes that throughout the history of social studies in the United States, there has always been disagreement over the relative emphases that should be placed on disciplinary knowledge, practice in reflective inquiry, and practical decision making within the social studies curriculum (p. 17). Nevertheless, schools everywhere in the U.S. essentially teach social studies to prepare active citizens for democracy in an increasingly complex and interdependent world, including Africa (Hunt & Metcalf, 1968; Engle and Ochoa, 1988; Levstik, 1997; and Hahn, 1998).

In the article Classroom Climate, Global Knowledge, Global Attitudes, Political Action, Blankenship (1990) built on previous studies by linking research on global

perspectives education with the research on political socialization. First, the study was meant to determine the relationships that exist between classroom climate and global knowledge, global attitudes and political attitudes. Secondly, it was to determine if gender and racial differences exist in relation to the influence of classroom climate, on student global knowledge and political attitudes. Third, was to identify through observation what distinguishes classes that are perceived by students as "more open" from classes perceived by students as being "less open." It was revealed that there was a weak relationship between perceptions of an open classroom climate and the level of global knowledge, but there was also found to be a moderate relationship between perceptions of an open classroom climate and positive global attitudes.

Fernald and Allen's Where Is "Away"? – A Geographic Concept (1990) gave credence to attainable global attitudes. These co-authors rhetorically asked: Can we ever throw something away and be certain that it or its consequences are not in our midst, threatening our safety and that of our neighbours or the future of our children? Are we willing to alter our patterns of resources use and exploration and to pay the higher costs for recycling, reclamation, incineration, and biodegradation? These questions involve personal and public morality. They involve students in considering the right of others, even if yet unborn, who will use the environment with us or after us. What are the obligations to our neighbours, to us, and the future of our world, as we discard paper, flush toilets, and dispose of used motor oil? Do such facilities as incineration, recycling and biodegradation offer safe, if more costly, options? Classrooms employing questions such as these encouraged students to look carefully at the geographic, political and moral features of waste disposal to understand geographically, politically and morally – that "away" is not nearly as far as they once thought it was. "Away" is almost always here (Fernald & Allen, 1990).

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Like global education, multicultural education deals with knowledge and attitudes. For example, multicultural education, as conceptualized by Banks (2001) is a field that consists of five dimensions, namely: content integration, knowledge construction process, and prejudice reduction. The rest are: equity pedagogy, and an empowering school socio-cultural structure. The issue of content integration deals with the extent to which teachers use examples and content from a variety of cultures and groups to illustrate concepts, principles, generalizations and theories in their teaching. The knowledge construction process relates to the extent to which teachers help students to understand, investigate and determine how the implicit cultural assumptions, frames of references, perspectives and biases within a discipline influence the ways in which knowledge is constructed within it. With the prejudice reduction dimension, teachers help students, for example, to develop more positive attitudes toward different ethnic groups (racial groups perhaps in the U.S.). Thereafter, equity pedagogy exists when teachers modify their teaching in ways that will facilitate the academic achievement of students from diverse groups of people. This kind

of pedagogy includes using a variety of teaching styles and approaches that are consistent with the wide range of learning styles within various cultural and ethnic groups. The other dimension of multicultural education is a school culture and social structure that seeks to promote equality. To implement this dimension, the culture and organization of the school must be restructured in a collaborative process that involves all members of the school staff. Banks contends that multicultural education is a reform movement designed to make major curricula and structural changes in the education of students in schools, colleges, and universities (Banks, 2001).

Similarly, Gollnick and Chinn (1998) see multicultural education as an educational strategy in which students' cultural backgrounds are to develop effective classroom instruction and school environments. It is designed to support and extend the concepts of cultural differences and democracy in the formal school setting. Also, Davidman and Davidman (2001) in like fashion, see multicultural education as an educational reform movement that is concerned with increasing educational equity for a range of cultural and ethnic groups. It is a change-oriented model of curriculum and instruction that addresses the aspirations and learning needs of all students, as well as parents and teachers. Anyhow, Pang (2001) is more general in her definition, noting that multicultural education primarily deals with children learning skills and knowledge they will need to develop into responsible citizens and people who can think, reason, and communicate.

Other people's children: Cultural conflict in the classroom is another ground breaking research in multicultural education. It is a chronicle of the author's journey into understanding other people's worlds; a journey that has to do with learning to see, albeit dimly, through what the author regarded as "the haze of her own cultural lenses." In that blurred view, the author came to understand that power plays a critical role in the American society and educational system. The world-views of those with privileged positions are taken as the only reality, while the world-views of those less powerful are dismissed as inconsequential. Maybe quite frankly, in the educational institutions (*all over the world*), the possibilities for poor people to define themselves and to determine who each should be, involve a power that lies outside of the self. It is often others who determine how they should act, how they are to be judged. Indeed, in the words of Native Alaskan educator: "In order to teach you, I must know you. I pray for all of us the strength to teach our children what they must learn, and the humility and wisdom to learn from them so that we might better teach" (Delpit, 1995). Also, much more candidly, multicultural education should focus on transforming dominant beliefs, values, assumptions and experiences in ways that will support and improve the education and living conditions of humanity (Ladson-Billings, 1994, 1995, 1999; Au, 1993).

From another part of the world, Teasdale and Teasdale (1995), in a publication based on a South Pacific Conference, recommend that the goal of every governance structure must be unity in diversity, and also see the role of power of western culture. By unity is meant the sharing by all people of a nation's rights, responsibilities and resources in a just and mutually beneficial manner. By diversity is meant the

recognition of the differences and protection of ways and values of a nation's people as lived in the conditions and contexts of their different cultures. As an ideal, all people should be multicultural. However, the first step surely is for each people to become literate in his or her culture, and that does not seem to always happen – instead we have Westernization first. There seems to be an increasing sense of urgency within small societies to preserve their culture. This is not preservation as a heritage item, or a museum piece, but as a living, vibrant, growing entity. A culture that can selectively adopt what it wants from the west, without, losing its very sense and its cultural integrity. A culturally appropriate education – teaching and learning is an integral part to this process. So the multicultural and global become linked in small nations because of the power of the West.

GLOBAL AND MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Several educators have tried to pull global and multicultural education together. For example, Wilson (1996) describes commonalities by beginning with a West African proverb, which says, "If you look only in one direction, your neck will be stiff." Using this metaphorically and as a springboard, she notes that the challenges for young people all over the world is to learn to look in many directions, because, young people will work and in fact, already do work in the very diverse world out there. According to Wilson, although global education and multicultural education have been separate movements with distinct historical bases and varying national organizations, patronage and leadership, there are four commonalities: the concept of culture and cultural differences, recognition of importance of knowledge, inclusion of a call for action, and an emphasis on the human connection (p. 93). Wilson (1996) thus offers examples of connecting global and multicultural, such as:

> A high school Global Issues class is studying South Africa. How can a multicultural perspective be added? The teacher may decide that comparing South Africa and the United States historically will help students understand the concepts of racism and leadership. The teacher could ask students to imagine a South-African-type apartheid in the U.S. in which the current white majority is placed in "Bantustans" across the country by a minority in control of the government. Students could research how education in both countries once contributed to and now tries to ameliorate racism. They could read about people in both countries who have been leaders for equality and change. Finally, students might study prejudice and discrimination in their own school and/or community. Playing the roles of cultural mediators, they might then lead prejudice reduction sessions for other students in the school or community groups (Wilson, 1996, p. 97).

She concludes with another Wets African proverb, "The world is like a Mask dancing, you cannot see it well if you stand in one place" (Wilson 1996, p. 98). Bennett's (1995) combination of global and multicultural education begins with an

explanation that multicultural education is an approach to teaching and learning that is based upon democratic values and beliefs, and seeks to foster cultural pluralism within culturally diverse societies and an interdependent world. Bennett's model succinctly demonstrates this connection with circles, putting what she called "Core Values" at the centre and six goals of global and multicultural perspectives in the schools' curriculum in the outer circle. She identifies the core values as follows: responsibility to a world community; acceptance and appreciation of cultural diversity; reverence for the earth; respect for human dignity and universal human rights. In the outer circle, she lists the six goals as: to develop multiple historical perspectives; to strengthen cultural consciousness; to strengthen intercultural competence; to combat racism, prejudice and discrimination; to increase awareness of the "state of the planet" and global dynamics; to build social skills (Bennett 1995, pp. 13 & 301). Several of these goals come from Hanvey's earlier work in1976.

Merryfield (2001) maintains that, the ability to see one's world both from the mainstream and from the margin is one of the shared characteristics of the theory and practices of global multicultural educators. For many of the educators she studied, there were parallels in recognizing that the multiple realities that exist in a community or country also exist globally. This recognition is what has led people concerned with domestic diversity and social justice to make connections with people supporting global diversity and human rights and become interested in how global perspectives can inform multicultural education. For the global educators, the recognition of the interconnectedness of local and global intersections of power, discrimination and identity has turned their attention to multicultural education in order to pursue local ramifications of globalization.

Ukpokodu (1999), however, states that even though global education and multicultural education are similar in many significant ways, teaching either requires outlining essential distinctions between them. In her opinion, global education and multicultural education go beyond the limited sense of creating cultural awareness to include the promotion of social equality and justice on a national or global level. Ukpokodu draws on Banks' notion of global education emphasizing the cultures and peoples of other lands, whereas multicultural education deals with ethnic diversity within the nation. She declares that the two concepts are simply not interchangeable. From a pedagogical point of view, the study of a unit on Africa or Japan or China, for example, does not help students understand the experiences of African-Americans, Japanese-Americans, and Chinese-Americans now or in the past. On the one hand, the multicultural domain allows for diverse voices to be heard in the reflecting mirrors of history. On the other hand, a global approach in education aims at developing students' knowledge and understanding of people and cultures of other lands, including their values, customs, institutional systems, resources, environmental adaptations, and related human/social challenges. Ideally, global education should help students to become aware of both human diversity and the commonalities in human experience. More importantly, both global education and multicultural education are essential for preparing students for national and global citizenship.

THE GOALS OF GLOBAL AND MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Global education and multicultural education share important goals according to others as well (Banks, 2001; Diaz, 2001). Global education seeks to help students develop cross-cultural competency in cultures beyond their national borders and to acquire the insight needed to recognize that all people living on earth have highly interconnected fates. Citizens who have an understanding and empathy for the cultures within their own society are probably more likely to function effectively in cultures outside their nation than citizens who do not have this knowledge. Banks (2001) believes that although both global and multicultural education share important aims, the two fields should be distinguished in theory and practice. He suggests that components of both global and multicultural education should be incorporated into the curriculum. But one should not be substituted for the other (p. 13).

Merryfield (1998) describes three groups of educators in her research namely: exemplary global educators; experienced classroom teachers who have recently studied and began to teach global perspectives; and pre-service teachers in a professional Development School Network (PDS) in Social Studies and Global Education. She referred to the first group as outstanding global educators who teach about the interconnectedness of global and local inequities, the human struggle for rights, self-determination, social justice and a better life. They are also the ones who, for example, help their students to empathize with children and young people who happen to have been born into different economic and political circumstances. Merryfield describes the second group of experienced classroom teachers as essentially the ones who expand curricular on less taught about parts of the world and global issues, include current global events into the social studies instruction, and recognize their own biases and those of their own students and that of the community. She describes the third category of pre-service teachers as those who integrate global and multicultural education so that students can identify local/global connections and connections and understanding how globalization is increasingly bringing diverse peoples closer together economically, politically and culturally.

Merryfield and Subedi (2001) have also argued that "moving the center" (apologies to Ngugi, 1993) of the curriculum means more than simply including social studies content on continents and countries in Social Studies Education. If students are to understand and relate to relationships across cultures, power, and knowledge construction, they must experience the knowledge, voices and ideas of people from these regions. "Moving the center," means including voices from all world regions from the perspectives of diverse people in those countries. One of the characteristics that exemplary global educators share is their integration of cross-cultural experiential learning into social studies instruction, those voices. Along with print, computer, and media resources from around the world, they also provide cross-cultural experiences for their students that create a positive interdependence with people who are different from themselves.

In a study focussed on pedagogy of global education with elementary students, Carlson and Holm (1999) examined three approaches. In the first approach, children were engaged in the art and music cultural experiences as a basis for participation in traditional festivals. In the second approach, students were involved in what was termed "origin" learning. This was focussed on research about ancestors based on feedback from people in the areas being studied. The last approach was an in-depth investigation from the individual through the local community to global levels. These approaches engaged the children in functionally constructing knowledge, gaining multiple perspectives individually and in small groups. The importance of the approaches is the depth of local and personal understanding that emerged. The approaches provide an authentic base for comparison and contrasts as well. The students and their teachers were all involved in the exercise. They were not researching "someone else" through their own art, music and dance. In other words they were involved in researching on themselves, their elders and their communities. By and large, they were developing friendships and understandings from one human being to another. This is a framework for participatory curriculum and instruction that can be used in any classroom.

In another study, Zevin and Corbin (1998) wrote about the erroneous knowledge and ethnocentric views educators and their students have about other nations. They reported that semantic differences and pair comparison methods offered a relatively appropriate way to discover where one is coming from, which is necessary and sufficient for engaging in global and multicultural perspectives. The authors concluded that social studies educators needed to assess students' perceptions and reinforce students' global awareness and sensitivity to other cultures.

CONCLUSION

I will like to conclude with an almost two decades old, but an absolutely important study in the context of this article by Paige (1993). In his study on education for intercultural experience, Paige (1993) makes two basic assumptions relevant to the pedagogy of teaching from global and multicultural perspectives: that firstly, intercultural experiences are emotionally intense and profoundly challenging for the participants and secondly, that education for intercultural experiences requires content and pedagogy radically different from traditional instructional practices. Intercultural education requires learners to reflect upon matters with which they have little first-hand experience. Global and multicultural educators therefore have many roles to play in assisting students before, during and after intense forms of intercultural experiences. They can help students maintain a high level of motivation for the experience, and this may be one of the most important sources of support educators can provide. There should also be a representation of the psychological dynamics of the intercultural experience so as to enable the students to know about the challenges involved. Having identified the dimensions of challenges students are able to cope with, educators can provide guidance on intercultural learning experiences to cater for students' needs, interests and background.

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A. ASABERE-AMEYAW

5. IMPROVING EDUCATION STANDARDS IN AFRICA

The Place of the University of Education

INTRODUCTION

This essay focuses on the responsibilities of the African university of education. While I write from my situatedness in a local university of education, I also want to stress that the issues I identify for the 'University of Education' have their corresponding dimensions in the African university as a whole. I would also register and recognize the heterogeneity of Africa and its higher educational institutions. For sure, there are particularities and specificities to the discussion worthy of note. However, I have chosen to be intellectually strategic in adopting a broad sweeping lens in speaking of "the African University" and the "University of Education" as homogenous blob. My approach is to gesture to the fact that the discussion undertaken here is more about shared and common concerns, constraints, limitations and possibilities for centres of higher learning in Africa.

In their very informative essay, Teferra and Altbach (2004) discussed the unprecedented challenges in African higher education at the beginning of the new millennium. The authors argued that Africa's academic institutions face obstacles in providing the education, policy research and intellectual service needed for the continent to advance. Their position should be read and understood more as a clarion call for transformative educational action. The African university of today functions in very difficult circumstances, both in terms of the cultural, social, economic, material and political problems facing the continent and in the context of globalization. No doubt, the road to future success will not be an easy one. A big problem to contend with is the fact that the system of higher education in Africa has mostly adopted and continues to operate the Western model of education - a direct result of colonialism and re-colonial dependency relations. This model of education has determined the course of Africa's development to date. Anyone who makes light of such assertion is not reading fully the complex picture of Africa's higher education. It is more than a simple argument that colonialism ended a long time ago and that Africa cannot continue to lay blame her problems on the legacy of colonialism. There are certain histories worthy of note. The continent has hosted some of the oldest universities in the world (e.g., Egypt's Al-Azhar, the only major academic institution in the world that is organized according to its original Islamic model). Africa still has a rich intellectual history and tradition. And yet, Africa can also attest

A. Asabere-Ameyaw et al., Indigenist African Development and Related Issues, 79–90.

to a great number of traditional centers of higher learning which were destroyed by European colonialism (Teferra & Altbach, 2004). The academic institutions of Africa today still have to contend with colonial influences in terms of the organization of academe, imported curricular initiatives, teaching and pedagogical strategies, weak governance structures and the nature of the links of the African academy with the centre of Western academy. The issues of high student tuition, educational access and accessibility for all groups, high student enrolment in the face of inadequate infrastructure, poor staffing, lack of curricular sophistication, funding and financing challenges, top-down governance and management, research and publishing constraints, struggles over academic freedom and state interference, the absence of Indigenous language of instruction and the internationalization of higher education continue to plague the African continent (see also Teferra & Altbach, 2004). While struggling to deal with these disturbing issues, even more new challenges continue to emerge daily.

On-going social and political processes across the African continent (e.g., the continuing pervasiveness of negativity, oppressions along lines of gender, class, religion, ethnicity and sexuality, massive political corruption and social acrimony, as well as other conflicts - wars, internal strife, etc) - all suggest a conscious and systematic effort of transforming African education to deal with current challenges is warranted more so than ever before. We need critical education to educate all learners to become functional and responsible citizens. Otherwise, we go down to the path of destruction. We require citizenry that will champion the values of a truly African-centred, home grown democracy (not simply aping the West), scientific innovation and creativity (take into account contributions of Western science and what our Indigenous sciences have to offer), addressing the ever increasing social inequities among groups and contending with the requirements of genuine political reforms. Clearly, this is a tall order. But, the need of effective educational response, particularly on the part of higher education (i.e., the African university), is urgent. The issue is not whether our society would change, but about which direction of change. Does the 'University of Education' have a role in meeting these challenges? In effect, the critical question is: How can universities of education lead the way for social and political change that will ensure sustainable development?

SEEDS OF CONCERNS AROUND EDUCATION STANDARDS IN AFRICA

A university is a community of teachers, students, researchers and an array of various professionals and non-professionals who work together with the goal of knowledge creation and dissemination and to improve on the living conditions and general well-being of humans. Universities have from time to time functioned as the central institutions for national development. Nationalist ideologies, for example, were nurtured in European universities in the 19th century. Universities were seedbeds of nationalism in many colonized nations in the 19th and 20th centuries.

African countries emerging out of colonialism were faced with the reality that Africa could not afford lower standards in a competitive world environment if it wanted to create employment and improve the quality of life of the African people. Since then, African nations have used education to inculcate knowledge, skills and attitudes considered useful and desirable into citizens with the view to reducing poverty through economic mobility.

Research and policy literature presents education as critical to long term improvements in productivity, demographic transition, preventive health care and reductions in inequality and inequity (Lockheed *et al*., 1980; Cochrane *et al*., 1980; MOESS, 2008); enhancing life chances in employment and social equity (Streeten, 1999; Lewin, 2007). Therefore, concerns around improving education standards in Africa are rooted in functionalists' argument that education provides full opportunity for people to develop their latent abilities and intelligence to meet the demands of commerce and industry and for nations to make real progress toward development. The issue is that education across all low income countries, such as in Africa, is headlined as an essential component of efforts to reduce poverty, increase equity and transform the developmental prospects of individuals and nations (Lewin, 2007).

CONCEPTUALIZING UNIVERSITIES OF EDUCATION

Universities of education are herein conceptualized as institutions dedicated to not only expanding the frontiers of knowledge but the training of teachers and teacher educators, and educational policy analyses and the inculcation of good attitudes and practices in its products. While the mandate of the 'University of Education' may differ from country to country, it is important to note that such institutions deal specifically with education as broadly defined to include formal schooling and beyond. As an institution of higher learning, the University of Education prepares teachers for primarily (but not exclusively) tertiary institutions. Any institution that prepares teachers to educate young learners of society has tremendous responsibilities placed on its shoulders. The institution prepares the leaders of tomorrow and those who are to change other peoples' minds. Education is the engine for social growth and development, and the University of Education plays a central role in preparing the young minds who will become the professionals and the governing bodies of the various sectors of the economy. In other words, the University of Education is the hotbed for the training of teachers who in turn will be producing/grooming the natural and social scientists, doctors, engineers, lawyers, administrators, social workers, human rights advocates, etc. of society.

An effective university of education should equip individuals to be able to participate in social processes, directing, defending and enhancing quality change. Teacher education classrooms/environments should produce graduates who can 'learn, unlearn and re-learn' depending on changing circumstances to remain relevant in a fast changing world. Teachers are to be trained to facilitate learning processes but not to dictate particular ways of doing things to learners. Educational practices should develop natural abilities but not to restrain them.

Universities of education generally lead the development of high quality education systems, producing high calibre teachers for education systems and leading curriculum research that is foundational to developing academic fields that drive social, technological and industrial development. The realization of the vision, the purpose and practical activities of universities of education are central to the developmental externalities of formal education, actualizing human capital theory (see Smith, 1976) and the realization of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals.

Universities of education are both creators and carriers of national development and social change. This is achieved through knowledge creation and dissemination and the inculcation of skills and attitudes considered useful and desirable in producing functionary citizenry that remains functionary in an ever changing world to effect accelerated national development. Universities of education not only educate the nation but also provide ideas on national development. In other parts of the developing world, universities have played a similar historical role – as incubators of nationalistic ideas, educators of the emerging governing class and providers of the technical expertise needed for nation-building (Ashby, 1966). National universities in many parts of the developing world continue to serve as central institutions for nation building, research and training. Therefore, the universities of education are careful in training teachers and teacher educators, to produce students in ways that assure excellence in nation building and moral leadership.

PLACE OF UNIVERSITIES OF EDUCATION IN IMPROVING EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS

The issue of 'place' and its spatiality has recently emerged in social discourses related to institutional life (Escobar, 2010). In the context of this discussion, place has not been used in the sense of geographical location but rather as a question of what universities of education can practically offer to improve education standards in Africa. Besides research, university education is the basic source of quality human resource that assures the growth of developing countries (Addo, 2010), researching and equipping the labor force with competencies that are essential for the advancement of the nation. Discussing the place of universities of education in improving education standard requires interrogating the role in developing quality curricula, improving schooling experiences and educational relevance.

The changing demands of education systems, the expanding democracy, social equity and political reforms present challenges for teacher education. It is expected that teacher educators should prepare beneficiaries to challenge curriculum practices that are detrimental to student centred approach to knowledge and skill acquisition at centres of learning and instruction. Teachers are to be equipped to address the unbalanced cognitive intellectualism that does not allow for divergent thinking/ reasoning. The school is to be structured to eliminate ignorance. Teaching should be by a delivery model which is based on the belief that the teacher should talk less and less and learn and relearn in every teaching-learning encounter. Essentially, the

outcome of every teaching-learning encounter should be an improvement on previous ones. There is an urgent need for a transformation in teacher education. Students should be able to appreciate the relevance of what they learn in the classroom. The situation where everything in the school has been reduced to passing examinations with good grades should necessarily be made to belong to the past.

Teacher education practices must undergo transformation which will equip us with the skills and attitudes that will enable us address changing social and political processes that confront the African society. African Universities of education should lead a crusade that would improve the quality of education on the African continent. This is the only way we can remove the stigma - Africa - the Dark Continent.

CURRICULUM RESEARCH

Universities' relevance is vectored by research capacity. Historically, universities have the major responsibility of enriching curricula by generating new knowledge with potentials to shape the world by providing value based education to students to make them moral leaders. Research, as a core activity of any university, is closely intertwined with policy and practice (cf. Kogan 2000; Teichler & Sadlak, 2000). Essentially, research in universities of education should focus on the practical consequences of educational policy decisions and alternatives. It should examine the relationship between educational policy and educational practice, and shed light on important debates and controversies within the field to enhance the quality of education.

In Ghana, the University of Education, Winneba has dedicated to research centres that provide research services to different organizations including the Ministry of Education, international education development agencies and advocacy groups such as UNICEF and the Ghana National Education Campaign Coalition (GNECC). Such research has been focused, among other things, on understanding the barriers to quality education. Three of the dedicated research centres are the Centre for School and Community Science and Technology Studies (SACOST) that has the mission of contextualizing the teaching of science in African schools through research and development of context based teaching resources, Centre for Educational Policy Studies (CEPS) and the National Centre for Research into Basic Education (NCRIBE).

Research focused on interrogating curriculum content, materials, teacher deployment and pedagogic practices means that universities of education should provide useful knowledge to students and educational managers to ensure that education systems are relevant to manpower needs, and sensitive to global changes. Experience of research leads to quality teaching, and quality teaching in turn enriches opportunities for higher learning. This sets in a regenerative cycle of excellence.

EDUCATIONAL POLICY DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING

Education policy (the collection of laws and rules that govern the operation of education systems) and its planning can directly affect the education people

engage in at all levels. Universities of education are the hubs of competencies in educational policy development, planning, administration and management. In fact, without policy, education will occur uncoordinated in many forms for many purposes through many institutions. Universities of education have the potential and professional acumen to conduct critical education policy studies to construct the philosophy of education that leads to coordination. Education policy studies, in this context, refer to the scholarly analyses of education policies. The object is to answer questions about the purpose of education, the objectives that it is designed to attain, the methods for attaining them and the tools for measuring their success or failure. Research intended to inform education policy is carried out in various institutions and in many academic disciplines. Policy studies are essential to addressing standards and norms - i.e., questioning school size, class size, school choice, school privatization, tracking, teacher education and certification, teacher pay and incentives, teaching methods, curricular content, graduation requirements, school infrastructure investment and the values that schools are expected to uphold and model.

Independent professional educational policy studies, particularly in Africa, are essential to avoiding the haphazard political interventions and manipulations of education policies in Africa. Thus, the establishment of centres for educational policy studies or education policy institutes at universities of education is imperative.

TEACHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING

The practical relevance of universities of education is shaping the conditions of education, and producing teachers with professional competencies, skills, attitudes and attributes. Universities of education, arguably, have the basic mandate of training teachers, teacher educators, educational managers and conducting research that will inform educational policies for sustainable development. The inadequacy of material resources such as teaching materials and laboratories in African education systems means that improving education standards requires well trained innovative teachers. The availability of such teachers is critical to ensuring that the education system produces what society needs in all sectors of the economy irrespective of the resources available. The latent argument will be that education systems that meet the requirements of human resource will thrive with strong emphasis on universities of education. Universities of education are expected to train educators that are capable of building the base of manpower development to serve as a catalyst to national development.

Every year, universities of education send thousands of teacher candidates, professional teachers and teacher educators to schools, developing a repertoire of skills to support learning, and to enhance national development. The practical relevance of such concentration on manpower development is that it entails all processes by which the individual is equipped with knowledge, skills and the right attitudes to change and improve society. Such education should be able to improve

the quality of life and subsequently contribute to economic and social advancement. Quality education provides the individual with skills, knowledge, competencies, technical know-how and develops reasoning capabilities which raise productivity and income levels.

CONTINUOUS PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF TEACHERS

Universities of education are expected to support continuing education by offering Certificate courses for non-teachers and short courses on mentorship for teachers. The mentorship aspect of the work in universities of education operates with the view that there are many emerging things the teacher candidate should know about the teaching profession. There is a need to have mentors responsible to a certain number of students in the university to guide them on a number of issues pertaining to the profession, for example, issues of relationship with staff members and students of the opposite sex, the school culture and dress code.

Counsellors in universities help students cope with life challenges like broken love relationships, loss of parents/sponsors and academic overload. Such become surrogates of middle class personality, presenting themselves as role models to the students they guide and counsel. The practical value is that the trainees are psychologically tuned to also support students with emotional needs. Such professional training of teachers is critical to ensure our educators keep in tune with new and emerging knowledges, teaching, instructional and pedagogical practices. It can take the form of in-service training, regular workshops, seminars, refresher courses, as well as sending educators outside the country occasionally to improve upon their education and academic qualifications, and to learn from other contexts and exchange ideas about how to deliver education to today's diverse learners - Increasingly, learners are becoming diverse. This means, taking the issue of diversity and difference in education seriously even in countries that are supposedly "homogeneous". Educating learners about the challenges and possibilities of diversity and difference may require that teachers think through different pedagogical and instructional practices that promote and enhance different learning styles, engage different texts and seek to promote multiple knowledges and ways of knowing through a diversified curriculum. As Dei (2012) forcefully argues, the whole area of diversifying the curriculum through infusion of multiple teaching methodologies, pedagogies and courses requires a re-training of educators at the University of Education. This training will include ways to ensure the application of Indigenous initiatives already in place support critical understandings of African history, culture, knowledge, etc. It also requires effectively training university of education students to pursue a more dialogical curriculum approach through a co-creation of knowledge involving students, educators, parents and local communities. It also requires educators developing the ability to use traditional, holistic and sustainable approaches to teaching and learning as well as student evaluation.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

A key aspect of the mandate of the University of Education is promoting research and development. Research and publishing must be fully integrated into teaching. Teaching must be informed by scholarly research and vice versa. This does not only ensure growth in learning, but also cutting edge scholarship. The university must promote teaching and research as going alongside each other. Developing a research culture at the university is no easy task. It requires commitment, desire and hard work. Universities need to create the necessary conditions for research and publishing to flourish (e.g., resourced libraries, incentives and safeguards). We need to have procedures in place to promote and reward a sustained research and publishing culture at the University of Education. This may include measures to mentor young scholars by senior scholars and promotion schemes that equally value research, publishing and teaching, as well as enforced leaves with strict academic expectations and outputs. The university may also seek more partnership opportunities with public and private sectors to expand and "normalize" a research and publishing culture among its faculty. Such partnership development should include funding support, release time and related supports for more trans-cultural academic partnerships with local communities, as well as private bodies.

It is through a heavy involvement in research writing and dissemination of findings that the University can hope to influence national development agendas and debates. The University attains its relevance in the eyes of the local community and nation to the extent that their scholarly work informs, shapes and directs national debates. Of course sometimes, this role of the university is neither nurtured nor taken seriously by governments but this cannot be a reason for the university to renege on its traditional roles and responsibilities.

COMMUNITY SERVICE AND EDUCATION EXTENSION

Universities of education need to offer courses to enrich professional teachers with quality knowledge and skills required to support the education system and socio-economic development in general. Professionals from universities of education are expected to serve as expert reviewers of curriculum materials developed by the Ministry of Education and, education technologists that help to develop or evaluate instructional materials. In Ghana, the Curriculum Research and Development Division of the Ministry of Education invites subject area expects to lead panels that develop teaching syllabi for pre-tertiary institutions. Professionals from universities of education are also invited as technical persons where there are discussions on curriculum review, scaling-up of piloted educational initiatives and as stakeholders at education sector reviews.

Institutes of educational development and extension should be established in all universities of education to act as resource centres with a core of specialists in in-service training, distance education, school governance and teaching methodology.

These are to organize training workshops to equip non-professional teachers with the required skills for quality teaching.

Another aspect of training in universities of education is internship programme for teacher candidates. The internship programme should not only enable students to develop a repertoire of skills and competencies, but also, to support schools in dealing with the learning issues particularly in rural areas. Any quality internship programme should incorporate mentorship. As such, universities of education should consciously and systematically train mentors for the mentors' own professional development and to support teacher training institutions in preparing competent teachers with the relevant pedagogical skills.

Universities thrived when they were engaged in professional education and the intellectual life of society. An aspect of teacher education which flatly coincides with sociological understandings of nation building is the teacher's role as surrogate of middle class personality. Thus, universities of education assure the moral standing of students through strenuous implementation of various measures including gender and sexual harassment policies with desk officers to ensure the development of the highest moral and ethical standards among students and faculty, creating new environment and base for national development.

Professors in universities of education, in addition to their teaching and research, should involve themselves in the intellectual life of society as commentators, experts or analysts. As intellectuals, we need to lead curriculum development, education reforms and reviews. The work of academics in teaching universities should reflect in their opinions on national issues in the opinion pages of major newspapers or on serious television talk shows.

EMPOWERING UNIVERSITIES OF EDUCATION

Universities of education/national universities do not only function as centres for the generation of knowledge, knowledge acquisition and knowledge dissemination, but have the additional responsibility of teaching others to be skilful teachers with research and knowledge disseminating skills and capacities. Training quality and resourceful functional teachers for all levels of education – preschool to tertiary, and the conduct of educational research requires specialized skills. To be able to be functional and remain functional and committed, resource persons/teachers/lecturers of universities of education will need special attention from all the stakeholders of education. They need to be provided the required resources to train teachers for the 21st Century classroom/teaching environment and to conduct relevant research to address the changing needs of teacher education of our time and beyond. Teachers will need to be trained to be adaptive, receptive and consistently focused to be able to address the needs of those they support in learning. Teachers of teachers therefore will need to consistently review their teaching methodologies through research to provide the needed support to trainee teachers to equip them with the needed skills and knowledge that will enable them to be reflective and responsive to the

changing learning environment of our era. In effect, I advocate for special attention to universities of education to empower them to be functional to enable them to cope with the complexities of the teaching-learning environment of the 21st Century. The teachers and staff of these universities should be adequately remunerated to keep them motivated to be truly functional, and at all times.

CONCLUSIONS

The place of universities of education in nation building is not in doubt as such institutions contribute variously to education to reduce poverty, transform lives and support national development initiatives. Universities of education are expected not only to contribute to teacher training, educational research, educational policy analyses, curriculum development, attitudinal change and development and national capacity building but also to promote quality research and development efforts, and to preserve culture and identity. Overall, the activities of universities of education should be catalytic to national advancement, promote social change and sow the seeds of sustained nation building.

Education is critical to the ability and capability to sustain innovation, reduce poverty and social imbalances and disease; society can do more to prepare future generations by recognizing the dynamic role of universities in general and universities of education in particular in shaping the conditions that assure sustainable quality standards. Ultimately, the work of Universities of Education in the art of improving education standard is questioning the quality of the ways we blend the best of educational research with the world of practice.

The inadequacy of material resources in African education systems means that improving education standards requires investment in producing quality human resource and developing quality curriculum. Universities of education should be strategically placed to produce the needed quality human resource and to update skills through pre- and in-service training, to conduct curriculum research and in general to engage in activities that will ensure an education system that is not only producing what it should, but also getting what it needs to improve its standards.

The link of education and development is clear when we see the important role the university can play in creating the minds that will ensure a country moves forward in the future in ways that ensures the satisfaction of local needs and aspirations in an ecologically-sustainable development manner and in the spirit of social justice, equity and respect for fundamental freedoms and rights. Mkandawire (2011) is perhaps right when he argues that any ‘crisis’ of development in Africa is related to the ‘crisis’ of the African university. We need to rethink the traditional role of the university and ask how the African university has been a site and source of critical knowledge and questioning, repositories of knowledge, incubators; and providing human-power needs. Furthermore, I share Dei’s (2013) exhortation that the African university should take seriously as among its contemporary mandate an urgency to help pioneer new analytical systems for understanding African societies; and also,

to come up with home-grown, locally-initiated and Indigenously-informed solutions to our problems. This is about establishing a firm leadership in scholarship and developing a clear sense of academic purpose and mission for a university. It is also about the university exhibiting intellectual leadership in the search for a path forward for Africa.

The university of today must fight to rid itself of any erroneously perceived elitism and ivory tower and become socially relevant to African communities. In order for the university to discharge its educational duties effectively, however, we must first strengthen and revitalize the African university, its faculty, staff and students, and by extension the varied aspects of higher education so as to deliver responsible education to the citizenry. Clearly, the university today is under-resourced and this in itself may require another paper. My concern however is to move ahead notwithstanding the constraints and limitations of resource.

There is a particular responsibility for the university of today to shed any form of colonial dependency. The university must lead the way to create the necessary conditions for young learners to cultivate and affirm solid identities as African learners and develop a genuine desire to help Africa and African peoples to design our own futures. The African university must produce local [critical] thinkers who are capable of offering viable solutions to the many problems and challenges facing the continent. The university must be connected and grounded in the aspirations of local communities. The University of Education must be a public space and a place for creative thinking. The university cannot afford to be otherwise. The university cannot be an ordinary educational institution. If the university continues to fail in the discharge of its duties, mandate and the expectations placed upon its shoulders [by local communities], this only lends credence to those who misguidedly argue the African university is increasingly becoming irrelevant and/or sitting on the side lines in the large realm of the huge challenges confronting contemporary Africa.

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M.K. AMEDEKER

6. THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF CONTINUOUS ASSESSMENT TO THE IMPROVEMENT OF STUDENTS' LEARNING OF SCHOOL SCIENCE

A Case of Ghana

INTRODUCTION

Information obtained from continuous assessment may be used for summative or formative purposes. While one purpose may not be more important than the other, caution should be exercised in their use so that one is not compelled to obliterate the other. In school assessments, teachers may wish to use regular tests which they term as continuous assessment to find out about students' learning but Black and Wiliam (2003) are of the opinion that the current approach of giving frequent short quizzes and the types of questions used are not supporting students' learning. They argue that these frequent tests which are for summative purposes are not providing the guidance needed by students for their daily learning. Black and William (2003) thus suggest that teachers need to modify their classroom practices to include formative assessments which are known to have the potency of helping students to gain full control over their learning. This chapter argues that traditional African education is imbued with lots of philosophical learning and assessment strategies such as folklore, story-telling, proverbs and cultural rites that when incorporated into school science would improve its learning and assessment.

THE PRACTICE OF QUALITY CONTINUOUS ASSESSMENT

Classroom assessment or continuous assessment is the preserve of the teacher (Jones, 1998) as assessments are part of the routine of classroom activities. The teacher designs quizzes, short answer objective tests, portfolios among many other instruments for investigating students' learning. According to Jones (1998), an ideal educational system would ensure that teachers develop their instructional materials and assessments concurrently so as to achieve a sound balance between curricula, teaching activities and assessment. Tytler (2003) has indicated that one of the strategies for effecting good classroom practices is to integrate assessment and instruction. This presupposes that classroom assessment should not be considered as a separate entity from the routine activities of teaching. In practice, this ideal proposition appears far from real in Ghanaian junior high school science teaching as

A. Asabere-Ameyaw et al., Indigenist African Development and Related Issues, 91–100.

teachers treat the curriculum, teaching activities and assessment as separate entities and develop them at different stages of their preparation for instruction (Amedeker, 2007).

In the 1970s and 1980s, in England, some research projects that investigated ways in which teachers' classroom assessments were used found that some teachers used class tests to find out students' scientific reasoning and or science concept formation without using such results for the overall assessment of students (Black & Wiliam, 2003). Other studies that directed attention to classroom assessments and teachers' role in the classroom (Tunstall & Gipps, 1996; Torrance & Pryor, 1998) have revealed that classroom assessments were not used to support students' learning. Since then, a number of researched articles reviewed concerning the use of assessment for formative purposes have indicated that formative assessment does in fact support students' learning (Black & Wiliam, 1998).

Popham (2006) has noted that as all school curricula require that students master some skills and knowledge, teachers should analyse the curricula and compose different assessment tasks that would help students' learning. Involvement of students in assessment is central to the reform process of changing assessments from their summative to formative use. Stiggins (2004) has advocated that teachers should create new ways of involving students so as to enable students to use assessment to understand ways by which they would improve their learning. Similarly, Burns (2005) calls upon teachers to increase their interactions with students by using thought-provoking questions to engage students in formative assessments so as to obtain the reasoning behind students' thoughts as well as to engage them in meta-cognition.

A number of national policy documents on education reforms in Ghana express the belief that assessments play important role in improving teacher effectiveness and subsequently students' learning output. For example, the policy document titled *Ghana Vision 2020: Programme of Action for the First Medium-term Plan* (Government of Ghana, 1998) contains aspects of Government's plans that aimed at improving basic education through improving assessment in the schools. The document states, among other things "To develop and implement an effective learning assessment system that will accurately measure student performance and instructional effectiveness" (Government of Ghana, 1998, p. 30).

A second policy document, titled *Basic Education Sector Improvement Plan* (Ministry of Education, 1996a), stipulates that improvements in the quality of teaching depends, among other things, on the "development of an assessment and evaluation system of pupil performance" (p. 17). Also some of the improvements to be undertaken include writing and revising of textbooks, workbooks and Teachers' Handbooks which will have sample exercises, questions and projects for pupils. The document further gives the purpose of continuous assessment as to improve teaching and learning. In effect, instruction and continuous assessment were to be linked. This was to be realised through the organisation of in-service and pre-service training for teachers and was stated as:

> The continuous assessment system will be re-designed and implemented and results/findings will be the basis for remedial work for better output of work for both pupils and teachers. This will streamline the present system of recording continuous assessment marks and make the process less cumbersome and less time consuming (Ministry of Education, 1996a, p. 23).

A third document, *Guidelines for the Implementation of Educational Reforms in Schools* (Ministry of Education, 1996b), outlined the Government's approved policies for implementation of education reforms based on the report of the Education Reforms Review Committee (ERRC) appointed by the Government in July, 1994. The government endorsed the following recommendations related to assessment:

i. Continuous Assessment should continue to form a component part in determination of the performance of pupils at both BECE and SSSCE
ii. Continuous Assessment should take 30% and the External Examination 70% instead of the present 40% and 60% respectively.
iii. Since Continuous Assessment (CA) is more suitable for practical subjects than the one-shot assessment conducted by WAEC, schools should use CA more often for assessing their students in the practical subjects or practical components of other subjects than they have been doing.

(Ministry of Education, 1996b, pp. 7-8)

The junior secondary science syllabus outlines the learning outcomes (Dimensions of learning) that teachers of science should assess as *Knowledge*, *Understanding*, *Application of knowledge*, *Process skills* and *Attitudes*. The syllabus states that tests should have specified weightings for the dimensions such as "*Knowledge and Understanding* (30%), *Application of knowledge* (40%) and *Attitudes and Process skills* (30%)" (Ministry of Education, 2001, p. ix). The continuous assessment was to comprise projects, class tests, homework and terminal tests. The tasks given to students may comprise objective items, structured open-response questions and practical questions. The syllabus also encourages teachers of science to prepare marking schemes to guide marking of their students' test scripts and give marks and/or grades to represent the students' performance. Teachers were encouraged to write feedback about students' work, giving them points they should consider to improve their future performance. Additionally, the syllabus recommended some ego-oriented feedback such as "keep it up", "has improved", "could do better", "hardworking", "not serious in class" and "more room for improvement" (Ministry of Education, 2001, p. xvii) as examples of what teachers should write on students' exercises.

These documents did not elaborate on the changes outlined in the literature for the re-design of continuous assessment systems for use in teaching so as to help to improve students' learning. For example, the role of feedback in the enhancement of students' learning and that the most important feature of feedback is its focus on what students will be able to do and directions as to what they should do (Butler, 1987, 1988; Ryan & Deci, 1989; Wiliam, 1998;). Feedback may be task-oriented

or ego-oriented. The former is one that encourages students to show interest in a given activity and its mastery while the latter tends to orient the student towards the self rather than the activity (Butler, 1987). Further, none of the documents stressed the roles of diagnostic and formative assessments. Yet, it is known that assessment systems in the schools can be effective only when the diagnostic and formative components are also included (Black & Wiliam, 2003). These two forms of assessment assign definite roles to both teachers and students for the achievement of teacher effectiveness and high students' learning achievement. The teacher is a facilitator, mediator and a counsellor who diagnoses students' learning problems and provides feedback necessary for use by students to correct their learning problems. Students are sense makers of the feedback given as they reconstruct knowledge (Osborne & Wittrock, 1983) out of the new situations presented to them. This chapter, therefore, illustrates how indigenous African concepts of education may be used to re-design the continuous assessment system in science teaching and learning in schools so as to improve teacher performance and student learning achievement.

THE ROLE OF INDIGENOUS AFRICAN CONCEPT OF EDUCATION

The current educational systems found in various African countries were inherited from colonial masters who invariably imposed their cultures on the educational systems in Africa. This imposition appears to obliterate the inclusion of African philosophy in current African educational practices. Traditional African education has been both informal and formal. The informal education is mostly oral education and is intended to be life-long learning experiences while formal education involves apprenticeships and hands-on practice that lasts over a period of time. This cultural paradigm did not enforce the notion of building permanent four-walled classrooms in which education took place but rather ensured that education was pervasive and obtained everywhere in the society.

Informal African indigenous education is propagated through proverbs, story-telling, songs and plays. The African child was taught social values such as etiquette, mental processes and morals. For example, stories told by adults are imitated and repeated from one generation to another so by the time the child becomes an adult the stories are internalised. Thus, by adulthood such education provides mental training as well as imbuing the child with the morals of the stories (Marah, 2006). The mental dexterity of Africans who underwent this type of informal education has been described by Marah (2006) in the words "there were griots 'walking dictionaries', historians, or verbal artists who memorised the history, legends of a whole people and would recite them and teach their apprentices, or audiences, publicly or privately" (p. 18). Similarly, African traditional education through proverbs warns against impropriety in acquisition of knowledge. A Swahili proverb translates like "knowledge without good deeds is like a beehive without honey" (Abubakar, 2011, p. 70). A proverb from the Ewe people of Ghana translates 'knowledge is like the baobab tree and no one can wrap the hands fully around it'. This indicates that

knowledge does not reside in one person and may be obtained from one's neighbours through lifelong learning processes. Thus students' should bear in mind that they would learn from their colleagues.

African formal education provides skills through activities like dancing, rituals and role-modelling and vocational activities. A number of activities require that the youth come together and work as a team to achieve their life goals, thus encouraging the spirit of communalism. For example, there is the 'abusa' among the Akan speaking people of Ghana, which encourages people to rally round help to build houses or make farms for individuals in the community. This intones cooperation, an attribute that can be used in the form of cooperative and collaborative learning in schools.

TEACHERS AS EDUCATORS AND ASSESSORS

In this study, data were collected from 158 junior high school science teachers through questionnaires and interviews. This was to find out about their practices as professionals who were engaged in instructing and assessing students in science. The cardinal goals of traditional African education are centred on development of the child's latent physical skills, intellectual skills, character, specific vocational skills and acceptable attitude towards honest labour (Fafunwa, 1982). This chapter, thus, examined junior high school science teachers' assessment practices to determine whether they were using continuous assessment to promote the development of the child. Further, the author suggests the adoption of some of the elements of traditional African education discussed in this chapter into modern-day educational practices as a strategy for the development of the educational systems in Ghana and Africa as a whole.

Science Teachers' Purposes of Continuous Assessment Practices

The findings from the questionnaire are administered to junior high school science teachers are summarised under two main headings and analysed as in Table 1.

From Table 1, it is observed that a large proportion of the responses indicate that the teachers in this study were not using continuous assessment for counselling and remediation purposes. This implies that their students would not derive the maximum benefit from continuous assessment. Also a substantial proportion of the teachers were not using continuous assessment to assess their own efficiency in the delivery of their lessons. However, traditional African education makes provision for an apprentice system in which at the end of apprenticeship of acquisition of craft and skills, the graduate is observed and required to show obedience to the master and their seniors in order to acquire self-improvement skills (Omolewa, 2007). Also, the end of apprenticeship implies an entry into a new age group and that goes with responsibilities, accountability and privileges which must be appreciated by every graduate. Thus the master-craftsmen assess their efficiency through the performance of their apprentices.

Table 1. Teachers' purposes for continuous assessment (n = 158)

Teachers' knowledge of…	*Number of responses*	*Per cent of response*
Purposes of Continuous Assessment		
Identification of how much students know	99	62.7
Grading, reporting and placement	50	31.6
Counselling/remediation	42	26.6
Assessing teacher efficiency	33	20.9
Knowledge of characteristics of quality assessment tasks		
Validity of tasks	58	36.7
Reliability of tasks	47	29.7
Fairness/equity of tasks	46	29.1
Comparability of tasks	43	27.2
Authenticity of tasks	21	13.3

Note: Some teachers gave more than one response for the purposes of assessment

The analysis of data found in Table 1 also indicates that majority of the teachers in the study had limited knowledge of quality assessment tasks. In traditional African education, there abound specialists like "gold and ironsmiths, skin workers, weavers, wood workers, spirit mediums, specialists in medicine, witchcraft practitioners, psychiatrists, healers, circumcisers, musicians, storytellers, historians, etc." (Omolewa, 2007, p. 602). These are specialists who have good knowledge of the quality of tasks of their professions. Such knowledge acquisition is achieved through self-submission and devotion of the learner to the services of the teacher. Thus, it suggested here that modern learners should acquire these virtues and that teachers should ensure that their students submit themselves to discipline of learning and practising of skills in advance of assessments.

Learning Outcomes Assessed by Science Teachers

The results of the types of learning outcomes assessed by the teachers are shown in Table 2 in terms of number and per cent of responses.

The exercise books of 24 students were randomly selected from 13 different classes, mostly two per class and a checklist was used to determine the learning outcomes assessed by the teachers in the study. It is seen from Table 2 that the percentage responses indicate that a lot of the teachers were not assessing process skills and attitudes of the learners. However, these two learning outcomes stand out as core values required of holistically educated persons who are well-prepared to

Table 2. Learning outcomes assessed by science teachers (n = 156)

Category of teachers' responses	*Number of responses*	*Per cent of responses*
Understanding	106	67.9
Knowledge	97	62.2
Application of knowledge	96	61.5
Science process skills	65	41.7
Attitudes	27	17.3

Note. Some teachers gave more than one response. Two teachers did not respond to this item

make significant and meaningful contributions to their societies (Balogun, 2008). In describing the importance of process skills in training of the youth through traditional African education, Marah (2006, p. 17) indicates that "boys observed and imitated their father's craft and learned practical skills which they performed according to their capacities, as they matured into manhood". Thus, if science teachers are to give training that would equip our youth with skills that would enable them to perform usefully in contemporary society, then they would need to adopt the traditional training to bequeath the youth with practical skills.

RATING OF TEACHERS' ASSESSMENT PRACTICE

The tasks that the science teachers gave to their students and the way the assessed them, as evidenced in the students' exercise books, have been analysed with a 20-item checklist and rated on a three-point scale of *No evidence* = 1; *Weak evidence* = 2; *Clear evidence* = 3. The median scores for the type of task and assessment practice were determined and the results are summarised in Table 3

Table 3: Rating of teachers' assessment practice seen in students' exercise books (n = 13)

Characteristics of tasks and assessment practices	*Median score*
Tasks related to objectives	3
Learning outcomes adequately sampled	2
Tasks assess knowledge	3
Tasks assess comprehension	3
Tasks assess application of knowledge	2
Tasks assess science process skills1	1
Detailed comments on marked scripts	1
Tasks are relevant to students/familiar contexts	2

The median is a central tendency of measurement which is most representative of the distribution of the marks obtained in totalling up each teacher's marks for an item. The marks distribution is asymmetric so it is most appropriate to represent the central mark with the median. From Table 3, it is observed that Items 2, 5, 6, 7 and 8, which are concerned with learning outcomes, application of knowledge, process skills, giving feedback on students' tasks and relevance of tasks to students, respectively, had no clear evidence of having been fulfilled. The learning of science in schools today may be compared to the vocational training given in traditional African education to the youth. The master craftsmen under whose tutelage the adolescent African youth learnt, assessed their skills by watching them perform assigned activities. Though no formal grades were given, the master craftsmen directed their apprentices by a series of comments on their works until the apprentices became perfect in performing particular skills. Today's science teachers should take cue from traditional training of the youth so as to lead students through relevant practical skills acquisition.

Interview Results

The results of the focus group interview held for six of the science teachers corroborated the findings from questionnaire data that majority of the science teachers had limited knowledge of administering effective continuous assessment. It was also revealed that the teachers had limited knowledge of the profile dimensions which are the learning outcomes expected of students and also how to plan assessment while planning lessons. Thus, their lessons were likely to lack the formative assessment required to enhance students' concept development in science (Black and Wiliam (2003).

The focus group discussion with students revealed that their continuous assessment were mainly class tests and take-home assignments. It was also revealed that the feedback they received were not task-oriented as they said their teachers wrote words such as 'excellent', 'keep it up', 'poor', 'see me' in their exercise books when they marked them. These revelations were evident during the inspection of the students' exercise books as feedback seen in them were marks and some few comments that either praised the students or admonished them for not being serious with their work.

CURRICULUM AND POLICY DOCUMENTS

Though the junior high school syllabus and the official policy documents expressed the need to improve teaching through improvements in the assessment systems, they did not elaborate on the changes expected in the re-design of the continuous assessment system and the implementation procedures. None of the documents stressed the role of diagnostic and formative assessments in teaching. This implies that teachers who implement continuous assessment would not have guidance on new strategies needed to integrate instruction and continuous assessment to improve students' science learning.

CONCLUSION

The study used teacher questionnaires and interviews with teachers, students, teacher educators and education officers, policy and curriculum document analysis, and samples of students' exercises to collect baseline data on the implementation of continuous assessment and purposes of continuous assessment. The findings show that continuous assessment is separated from instruction as the teachers indicated that they did the continuous assessment as a series of homework, class work and class tests. Thus, the teachers used continuous assessment mostly for summative purposes with little or no feedback to students. The curriculum and policy documents were not explicit on the procedures that teachers should use to incorporate assessment into their instruction so as to enhance teaching and students' involvement. It was also found that most of the teachers had no training in assessment and lacked assessment literacy as they had limited knowledge of purposes of continuous assessment and characteristics of quality assessment tasks. The practice of continuous assessment is thus teacher-centred as teachers only prepared tasks for assignments and tests but not for involving students during instruction. The challenge is, therefore, thrown to education authorities to design policies that would enable science teachers to use continuous assessment to enhance students' science learning and science concept development. Also, teachers need to be educated on how to integrate assessment and instruction so as to enable them to use a combination of diagnostic, formative as well as summative assessment at various stages of their lessons to help students' science concept development. The strategies of proper documentation of clear policies and guidelines on continuous assessment and teacher professional training on continuous assessment is the way forward for confronting the challenges of implementation of continuous assessment. This chapter, therefore, suggests that a cue should be taken from traditional African education, which makes provision for continuous assessment in the education of members of the society.

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ASABERE-AMEYAW

7. ENHANCING SCIENTIFIC LITERACY OF THE AFRICAN LEARNER

Possibilities and Challenges

INTRODUCTION

In writing this paper, my mind reflected on a couple of questions: When it comes to school academic performance, how do we account for the fact that a number of young African learners are adverse to science? How is science taught? What constitutes science knowledge? How do we promote a holistic view of science to enhance science learning for the African youth? This paper brings a holistic view to science as encompassing Western science knowledge and local science knowledge. Such holistic reading of science can only serve to enhance youth scientific literacy rather than distract them from it. It opens up knowledge and allows young learners to appreciate the complex nature of what is "science knowledge". In effect then, the paper also highlights the way science is generally conceived in many African schools and the importance of science for youth education. It is maintained that enhancing scientific literacy among African learners is key to African development. Science and technology are considered among the requirements of wealth creation and improvement of the quality of life. Given such general knowledge, how then is it that achievement in science in many African countries is generally poor? One could argue that the factors that bring about poor performance in school science in Africa are many and varied. They may include educational policies, the socio-cultural background of learners, the teacher and teacher characteristics, the school, school resources, instructional approaches, the subject matter, nature of examinations, the family/home support, student related factors, etc.

Factors that can act as barriers to achievement/learning in science and which have been cited variously in the current presentation can be considered as emanating from the learner himself/herself or external to the learner. The internal factors may include the individual's cognition – his/her ability to comprehend or easily learn scientific concepts, which readily can be associated with the gene makeup of the individual. The learner's attitudes - self-motivation, self-efficacy, self-regulation, learning styles (student related factors) which certainly are determined by the encounters or experiences of the learner also affect science learning and achievement and emanate from the learner directly. The other factors which are external to the learner and which have been earlier stated include the school environment, socio-cultural

A. Asabere-Ameyaw et al., Indigenist African Development and Related Issues, 101–117.

background of the learner, the teacher, resources available, the school curriculum, etc. Some of these factors are clearly interlinked and may affect each other and the learner's attitude towards the learning of science. In the subsequent sections of the chapter, an attempt will be made to address some of these factors which are known to be possible barriers to achievement in science and how to mitigate their effects on the learner and achievement in science. The discussion of each of these factors is intended to highlight the link with scientific literacy and the way we can take the issues raised as part of the task of reframing science education. In other words, the question how do the issues of ***the socio-cultural characteristics of learners, language proficiency, learners' attitudes and perceptions to science learning and achievement, the individual's learning skills and achievement in science,*** self-regulation of cognition and behavior, ***self-efficacy, i.e., confidence of the learner and its impact on science learning, the role of resources in science teaching and learning, hands-on activities and achievement in science, school climate, curriculum quality, and teacher characteristics and teaching quality as determinants of achievement in science implicate our attempts to reframe scientific literacy and science education in general for sustainable development?***

Socio-Cultural Characteristics of Learners

The socio-cultural characteristics of learners, i.e., the social and cultural contexts in which learners are situated have an important bearing on their ability to acquire scientific literacy. Each learner brings experiences that affect his or her view of the world and his or her ability to accept other views grounded in science. In this way, science education can be contextualized and linked to the experiences of learners. The new experiences are used by the learner to construct new meanings. This knowledge construction is shaped through social interactions with members of the community. Thus, to make learning meaningful to the learner, one has to take cognizance of the social and cultural environments of the learner.

Concepts, explanations and interpretations that learners derive from personal experiences in their homes and the community constitute personal and cultural knowledge, which can be used as screens to view and interpret knowledge and experiences they encounter at school (Akpanglo-Nartey *et al*., 2012). For example, children from religious backgrounds, and having been made to know that God is omnipotent and omnipresent, are likely to attribute every occurrence to God (see Akpan & Anamuah-Mensah, 1992). Teachers, thus, need to recognize the effect of religion on children's acquisition of scientific concepts to put them in a position to helping them draw the line between religion and science so that the effect of one on the other is minimized for the scientific literacy desired to be achieved. Similarly, there are certain spiritual beliefs held in local communities that speak of myths and cultural mythologies which cannot be verified in the conventional measurements or rules of scientific inquiry. As such, binaries can be created between such knowledge and what is perceived as science with the emphasis placed in schools

on the particularity of science as Western science tradition. Teachers can point to such dilemmas while at the same time seeking to provide a holistic view of science that will enhance scientific literacy among the youth. In fact, we do know that the historical genesis of Western 'science' tied science to religion itself. It has been so culturally–contextualized and value-laden, while at the same time making spurious conceptual claims to universality.

Children, in addition to misconceptions resulting from their religious and spiritual inclinations, may have prior conceptions before formal schooling, and which may be at variance with the meanings of scientific concepts learnt at school. It is crucial for the teacher to identify such conceptions during his/her interactions with the learner to address them appropriately to improve comprehension and concept acquisition. Teachers should take cognizance of the fact that children/learners' relevant previous knowledge, which they tap into to teach new concepts in science, goes beyond the concepts in science taught during the previous formal lessons but include the diverse knowledge acquired informally from the society prior to formal schooling. Teachers must have innovative ways to identify children's prior knowledge (preconceptions, misconceptions and perceptions) because of their socio-cultural background during science teaching; as much as possible link what they teach to the day-to-day activities pupils engage in while out of the classroom to make science relevant and interesting. This will enhance learning and achievement in science.

School science (which in many ways is Western/European science) itself is a cultural system of knowledge with its own attributes which must be appreciated. If science is located in culture, it stands to reason that science as a cultural system may speak to a variety of knowledge about what constitutes scientific inquiry, and by extension scientific literacy. This gives a complete holistic view of science. One may argue, currently, the whole scientific culture is not adequately represented in many African communities including the classroom. This constitutes a limitation of knowledge and science education. We need to understand the full breadth of science to enhance scientific literacy among young learners. In addition, in most African schools, science is presented to the learner from a knowledge-base perspective which is divorced from the socio-cultural background of the learner. Science and science learning, thus, become not interesting and unappealing to the African child. To prepare the African child for a technological world through school science, teachers/ science instructors should make science real and interesting by using teaching methodologies that focus on the learner. The teacher in addition must introduce new scientific concepts by linking them to similar concepts in local/Indigenous technologies and which learners may have some basic knowledge of.

LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY AND SCIENCE LEARNING

A critical aspect of culture that needs to be taken into consideration for effective science teaching and learning to take place is language. Language is critical to acquiring science knowledge. Being grounded in a language that is closely matched

with a people's culture, history and identity enhances the ability of the learner to acquire scientific literacy. If the medium of instruction in school is a language not spoken at home or not the first language of the learner, as in most African societies and in particular, when the parents are not literate, then the learning problems increase and accumulate, and the chances of dropping out of school increase. This is even more so in science because of the Latin and Greek register of science words, which may not have their English equivalents (see Belamy, 1999; Asabere-Ameyaw & Ayelsoma, 2012).

To achieve scientific literacy, emphasis should be laid on sound teaching and learning strategies that are sensitive to learners' needs. For children learning a second language for instruction, comprehension of new science concepts can be difficult. Teachers teaching in a language other than the native language of learners should be mindful of learner's native language - abandoning previously acquired knowledge could be a challenging process. This is particularly relevant for learners who come from diverse cultural backgrounds with worldviews that may differ from those reflected in the science classroom (Akpanglo-Nartey *et al*., 2012; Asabere-Ameyaw & Ayelsoma, 2012).

To acquire the culture of science, learners must travel from their everyday life-world to the world of science (see Jegede, 1995). The everyday life includes their language and the meanings they attribute to their experiences in their language. Teachers can assist limited instructional language proficient learners to avoid misunderstandings between the science culture and the home culture of learners by becoming knowledgeable of learner's linguistic, cultural and academic backgrounds. For the effective teaching of science, teachers may have to learn basic facts about the native language of learners and their experiences and about their culture.

The exclusive use of second language of children for instruction can result in non-participation and frustration and thus can lead to dropping out of formal schooling or making choices against science and science related disciplines. Teaching science to language minority children, the learning process should be adapted to the child's native language since learning science in a language not in one's mother tongue creates major difficulties for achievement. A good knowledge in the language of instruction enhances comprehension of new concepts. The exclusive use of foreign language for science instruction could be detrimental to the acquisition of scientific concepts among indigenous communities and can lead to high dropout rates. Indigenizing the school curriculum may empower learners and make them active participants in the process of transfer and acquisition of scientific knowledge and skills. The school is to forge a closer collaboration with examination bodies to shift the focus of teaching from satisfying examination demands to the total development of the child to appreciate and practice science. Mother tongue instruction may therefore be the best alternative medium of instruction to children of indigenous communities. This approach to teaching should help the child crossover from the home environment to the school science environment.

ATTITUDE AND SCIENCE LEARNING

Students' attitudes and beliefs are vital for learning of science. Students always develop some sort of ideas about what science is about, who scientists are, what scientists do and the relationship between what they do and the society. But students' ideas about the nature of science, the personalities of scientists and the purpose of their activities may have different sources (Sjøberg, 2002). Attitude may be described as any strong belief or feeling or any approval or disapproval toward people or situations or how an individual is emotionally oriented towards a particular issue. People may have favorable or unfavorable attitudes towards others, politics, academic subjects, etc. We favor the things we think are good and helpful, and oppose those we think are bad and can be detrimental to our well-being (Kagan, 1984). The students' attitude towards an academic subject is a crucial factor in learning and achievement in that subject. Whether a student views herself/himself as a strong or weak person in a specific subject may be an important factor in his or her academic achievement.

Students' attitudes to learning and what they learn are greatly influenced by how they are taught. Students will be unable to receive enough science learning experience when school teachers themselves are not pleased with science teaching (Simpson & Oliver, 1990). Though teacher-attitude is an important determinant in attitudes formation, the classroom environment also plays a significant role (Myers & Fouts, 1992; Piburn & Baker, 1993).

Students' motivation to learn can be affected by whether they find the subject enjoyable, place value on the subject and think it is important in the present and for their future career aspirations (Anamuah-Mensah, *et al*., 2007). In addition, students' motivation can be affected by their self-confidence in learning the subject (Adjei, 2009). Attitude toward science can therefore be said to be affected by many variables which in effect may affect performance. Educational studies have produced mixed results but tend to show that attitudes affect students' persistence and performance (Schommer, 1994).

Many other factors such as school environment, past experience, age, teachers' personality, attitude and teaching style have also been found to influence students' attitude and interest (Murphy, 1990; Ornstein, 2006). Of these factors, the teacher's personality and attitude can seriously determine students' like or dislike for a subject since students' attitude towards science related aspects is significantly influenced by how they perceive their science teacher (Mfum-Mensah, 2008).

To develop a positive attitude towards science among students, it is therefore imperative for students' to be encouraged and guided by their teachers to make efforts in cultivating such positive attitudes. In addition, the school should provide the ambience for the development of such positive attitudes.

PERCEPTIONS OF LEARNERS AS A BARRIER TO SCIENCE ACHIEVEMENT

Learners' perceptions on a subject area or concept directly stem from their comprehension or ability to learn that subject or concepts in that field of study.

For example, children that think that there is a lot of mathematics in science may attribute their dislike for science to the perceived difficult nature of mathematics as a subject, and students who are of the view that science does not necessarily involve mathematics tend to like science. The inclination of students to learn science or mathematics depends on whether they find the subject enjoyable, place value on the subject, and think it is important for success in school and for future career aspirations (Anamuah-Mensah *et al*., 2007).

The teacher thus has the responsibility to help the learner to develop positive perception towards science and science learning. This will enable the learner to develop positive attitudes toward science and science learning to enhance comprehension and achievement in science.

LEARNING SKILLS AND ACHIEVEMENT IN SCIENCE

The purpose of learning is to: (a) to promote retention; (b) enable the transfer of knowledge/skills acquired in learning situations to others; and (c) acquire knowledge/skills to address issues or solve problems. During learning sessions, students employ a lot of strategies and skills. A group of learning tactics or skills used to facilitate acquisition of knowledge or skills constitutes a learning strategy. Learning strategies are plans that learners follow in order to attain their learning objectives. These strategies can also be taken to be techniques that are used by learners to achieve their objectives. Learning strategies are clustered around such groups of learning techniques as attention, rehearsal, elaboration and metacognition (Karakoc & Simsek, 2004). Similarly, Mayer (2003, p. 362) defines learning strategies as "cognitive processing performed by the learner at the time of learning that are intended to improve the learning". When learners consciously focus on their prior knowledge, experiences images and beliefs while attempting to learn new knowledge, they build bridges between the new information and what they already know. These bridges create personal meaning and make the new information more memorable to the student (Weinstein *et al*., 1989).

Mayer (2002) identifies two techniques in learning - mnemonic and elaboration skills - to aid retention and transfer of knowledge respectively. Majority of questions in tests in secondary schools require students to recall specific facts (Mastropieri & Scruggs, 1998), so memory skills are important to secondary school students. Mayer asserted that ability to use information presented in a lesson in a new situation presupposes ability to remember that information. Memory skills are hence critical for students' success in learning. Goll (2004) concurs with Mayer when she states that efficient memory strategies facilitate performance in higher order thinking and transfer tasks. In these tasks, success depends on remembering the appropriate factual material.

Learning skills are tools for enabling learners to acquire knowledge, and enhance their mental competences. Generally, learning skills can be activity level learning skills or regulatory/control level skills. Activity level learning skills are

the things that students perform to learn. Such activities as reading, making own notes, thinking through a problem, working out a strategy, elaborating, doing an experiment, problem solving, working out exercises or discussing a topic with peers are skills at the activity level of learning. Regulatory or control level skills involve planning, monitoring and controlling and reflecting on learning activities. Learning skills that have to do with regulating, monitoring, reflecting and planning are called metacognitive skills (Gunstone, 1994). Presseisen (1992) defines metacognition as the "learners' knowledge or awareness of his or her own cognitive processes and products and the ability to regulate them".

Mastropieri and Scruggs (1998) provides a list of general techniques for improving memory in addition to specific mnemonic techniques. Among the general techniques for enhancing memory are: increasing attention, promoting meaningfulness, using pictures, promoting active manipulation, promoting reasoning, minimizing interference and increasing the amount of practice. Asking and answering questions about new content is a particularly effective elaboration strategy. The question asking strategy of elaboration is called elaborative interrogation. The questions asked should provide a variety of different elaboration techniques such as analogies, transformations, comparing, contrasting or imagining. Students during elaboration expand what is learned previously to include new material. Elaborative interrogation is a powerful strategy that should be taught in school.

Learning skills act as academic enablers. They are tools for enabling students to acquire knowledge and also to enhance their mental competence. When learning skills are integrated and used by students for a specific purpose, they become learning strategies. The integrated series of learning skills used by students in a particular subject may not be appropriate for the tasks that the student would like to accomplish. Hence, the need to determine the skills they use, and whether they match tasks with appropriate skills.

Science educators/instructors should bear in mind that learning science in schools today may not only involve acquiring the content of science but also learning how to learn science through developing appropriate and acquiring self-regulated learning skills. To succeed in delivery, it is important that science educators/instructors help support learners to be self-regulated and help them to adopt the most appropriate skill(s) in learning new concepts to facilitate comprehension and to improve on competency/achievement.

SELF-REGULATION AND SCIENCE ACHIEVEMENT

Self-regulation of cognition and behavior play a very important role in student learning and academic achievement (Pintrich & De Groot, 1990). Self-regulated learning is an active constructive process in which learners set goals for their learning, do things to facilitate learning, monitor, regulate and control not only their cognition but also their motivation and behavior in order to achieve their learning goals (Azevedo *et al*., 2004). In his paper on self-regulation, Schunk (2005) concurs with Azevedo and

his colleagues when he lists four phases of self-regulation as: forethought, planning and activation; monitoring; control; and, reaction and reflection. In Schunk's view, areas for self-regulation include cognition, motivation, behavior and context. It is important to note that self-regulated learners are not "merely reactive to their learning outcomes; rather, they proactively seek opportunities to learn" (Zimmerman and Martinez-Pons, 1990, p. 6). Students who have the propensity to control their efforts to learn and use self-regulatory strategies achieve better academic success (Pintrich & De Groot, 1990; Zimmerman & Martinez- Pons, 1990; Manning & Glasner, 1996; Stoynoff, 1996).

To increase the chances of high achievement in science, students need to make conscious effort to learn and persevere when learning becomes challenging, accumulate an integrated knowledge base and develop a repertoire of strategies for learning any particular subject area. In every situation, learners must be made to believe that they can succeed. That is, to be high achievers in science, students will need to be self-regulated learners. It therefore behoves on teachers to teach learners the skills necessary to support them to become self-regulated learners. This can be achieved by using student-centered (e.g. reciprocal teaching, questioning, portfolio building, practical activities, etc.) and inquiry based strategies in teaching. By definition, reciprocal teaching involves learners teaching colleague learners new concepts.

The use of student based strategies in delivery can cause learners to become independent or self-regulated learners. Teachers should consciously develop self-regulated learners, and learners must be made to know that self-regulation can enhance high achievement.

SELF-EFFICACY AND ITS IMPACT ON SCIENCE LEARNING

Self-efficacy is explained as the confidence in one's abilities to successfully complete tasks in specific contexts. There are reciprocal interactions among self-efficacy, achievement and specific environmental factors (see Bandura, 1997). As Bandura's social cognitive theory stipulates, people's judgments of their capabilities strongly influence the choices they make, the effort they expend and how long they persevere in the face of challenges. Bandura's self-efficacy theory claims that if people believe that they can control the outcome of their behavior, then they can. In Bandura's analysis, how people behave can often be predicted from their beliefs about their capabilities than from what they are actually capable of accomplishing. An individual's belief in his or her ability is called self-efficacy. Self-efficacy is defined formally as the individual's assessment of his or her ability to perform specific tasks. Teachers must note that self-efficacy beliefs are derived mainly from learners' past experiences.

Academic self-efficacy is an aspect of personal self-efficacy. Bong (2002) defines academic self-efficacy as the individual's convictions that he/she can successfully carry out given academic tasks at designated levels. Like personal self-efficacy,

academic self-efficacy is derived from past experiences (Bandura, 1997; Fouad & Smith, 1997). Bandura (1997) maintains in this regard that failures, especially those failures that occur before a sense of efficacy is established, undermine the establishment of self-efficacy. Successes according to Bandura (1997) build a robust belief in one's personal efficacy.

Characteristically, self-efficacious students tend to challenge themselves with challenging tasks; they are usually self-motivated; they make efforts to achieve their academic desires; they usually accept responsibilities of their poor outputs; and usually recover quickly from setbacks. On the other hand, low self-efficacious students have low self-esteem and low aspirations. They usually have the sense of failure and are less likely to put in extra effort to enhance their capabilities. They tend to consider challenging tasks as threats and usually avoid them. Usually, they are low achievers and tend to blame their predicaments on factors external to them instead of accepting responsibility for them.

First, self-efficacy is a strong predictor of intention and, hence, of behavior. Self-efficacy bears a critical influence on all aspects of student learning (see Bong & Hocevar, 2002). Second, the self-perception of personal efficacy is a core aspect of the individual's self-concept. Thus, students with strong sense of self-efficacy are more likely to choose challenging academic tasks, use effective learning strategies and show greater persistence in the face of difficulties. Third, the development of self-efficacy and self-concept combine to form a central aspect of personality. One's ability to realize desired outcomes and forestall undesired outcomes, one then plays a critical role in determining one's subsequent functioning, adaptation and attainment.

The individual's sources of self-efficacy information are, according to Oettingen (1997), susceptible to cultural influences. Cultural influences may have a negative effect on the development of self-efficacy in learning science. Students who have been subjected to experiences of failure in learning science may be further disadvantaged by a culture that hinders the development of self-efficacy in learning science.

Given the long history of poor performance in science in most African schools, it is necessary to find out whether students think they can succeed in learning science. Determining students' self-efficacy beliefs about learning science hence amounts to exploring their past experience in learning science to find out whether such experiences are contributory to a negative or positive self-image as learners of science.

The teacher can play a major role in improving the self-efficacy of students by noting that students' successful experiences boost significantly their level of self-efficacy. Learners observing that their peers are successful in performing tasks may also encourage them to want to perform similar tasks. Teachers can boost learners' self-efficacy with encouraging comments and motivating them in various ways. Once students are successful, they put in extra energy to want to continue to be successful. Teachers therefore should use moderately difficult tasks for weak students to boost their confidence to improve their self-efficacy. Emotional stimulation, reduction of

anxiety and stressful situations among students may enhance their level of confidence and self-efficacy. In effect, the teaching environment, the teacher characteristics and teaching quality can significantly improve learners' self-efficacy and thereby enhancing learning and achievement.

ROLE OF RESOURCES IN SCIENCE TEACHING AND LEARNING

It is noteworthy that in general, countries (such as Singapore and Japan) with high indices of availability of school resources for teaching science and mathematics are those that have high mean achievement in science and mathematics (Anamuah-Mensah *et al.*, 2006). Webster & Fisher (2000) pointed out in their study that, pupils' attitudes towards science and aspirations in science were affected by their access to resources. Rural schools are faced challenges such as lack of funds and resources, aging facilities and difficulty in recruiting and retaining good quality teachers. A significant challenge facing schools in the rural communities is providing equitable educational resources. Most African schools lack the needed equipment and resources that will facilitate teaching and learning. A well equipped laboratory should support teachers/instructors for effective delivery and to stimulate learners' interest and hands-on activities for enhanced comprehension. Schools will need appropriate and adequate textbooks and other relevant teaching-learning resources. As a result of limited human resources and low income levels, poor community partnerships, and disinterest in schooling are often the case in most African schools. Also, in too many of our high poverty rural schools, the students themselves appear to have no clear picture of what constitutes academic success, and so they have very little chance of attaining it.

To improve achievement in science in African schools, African governments will need to increase their budgetary allocation to academic institutions. Schools will need to be provided appropriate and adequate resources required to enhance effective teaching and learning of science.

HANDS-ON ACTIVITIES AND ACHIEVEMENT IN SCIENCE

Tobin (1990) noted that laboratory activities appeal as a way of allowing students to learn with understanding and, at the same time, engage in a process of constructing knowledge by doing science. This important assertion may be valid, but current research also suggests that helping students achieve desired learning outcomes is a very complex process. According to Gunstone (1994), using the laboratory to have students restructure their knowledge may seem reasonable but this idea is also naive since developing scientific ideas from practical experiences is a very complex process. The teacher/instructor must therefore encourage and support the learner at every point in time during practical sessions to enable him/her to appreciate the purpose of every activity. For the novice, hands-on activities should occur after theoretical aspects of concept teaching have been introduced to them.

That is, practical/hands-on activities are to make concepts taught real to facilitate comprehension and retention.

Gunstone and Champagne (1990) suggested that meaningful learning in the laboratory would occur if students are given sufficient time and opportunities for interaction and reflection. Hands-on laboratory activity, as a part of the science curriculum, offers a prescriptive method for raising achievement levels and promoting positive attitudes toward science among science students (Freedman, 1997).

SCHOOL CLIMATE AND ACHIEVEMENT IN SCIENCE

Evidence is beginning to suggest, for example, that a school climate with open, healthy and collegial professional interactions and strong academic emphasis empowers teachers and creates norms of collective efficacy that shape the environment of schools and influence teacher behavior and student achievement. When teachers believe that they can organize and execute their teaching in ways that are successful in helping students learn, and when the school climate supports them, teachers plan more, accept personal responsibility for student performance, are not deterred by temporary setbacks and act purposefully to enhance student learning. Empirical evidence has linked school climate with achievement (Goddard, Sweetland & Hoy, 2000). Since school climate has the tendency to shape students attitude, it is important to determine the facilities (e.g. library and library resources, workshops, laboratories with the basic equipment and chemicals, ICT equipment, etc.) that exist in schools and how students attribute school climate to their interest in science.

Education quality is much higher when the student-teacher ratio is much lower and this improves students' achievement. With the increase of academic enrolment, there is the need for manageable student-teacher ratios. Although certain teaching strategies can be effective even for very large classes, students are often unruly in these settings. Moreover, teachers in large classes tend to focus more on rote learning rather than on problem-solving skills (Psacharopoulos & Woodhall, 1985). This tends to affect the performance of students especially if basic educational facilities are absent. Despite the large workload on most African teachers, the motivational packages are not enough. There is also the evidence of low salary levels and the lack of total commitment on part of teachers leading to absenteeism in most cases. Teacher absenteeism, a persistent problem in many countries, reduces the quality of education and results in waste of resources (World Bank, 2004; De Kemp, 2008).

On Ghana's participation in TIMMS, it was observed that class size can affect the teaching and learning strategies used by the teacher. The relationship between class size and achievement was not clearly defined. According to the report, there seems to be a curvilinear relationship between class size and achievement in mathematics and science. That is, larger classes, up to a class size of 40, seemed to perform better than smaller classes. However, beyond a class size of 40, achievement decreased.

The poor performance of smaller classes could be due to the observation that in rural areas in Ghana, as in many African countries, where class sizes are generally small, teaching is generally very poor due to lack of teaching resources and qualified teachers compared to urban areas where class sizes are generally high but have comparatively better teaching and learning resources including well qualified teachers (Anamuah-Mensah *et a*l., 2006).

Educational providers and managers should ensure that the school environment is conducive for effective teaching and learning. In taking care of the school environment, they need to take cognizance of physical environmental factors such as temperature, noise, lighting system, etc. which may both affect the teacher and the learner either consciously or unconsciously. For effective teaching and learning to occur to enhance achievement in learning, the teaching-learning environment should be conducive to teaching and learning.

CURRICULUM QUALITY AND SCIENTIFIC LITERACY

In most African schools, science education suffers greatly due to frequent changes in the curricula and syllabi especially when educational policies change when governments change as is always the case. Usually, such changes are not accompanied by change in resources such as textbooks. Though good quality teachers are usually able to self-adjust to demands that result from curricular changes, to make them more effective, they need to undergo in-service training to adapt to such changes – this is often not the case in most countries in Africa. This presupposes that after every curriculum change, the teacher becomes less effective and this affects teaching quality and outcome.

Although according to Anamuah-Mensah *et al.* (2006), Ghanaian students placed high premium on science and mathematics. Their mean achievements in science and mathematics were only next to the lowest performing country in the two subjects. It could be inferred that though students may be enthusiastic about science and mathematics, the curricula followed by the students in mathematics and science may be less demanding due to factors such as the pedagogical approach and availability of resources. The curricula may also be interesting but less challenging. That is, for the needed scientific literacy to be achieved, the curriculum should be appropriate and reasonably challenging, and the teachers will need the needed resources and be adequately prepared and motivated to support learners through the curriculum.

TEACHER CHARACTERISTICS AND TEACHING QUALITY AS DETERMINANTS OF ACHIEVEMENT IN SCIENCE

Students' perception of the teacher's attitude seems to be a major factor in the development of the students' attitude towards science. Teacher related factors play major role in the development of the interest of the students toward the study of science. Science teachers need to exhibit all the skills that will enable and encourage

young learners to develop positive attitudes towards science and science learning. To achieve these, teachers need to adopt learner-centred approaches in the teaching of science. This should involve the learners' active participation in the teaching and learning process. However, if learner-centred learning environments are to be created, science teachers must be made to feel confident in the handling of topics and practical activities with their students through regular in-service workshops and seminars. Interpersonal relationships among teachers, peers and students can go a long way to effectively enhance learners' interest in science. This way, students will develop favourable attitudes in science (see Jeanpierre *et al*., 2005).

A variety of factors may contribute in enhancing the quality of the teacher which in effect, as espoused earlier, can affect students' attitude and performance in science. Those factors include the school climate within which the teacher operates, workload on the teacher, motivational packages and provision of effective leadership from the Head of school (DuFour, 1999). Characteristically, as Goe (2007) observes, some teachers may contribute to the overall student achievement gains by virtue of the collegiality and the leadership ability or impact on school culture. Such practice covertly or overtly do appear to benefit schools and may play an important, if unseen role in students' success. Positive teacher-student relationships can also influence student's attitude towards science. This can be achieved when the right conditions prevail in the class especially manageable class size and better teaching and learning resources.

Educational managers and providers should note that attainment in science irrespective of the learner's prior conceptions, misconceptions, perceptions or experiences, nature of curriculum and even the school climate, teaching quality and teacher characteristics and attitudes can change the learner's fortunes with regards to achievement in science. Good quality teachers must therefore be taken good care of and must be adequately supported if achievement in science in African schools can be improved.

REFRAMING SCIENCE EDUCATION

We theorize science education as teaching and learning some fundamental principles and ideas that guide/regulate human action and social practice, and as well offer meanings and interpretations to broad existential questions. As noted also in Asabere-Ameyaw, Dei and Raheem (2012), science as an area of intellectual inquiry or academic study is working with knowledge that includes "a form of multi-valued logic that seeks explanation through approximate" as well as "numerically precise reasoning" (Peloquin & Berkes,2009, p. 535). Increasingly, science has also been a tool to answering broad existential questions and making sense of the connections of people to their cultures, Nature/Earth and society. This connection of peoples to the Lands and environments is a source of knowing that is science knowledge. Okeke (2005) long ago made the point that European/Western scientific tradition is just one aspect of science knowledge (cited in Lebakeng, 2010, p. 27; see also Dei, 2011).

Any attempt at science education need to recognize this and the fact that all learners have a right to education beyond all borders, as a component of 'global education'. Science education must therefore integrate multiple sciences. The dangers of such pluralism or what can be termed "intellectual democracy discourse" is that of course we want spaces for multiple sciences and knowledges, but sometimes this notion is co-opted without addressing power and knowledge issues. Science education is about power, and who defines what constitutes a scientific intellectual tradition worthy to be deemed "science'.

The internationalisation of science education is mutually beneficial, and all educators must explicitly aim for this. In asserting the need for science education to be beneficial to all, we must also insist that we can decolonise and liberate ourselves form a very restrictive definition of science. So, while science education for African young learners explicitly looks for integration of multiple sciences, the approach to such education must be lodged in critical pedagogies of liberation which require decolonisation of what is taught as science in African schools.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

It is generally accepted that the road to African development lies in an effective transmission of science and technology as important knowledge base of our economies. The state of science teaching and science knowledge in schools has always been a worry to education policy makers and national development experts. It is noted that many of the countries of Global South [particularly in the Pacific Rim] who have showed progress in national development indicators in most recent years paid serious attention to science and technology education. But science education must begin somewhere. Local educators' knowledge of science is vital to enhancing scientific literacy of young African learners. What teachers themselves know and perceive as science, how it should be taught and the social context of their pedagogy of science goes a long way to engage young learners to appreciate the relevance of scientific inquiry. We must have the physical infrastructure as well as the conducive social environments that make science education a success. We need to train teachers in science who would teach the young generation such knowledge. We need to rethink our pedagogies for teaching science that will attract young learners into these subject areas. The training of science teachers should emphasize teaching skills that recognize the assumption that most of the students in African schools are disadvantaged in one way or the other (e.g., poor social and economic conditions, lack of appreciation of prior knowledge of science, a phobia of science, etc.). Teachers will require certain skills and competencies that will enable them to help support the learner to overcome and facilitate comprehension and learning that will enhance achievement in science.

It is also important that in our desire to enhance scientific literacy among young learners, we bring a very holistic meaning of science that allows young learners to embrace both the Western science [tradition] and Indigenous science [scientific inquiry]. We cannot afford to dichotomize our knowledge systems neither can we

privilege certain forms of knowledge at the expense of other indigenous ways of knowing (e.g., Indigenous science). There is a need for integration of varied knowledge systems. The issue of power relations and dialoguing between sciences as knowledge systems to enhance the scientific literacy of the youth is critical. But, we can effectively enhance the scientific literacy of young African learners if we breakdown the hierarchies of knowledge, and knowing that exists in our schools and communities. If we accept that there are multiple sciences, and Western science is just one of them then we must be careful how we privilege particular forms of knowledge and /or make other forms of knowledge subservient to dominant knowledges. Taking this position does not mean we see all knowledges as science. It is simply a recognition of the fact that for far too long we have marginalized African Indigenous sciences in our school systems with the resulting effect that our young learners of today have failed to appreciate what we have in our communities and the necessity to enhance on local capacities and capabilities.

The social context of teaching science is also critical. Science must be approached from a given social context. This allows young learners to develop a sense of connection and connectedness to knowledge and be able to claim ownership of the learning process. Educators cannot afford to make science alien to young learners. We must reach them starting from where they are. This means engaging in contextualized teaching/learning that encourages a location or grounding of science education in local environments as well as needs, hopes and aspirations. After all, how much can be spoken of a scientific literacy culture if what students learn about science do not speak to or address the local challenges that people face in everyday life. Of course, we live in a global community today but learning must start from local contexts and environments and connect to the broader contexts as well as external forces of transnational society.

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SOLOMON BELAY FARIS[1]

8. RESISTANCES IN THE RESTORATION OF LOCAL SPIRITUAL AND CULTURAL VALUES IN SCIENCE EDUCATION

The Case of Ethiopia

INTRODUCTION

As an ancient and historically free country, Ethiopia enjoyed a continued network of traditional education since the 4th century until its demise in the 20th century. Religious institutions played an important role in creating and sustaining this education and literate elite. Beyond moulding the economic and social life of the people, the Orthodox Christian church also preserved the Ethiopian alphabet (Ge'ez),[2] documenting the country's ancient history, and providing the early basis for pedagogy and curriculum in the country (Pankhurst, 2001; Wubie, 2001).

The literature on education in Ethiopia indicates that so-called modern[3] education began precisely 100 years ago (1908) when the then Emperor Menelik opened the first formal school, called the Menelik school, upon the soft murder of the elaborate and indigenous religious schooling system (Negash, 1996; Wagaw, 1979). While the needs of the country grew in complexity, the formal education was stuck in providing basic literacy. Not only did it remain at its basic level, it did not serve much in transmitting or transforming local spiritual and cultural values which are at the centre of the community's existence. Therefore, restoring those lost values in the education system stands as an urgent task for education reformers in Ethiopia. This article addresses the different forms of resistance and tension that might occur in this process and explores some options to tackle them.

SPIRITUAL AND CULTURAL VALUES

In defining spiritual and cultural values, I tend to agree with Smith's (1994) attempt "to develop a supra-religious definition which expresses the commonalities of varied religious traditions rather than that which is unique to any individual religious institution or expression" (p. 5). By doing so, it becomes easier to embrace most indigenous belief systems in the Ethiopian context. Moreover, it is important to put spirituality as a way of being and experiencing reality that comes "through awareness of a transcendent dimension characterized by certain *identifiable values*[4] in regard to self, others, nature, life, and whatever one considers the Ultimate" (Smith, 1994, p. 6).

A. Asabere-Ameyaw et al., Indigenist African Development and Related Issues, 119–141.

As we shall see later, what Ethiopians value most in any situation is their spirituality described by West-Burnham and Jones (2007) as "the journey to find authentic, unified and profound understanding of the existential self which informs action, sustains hope and enables personal transformation" (p. 18). For Ethiopians, spirituality is also the way they seek to respond to the great existential questions regarding purpose, life and death, beauty and creativity. Indeed, what profound and authentic knowledge could exist other than understanding the self?

Drawing on the essence of Ethiopian philosophy about human beings, Sumner (1974) states that the soul/spirit is not only transcendent in human beings, but it is also the one thing that sets them apart from animals. That is, I believe, why in his book Education and the Soul, Miller (2000) says that "to deny spirit is to deny an essential element of our being and thus diminish ourselves and our approach to education" (p. 9). Miller defines spirituality as a "sense of the awe and reverence for life that arises from our relatedness to something both wonderful and mysterious" (p. 4).

Many African scholars also have described their people's conception of spirituality as closely bound up with daily religious worship[5] or that one is a reflection of the other (Kamalu, 1990; Mbiti, 1969), I too agree that spirituality is manifested in what we think and do as a result of our religion. Therefore, spirituality, in a sense, is what is relevant in our daily life and what we should learn in our schools. However, such form of spirituality is neither documented nor taught in African schools. In fact, Mbiti (1969) laments that no serious studies have been made prior to 1969 about the extent to which the spiritual world plays an important role in African life. Since then, African scholars seem more and more to be convinced that:

> ... spirituality-centered wisdom not only defines African personhood but it also provides the needed clues and hopes for surmounting the puzzle of the lack of development in Africa by rethinking the pedagogy of Africa's current-day education systems (Nashon, Anderson & Wright, 2007, p. 1).

As the same form of spirituality passes from one generation to the other and is applied in everyday lives, it inherently defines culture. Spiritual values become cultural values shaping what has been listed by Pai, Adler and Shadiow (2006) as the "pattern of knowledge, skills, behaviors, attitudes, and beliefs, as well as material artefacts produced by a human society" (p. 19). In light of this, the distinction between the spiritual values (acquired as a result of conscious exertion to develop them) and cultural values slowly become blurred. In such a situation, people are no longer conscious of the original source of the spiritual values; instead they sustain them as cultural values that are taken for granted. These cultural values ultimately affect the way people think, live and learn.

Speaking of how culture affects learning Abdi and Cleghorn (2005) state that:

> Culture can affect students' preferred ways of learning, thus it is not only the *social context* of teaching and learning that is important but the context as represented by the experience that the learner brings to the setting. To

> *contextualize* instruction is to attend to both of these aspects of the *culture of schooling* (p. 5, emphasis in the original).

Patchen and Cox-Petersen (2008) also found out that identifying practical possibilities for culturally relevant pedagogy in science education is important for students and teachers. After many years of teaching and working with native Americans, Cajete (1999) argued that spirituality cannot be ignored, as it is an "integrated focus on traditional expressions of indigenous science" (p. 44). Therefore, as I will continue to argue, in the context of countries like Ethiopia, religion and spirituality constitute the legitimate foundation of culture and the setting upon which to build meaningful educational interventions.

"SCIENCE" EDUCATION

The mentality that brought science education to Africa in the form of formal education is not much different from that which sought to colonize and occupy the people and the land as slaves and objects for use. Cobern and Loving (2000) testify that Europe was an expansionist culture, and European exploration, conquest, and the colonization of lands beyond Europe brought Western science to those lands and their inhabitants as part of the tool to conquer. Accordingly, they state that "In these parts of the world where Western science is experienced as a relatively new phenomenon, the interaction of science with culture has taken a more violent form and the disintegrating effects have been much more sharply experienced (p. 53). As a result, formal education in the name of science made Ethiopia a colonial land and succeeded in uprooting almost all traditional values, rendering the country subservient to, and a subscriber of Western culture and its modes of thought which it was fighting back for hundreds of years. Of course, as explained by Apple (2004) Western science has proven itself to be a project with a colonizing purpose. Apple says:

> A science is not 'just' a domain of knowledge or techniques of discovery and formulating justifications; it is a group (or rather, groups) of individuals, a community of scholars in Planyi's terms, pursuing projects in the world. Like all communities, it is governed by norms, values, and principles that are both overtly seen and covertly felt (p. 88).

In the Ethiopian situation, science education has served to colonize the country where it was impossible in the battlefield. Therefore, if we want to use science as an empowerment agenda and a strategy to development there is an urgent need in Ethiopia for redefining and restructuring science and its education. Ethiopian scholars have to necessarily identify the methods to accomplish this and the ways we can overcome the resistance. This has to be primarily a political project in that it is a decolonization process and a subversion of all what we know as science (Asabere-Ameyaw, Dei, and Raheem, 2012). It is part of asking and even responding to the question of whose knowledge and definition counts as science. As such, it is part and parcel of creating what Ntuli (1999) called "reverse discourses, oppositional practice, displacement of

the Eurocentric premises of the discursive apparatus, counter-hegemonic work, and bringing to bear a forceful return of philosophy to the social and natural sciences" (p. 290-292). This article is a complementary and an extension of my other published article "Ethiopia survives: Reintegrating our spirituality and culture into our own science" (Belay, 2012) and I hope it will contribute to the huge task of reforming science education awaiting African scholars.

METHODOLOGY

Consistent with the conscious subversion of the agenda of science and its research methods, I have chosen autoethnography as my methodology. I found this methodology the closest I can come in my endeavor, as suggested by Chang (2008) to the understanding of self/spirituality, other, and culture in the context of a new vision for science education. My role as an Ethiopian researcher is better performed by retelling the Ethiopian stories and analyzing them both in their own selves and in comparison with current literature. As an educator it is my duty to use narrative analysis to capture the essence of the stories and find their rightful place in the redefinition and reorganization of the science education.

Probably, I am one of the first Western-educated Ethiopians who are forwarding arguments for spirituality-centred science education in Ethiopia and a different method to research and teach it. Therefore, given my personal location and experiences, I am best suited to judge autoethnography as the right method combining my aspirations and techniques to write such article. Moreover, I chose autoethnography because, according to Ellis, Adams and Bochner (2010) it "seeks to describe and systematically analyze (graphy) personal experience (auto) in order to understand cultural experience (ethno)" (p. 275). It also "challenges canonical ways of doing research and representing others and treats research as a political, socially-just and socially-conscious act. A researcher uses tenets of autobiography and ethnography to do and write autoethnography". (p. 273)

The substance of this autoethnography methodology is the stories (narratives) and their analysis. The basic data in this article came from interviews. But as the analysis progresses, I tapped frequently into observations and my own life experiences. Wallace and Louden (1997) argue that, "qualitative researchers presume that understanding of events is constructed through the preconceptions we bring to them" (p. 321). In fact, the more I moved from the basic (central) data to the analysis (periphery), my writing moved from narrative analysis to autobiography, defying an exact categorization as either of the two. I also had one Focus Group Discussion (FGD) which included one student, one parent, one science teacher, one curriculum expert and one elder. Above anything else the FGD highlighted the possible generational and methodical tensions that might occur in rebuilding curriculum.

In order to get richer data I followed a purposive sampling of three 10th-Grade students followed by a sampling of their science teachers, their parents, the science curriculum experts, education policymakers, potential employers, religious leaders,

prominent figures and elders. A total of 20 individuals told stories that help answer the two important questions of to what extent spiritual and cultural values govern the life the Ethiopian people and how these values manifest themselves in the science classrooms. Out of all these stories I narrated and analyzed four representative stories mainly for the sake of brevity. I feel that these four stories not only address the research questions but also represent the other stories.

Organizer

The presentation and analysis of the stories correspond to the manner in which stories are told and discussed in Ethiopian villages. As storytelling and conversations go on, there are few procedures Ethiopian villagers follow:

- A background and an objective for the story;
- In this paper the actual stories are presented under the title Story Time. The first story is a reconstruction of classroom observation while the second story is told directly by a storyteller;
- Once the storyteller finishes, there is usually a question from the audience: "*Fire negeru mindinew?*" literally meaning "What is the grain here?" It is a way of making sure that everyone gets the point in the story. Immediately after the stories, therefore, I use the topic "*Fire Neger*" to present the summary of the stories and to perform Level One analysis;
- Once the *Fire Neger* is over, there follows a conversation inspired by the story just presented while tapping personal experiences and quoting the wisdom and sayings of others. The focus is on fleshing out the implications of the stories in real life. In this section, it is presented under the topic *Chiwiwit* [Conversations] and can be taken as Level Two analysis discussing the implication for education.

DATA AND ANALYSIS

Story Time

The following stories came directly from participants who are, somehow, involved and, as a result, have first-hand experience in the development and implementation of Ethiopian science curriculum. Even those stories narrated by people from outside the school system are expressive of the tensions that surround the restoring task.

"The Pedagogy of the Oppressed"

> Last weekend, a few other teachers and I took 25 students to an HIV/AIDS protection seminar. Their participation in the seminar was amazing. Maybe, it is because the seminar facilitator was young, or because they were allowed to talk freely, or perhaps it is because they are interested in the subject. I don't know. They were so active and contributed freely. It was as if they wanted to learn more

and they seemed to be at their best. The method of teaching in the classroom, when compared to the seminar, must be boring. This experience showed me that the students have potential. Especially, if they have spiritual qualities, they will help them focus on their studies and solve their problems, regardless of the inconveniences at school. They need to be sincere. I like the way they feel freer than our generation. But, the sense of liberty has to be balanced with responsibility.

You know, sometimes I ask the students to build simple models using toothpicks and styrofoam. The idea was to give them a visual and tactile experience of what they had been learning in class. It was an extra tutorial, because the teacher's 10 minutes in the class is not enough time to cover the ideas. It was also to encourage group work and peer support. However, most of the students copy the work of the few smart students. It may be okay to copy, but they must understand the logic and the meaning behind the structure. You will know by their test scores that they did not understand a thing about the theoretical part of the model. They did not care to get an explanation from the teachers or from the smarter students. Therefore, when you give them written tests they don't answer the questions. Their interest in learning science is zero. They do not see a future in science.

Like…yesterday, some children prepared poetry, music and drama and performed it in front of an audience. I was so impressed by the artistic talents they showed. We usually only expect academic performance, as in pure science, but the children may have other talents that could benefit them in the future. They were so changed that I even suspected that they were not the same children that I teach in my class. It is unfortunate that the country is so underdeveloped that it cannot tap the special talents of those children. They are very creative outside the regular classroom, but we do not have the mechanisms to assess and develop these talents.

Another instance of talent is their performance during the National Nations and Nationalities Day. You have seen the pictures of them taken during the holiday. What they did that day was excellent. They dressed in the costumes of the different ethnic groups in Ethiopia, demonstrated some of their culture, and acted out a number of things. It was really amazing.

They also demonstrate talent and depth when we discuss different issues with them at roundtable discussions; they express their opinions unreservedly. They offer good suggestions. But the moment they come to class and sit for biology and chemistry lessons, you see the challenges. The students feel disempowered and burdened. I feel their relationship with those subjects and the pedagogy is disconnected somehow. I wish they could use the same intelligence and wisdom in their academic subjects.

Alas, all these varied teaching and learning activities cannot be done formally as the Plasma TV[6] is a big obstacle consuming all our classroom time with not

listening, hasty note taking and memorizing. The students are forced to sit in the classroom the whole day just staring at the TV.

"Whose Culture, Whose Spirituality, and Whose Scientist?

We include the art of local distillation of a*reke* [local vodka], the brewing of *tela* and the science of fermentation in general. When we do this, the Muslims ask: "Why do you include alcohol in the school curriculum? We do not support it. It should not be taken as a lesson." However, our answer was: whether we like it or not, alcohol exists in the society and it is easy to learn what is in society. We inform the students about the effects of alcohol. As long as we inform them of its effects, it cannot be considered promotion. What we want the students to learn is the science of fermentation, and it is easy for them to learn about it through understanding the process of the preparation of *tela* and dough-making which are found in our own homes. Our ancestors were familiar with the process of distillation for centuries. They somehow have the information at home. In school, we just explain the scientific aspects of it. Simultaneously, we teach and encourage them to engage in discussion about the effects of drinking alcohol. We help them understand that alcohol is a solvent for many solutions. Alcohol has many important uses in hospitals, and in industry. So students are helped to understand science as a double-edged sword: you can either benefit from it or harm others through scientific knowledge.

Ethiopia is a highly diversified country with more than 80 ethnic groups. They are bound to be some problems when you include certain values and exclude others. We did something good in biology class. The written textbook included Ethiopian role models, such as Drs. Tewoldebirhan Gebre'egziabher, Gebissa Ejeta, and Aklilu Lema, people who were awarded alternative Nobel Prizes or other major prizes for discovering things in the field of biology. We have also included in the textbook the first and only woman professor in Ethiopia. The first criterion for inclusion as a role model in the textbook was having an alternative Nobel Prize. But then it was realized that it brings gender bias, since there was no female role model. Unfortunately, there was no woman who had been awarded the alternative Noble Prize. So for that reason, it was decided later to include Professor Alemtsehay, the first woman professor. And because many of the men came from different ethnic backgrounds, they also represented racial diversity.

"From a Gnat to an Eagle"

When we began the Junior Youth Empowerment program,[7] it was open to all, but some parents resisted sending their junior youth to the program. As soon as the young people had enrolled and passed through the program,

> they showed a remarkable spiritual transformation. Just by looking at these youth, other parents who had not sent their children at first, literally begged the coordinators to accept their children in the program. They enrolled their children when they witnessed the positive changes they observed in other children. Many attitudinal and behavioral changes were observed in the children: youth who were known to have no objectives in life or who were wondering around creating disturbances developed aspirations. The program became as successful in Ethiopia as it is everywhere else in the world. We had a guest from Cambodia who shared the same success story. In fact, the guest encouraged us to do more with the youth and little children, because they are gates to the heart of their parents. When parents witness the transformation taking place in their children, they want to associate with the program. There was a positive change, even with regard to the respect the children showed their parents. The new civilization to come will be built on the shoulders of today's children and youth. Parents will follow the light in their children.

"Revolutionary Democracy"

This story bears the name of the ideology the Ethiopian government currently practices. As can be seen from the phrase itself, it is a synthesis of two broad concepts. It appears that the government did not want to practice democracy in its fullest sense; rather, it chose a specific type of democracy that excludes some of the rights that are characteristic in a fully democratic society.

One of my interviews took place with a highly placed key informant, whom I gave the pseudonym of Mr. Pom. He supports the philosophy of revolutionary democracy which may arouse some tension in the way we perceive spiritual values and their integration in the curriculum and pedagogy. Here is the conversation I had with him that seems to be representative of most government officials:

> Me: (Since he was expressly refusing the idea of spiritual values in the classroom, I suggested to him that) "for the theory of evolution, for example, there needs to be an alternative theory such as the theory of intelligent design that students may relate to.
>
> Mr. Pom: To say there is intelligent design, I must either know the designer or when I see the process, it has to be self-evident that it is made through design. The conclusion about evolution is in the fossils we discovered. We have concluded that the deeper the fossil was buried in the earth, the older it is. We can then lay them out chronologically to theorize how the changes took place over time. If the change shows a deliberate design, we can ask the question how each change occurred. Intelligent design assumes the existence of a designer who understood how the process and the change happen. So we need to understand the design thoroughly in order to talk about the designer and its intentions. Or else we need to conclude that the process of change and life is

the result of the interplay between survival of the fittest and natural selection, according to which the fittest and the most adapted ones survive and continue to live and reproduce. I do not see the difficulty in understanding this. Rather what seems difficult is the belief in intelligent design, because I say why does "he" or "she" make this particular unfinished design. Why doesn't he or she or it create a complete design at once and launch it for survival? Why should we evolve? Take people for instance: those who live in cold climates are whiter than those of us who live in warmer ones. Is it the work of the intelligent design that weather determines our color? Or did he or she create us black and white to start with? We know from DNA evidence that the white people originally had black color while they were migrating. But I do not know.

My conclusion is that what we bring to the school should be something that helps the children live peacefully with each other and with the rest of the community, that is, subjects that will bring the children health and comfort. In schools, we develop their capacity to do those things. I feel schools do not have to extend their objectives beyond this. They have to remain secular.

Me: Well, it may not be the place and the time for bringing up the argument for Intelligent Design (ID). But, what if this ID envisioned us the way we are now and put the system in place so that we can evolve in this direction? What if human beings were created as human beings from the start but they were programmed to assume different stages until they become human? Different stages and different shapes show more intelligence for the design. Despite all your argument that there should be no mention of alternative theories and values in the school, should we not at least be able to teach from the perspective of critiquing them? Schools are also responsible for teaching critical thinking.

Mr. Pom: Of course, unless there is analysis and challenge on issues, schools cannot fulfill the objectives I stated. Unless a farmer asks why the flood is washing away the soil, and does something to protect the soil, education has no use. Otherwise, as in the Middle Ages in Europe, if we ask how many angels can stand on the head of a pin, there will be an endless debate. Such knowledge is not worth teaching. For me, education is an effort to understand the process of nature and then to subject it to our comfort. More importantly, education must serve the purpose of harmonious living and tackling common problems. Otherwise, any mind is free to think and wonder about questions beyond these relevant issues. We can ask questions and get direct or indirect answers; we can write poetry; we can sing; we can paint pictures. These all have aesthetic values; but for me, the most important thing is living, i.e., agriculture and trade. Education must help individuals lead a healthy life, and also help others to do the same (without bringing spiritual issues in the classroom). In order to do this, one must ask and reflect how to protect nature, how to get things from nature not from anywhere else.

Fire Neger

The stories told and the discussions held were indicative of some events and possible sources of tension, and the precautions that can be taken to relieve whatever tensions do arise. Here are some of the findings from the stories.

ACTIVE LEARNING

Though the government has already installed Plasma TV in all high schools, it seems that students enjoy learning experience without the TV. When students are taken to a group activity, seminar, or any kind of extra-curricular activities, they show an increased interest for learning. All teachers shared their conviction that the current generation feels much more "liberated" than their parents' generation. Responsibility and sacrifice are the last words they want to hear. Staying imprisoned in a classroom under the authority of the teacher and the instruction of Plasma TV is not their idea of learning. Instead, they would rather engage themselves in out-of-class artistic and sports activities which are also conducive ways to learn values.

Teachers have also expressed the difficulty of giving students extra work to supplement the TV lessons, because the appetite for learning seems to have been lost in the classroom. Students show more interest in art and sports, subjects which the curriculum, unfortunately, does not cater to. Any student who is keen to develop abilities in the arts or sports must leave school to pursue such goals. In my interviews, both students and teachers expressed the feeling that the dysfunctional academic education has so entrapped and disempowered them that they end up being less productive and less creative much less develop and retain spiritual and cultural values. If students are asked to do assignments, copying the work of their peers becomes the only means to get the work done.

The most lamentable victim in this dysfunctional academic situation is the relationship between students and science subjects. As students progress towards high school, their interest in science decreases. Children's fascination with exploring the environment and their enthusiasm to ask questions about the way the universe works are dampened, as they are presented with boring lists of facts and information to memorize. The hands-on experience, field trips and laboratory work that could have motivated active learning about science are smothered by the rhetoric of Plasma TV. Instead of being fun, science becomes ugly and painful. No more does it answer immediate and relevant questions. It is simply a memorization of long names of things, classifications, and systems. Consequently, students tend to focus on the social sciences, sports, and arts, as these seem not only to have immediate relevance, but also to offer better job opportunities after high school graduation.

As we see in the story "The Pedagogy of the Oppressed," most research participants agree that students have lost interest in science subjects. Science is not playing a role in the life of the students, communities, and the country at large. In a market- and money-oriented world, where sports and artistic expressions pay off and science

does not, it is sensible for students to invest less time and energy in studying science. The hope in restoring local spiritual and cultural values to science education is that it will make the benefits of science learning immediate and relevant. Students cannot become active learners when the subject at hand has no relevance to their lives. Therefore, the tight grip of Plasma TV, the lack of interest on the part of students to learn science due to oppressive teaching methods, and the teachers' frustration create much tension and serve as a hindrance, as we set out to integrate spiritual and cultural values into science education. The type of teaching and learning that goes on in the schools is best described by Paulo Freire (1970) as banking method in the "Pedagogy of the Oppressed."

The Devil You Know

An obstacle that has been given greater emphasis by many participants is their fear about Ethiopia's 80 ethno-linguistic entities, the implications of whose spirituality and culture in the science education are largely unknown. Even though every ethnic group would appear to believe in the existence of a Creator, they may not agree as to what the nature of that Creator is. The cultural beliefs and practices of one of the ethnic groups could be taboo for another. A good example is the case of the study of fermentation, as we learned in the story "Whose Culture, Whose Spirituality, Whose Scientist?"

In order to teach the concept of fermentation and distillation, the science class uses the preparation of the cultural drink called *tella* and *areke.* But Muslim parents and students who do not approve of alcohol reject the idea of using the example of *tella* and *areke* in the classroom. But the curriculum experts argue that they are introducing the preparation of alcohol not as a useful object, per se, but as a process and product to be used for other useful ends. It is the same with scientists and other characters introduced in the science subjects. There is bound to be some tension regarding which ethnic group, religion, gender, or political organization these people and character represent. In some quarters of society, there is a fear of the new, that it could be mishandled to show the superiority of one over the other. They prefer to stick to the past, saying "the devil you know is better than the angel you do not." Expertise and wisdom are necessary in representing everyone, providing logical justification for why some particular character is represented.

As can be read from the story "Whose Culture, Whose Spirituality, Whose Scientist?" no science lesson—or any lesson for that matter—comes without some value attached to it. It is also one of the areas in which postcolonial assumptions come into play in education; most lessons presented in schools make children vulnerable and submissive to the current outrageous pop culture. Therefore, one of the reasons for identifying spiritual and cultural values is so we do not turn off students from learning by bringing something that is seen to oppose their stated beliefs. It is not that science should not fight superstition and prejudice, but that it should be introduced in a progressive manner. Lessons must be presented progressively, taking students'

spiritual and cultural beliefs as a solid foundation to build the next phase of learning. This applies whether introducing Plasma TV in the classroom, singing the national anthem during flag ceremony, or teaching the use of condoms, or supporting the main curriculum with extracurricular activities, as I have come across in so many instances of my classroom observations. Tensions should be minimized among the students themselves, between teachers and parents, between students and parents, and, sometimes, between students and teachers.

For example, a demonstration of the use of condom in the classroom brings to mind a number of issues: first, one can ask if condoms are the best method to protect an individual from sexually transmitted disease; second, one may ask if it is in line with the spiritual and cultural values of the Ethiopian people. As in most traditional and spiritual societies, the Ethiopian people condemn premarital and extramarital sex. Marriage is highly valued and the rate of divorce used to be very low until recently. It seems that with the expansion of formal education, all evil practices including divorce rates increase. Talking about and performing sex, even kissing, openly are foreign to the society. Wearing shorts, skirts, and tights is still shameful. Therefore, rather than building our pedagogies on the local spiritual and cultural values of the people, why do we introduce something as uncomfortable as promoting the use of condoms among the youth? Suspicion about the motives of different out-of-school programs is another source of tension in building a grassroots movement for a different curriculum in the school. The effect of the Baha'i Junior Youth Movement illustrated in the story "From a Gnat to an Eagle," is a case in point. As I learned from the interviews and my visits with the group, the Baha'i community in Addis Ababa is trying to implement a Junior Youth Empowerment Program focused on the studies of some ethical issues, in parallel with the practice of community service projects. The Baha'is say that this age group is neglected, but represents a critical stage in forming character that remains for life. It is not only about preparing them for the future, but there is also a belief that they actually can make a difference right now within their communities, by implementing community service projects. It is a free service which Baha'is offer as part of their community development efforts.

Some of the other reasons the Baha'is give as to why the program is a success concern the ethical examples the teachers (Junior Youth Animators) set and the participatory method the Animators use. The participants are taught using different methods, with enthusiasm, and depth of understanding and the Animators are generally happy and content inspiring others to be the same.

Yet, even though the values learned in the program have their roots in Christianity and Islam, the fact that the empowerment program came from the Baha'is can create tension and suspicion in the community, with some parents unwilling to allow their children to participate. Very few seem to realize that such out-of-school efforts can become powerful grassroots movements and contribute to curriculum reform. We cannot always uphold the Ethiopian saying 'the known devils are better than the unknown angels'.

CADRES OF THE GOVERNMENT

As the story "Revolutionary Democracy" shows, there are people at all levels in the government bureaucracy who sincerely believe that revolutionary democracy is the only way to bring development in Ethiopia. This philosophy is, on the one hand, an extension of the communist regime in Ethiopia throughout the 1970s and 1980s and, on the other, a reflection of the desire to institute a free market economy, as encouraged by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. This philosophy is, therefore, the foundation for the existence of secular government and secular education in Ethiopia, which excludes the concept of God and spirituality from the school curriculum. Most decision makers in the school system are government cadres, who vociferously advocate revolutionary democracy, and who refuse to entertain any alternative idea and strategy for learning and development. They have a highly positivistic view of science and still hope that science will solve all the problems of the country (Teshome, 2008).

CHIWIWIT CONVERSATIONS

After having described the yawning potholes in the Ethiopian educational curriculum and system, one is obliged to have a second look at it, with the aim of making some amendments. The depths of these amendments vary depending on the extent of the problem, the grade levels and the context. Nonetheless, no matter at what depth or whatever amendments may be made, challenges abound. It is these challenges I have called "tensions" throughout this article. And the existence of tensions may not be surprising as one attempt to tackle a century-old problem. The educational system has, in some quarters of the population, established a kind of norm not to be contested. Some people would like to see real change, but are not sure what to change, or how to go about making them. Therefore, tensions among the different curriculum stakeholders seem to be a normal outcome of the change process. In the next few pages, building on the previous stories and analysis, I will explore the sources and implications of these tensions.

A DEEPER CRISIS THAN WE THINK

Current Ethiopian formal education is plagued by innumerable problems. All the research participants agreed that problems, such as the ineffective training of teachers, the presence of plasma TV that supplanted the human teacher, large class size, an imported curriculum, excessive rote memorization, and the pervasive use of English-language instruction haunt the teaching and learning process. The lack of participation by local people in curriculum development, the lack of any mechanism to incorporate indigenous knowledge, and the failure to learn from past mistakes persist. The teaching of science as the most objective and the sole truth has continued in our schools, without regard for current developments in the history and philosophy of science.

It is, thus, with this state of affairs in the background that the planning of alternative curriculum makes sense. Nevertheless, a shift from such a state of crisis to a new locally rooted and relevant education is not an easy task. Tensions are expected to arise from all sides. The plurality of views within Ethiopia itself, the lack of trained human resources, power politics, outmoded thought patterns, and selfish motives of people who stand to benefit from the existing system are some reasons for these expected tensions.

If, however, there can be wholehearted consultation and universal participation in the development of curriculum, some of these tensions may be easier to deal with. My discussions with policymakers and curriculum experts have convinced me that all people have the potential to understand and work for what is ultimately good for them. In fact, there is nothing more cheerful than the process of rediscovering oneself with the object of becoming a subject of conservation and/or transformation. A time must come when Ethiopians will look at how the idea of God and spirituality is engraved in them. Consequently, it will be worth considering in the curriculum the idea of knowledge as a gift from God, and people with more knowledge as having the lion's share of this gift, as was customary in traditional schools.

STANDARD FOR VALUES

Muslim society has a point in its view on the teaching of alcohol in the school, whether or not one is talking about the science of fermentation. Despite the fact that some of the local drinks (*tela, areke,* and *tej*) have been brewed in homes for centuries, the teaching of them in the classroom may give the impression that the drinking of alcohol is being sanctioned by the school. So there is a legitimate question here: what is our standard for including or excluding a topic from the lesson? For example, taking the issue of alcohol, as discussed in the story "Whose Culture, Whose Spirituality, Whose Scientist?", I will now briefly discuss what the options are in setting such a standard and ease tension for developing a new curriculum:

Science. This is a knowledge system that can tell us what is harmful and useful to the body. But we also know that the data from science is continually changing on the subject of the benefits or harm of such alcoholic beverages as red wine. Some encourage moderate use, while others encourage abstention. There is as yet no final answer on the question; as a result, we need other supporting knowledge to strengthen what we may glean from science.

Religion. This is a knowledge system supporting that of science. In cases where we do not have enough information from science, we can turn to what our respective religions have to say. For example, both Old and New Testaments discourage the use of alcohol—except where St. Paul allows it to assuage a stomach problem. In the Quran and Kitab-i-Aqdas,[8] there are stipulations that forbid the use of alcohol. Therefore, based on insights gleaned from the two great systems of knowledge, science and religion, one can conclude that the drinking of alcohol is of greater harm than benefit to the human body. Along with this guidance, the horrifying daily

statistics of car crashes, violence, and rape stimulated by drunkenness are enough to encourage us to denounce the selling and use of alcohol for anything but medicinal purposes.

CONSULTATION

When we are not sure what exactly to include and exclude, consultation among the various stakeholders will work it out. We have statistics to prove the extent to which alcohol is the cause of car accidents, violence, and illness. There are studies to show how alcohol is economically damaging. Such insights and statistics can be taken into account when deciding what and how to say about alcohol in the curriculum.

We can also take our goals and objectives as standard. What kind of students and citizens do we want to have in the future? How does the teaching of alcohol contribute to the overall building of a model citizen?

Moreover, critical pedagogy also comes handy here. Students need to be encouraged and taught to challenge ideas and actions which are often taken for granted. They must be able to question the norms around them, including what is given to them in the curriculum. Students need to be engaged in a discussion of the desired content of their lessons.

Take Time

My interviews with the teachers and policymakers assured me that curriculum change in Ethiopia is possible, but must be undertaken slowly and carefully. Teachers and policymakers are convinced that we cannot simply import values into the curriculum holus bolus overnight. They are fully aware that there might be problems. But if people of sincerity undertake studies and if they plan and organize them thoroughly and in a convincing manner, teachers do not foresee problems. They are largely of the opinion that the society they are serving only wants to make sure that there are good reasons for doing it. People are logical and need only acceptable explanations. The teachers suggested that introducing values in science classes can start as extracurricular activities, such as clubs. There are some teachers and active students who run different clubs and it is nothing short of amazing what they accomplish in those clubs. Despite their poor performance in formal classes, students do impressive work outside of class or as members of different clubs. Arguably, it is possible that projects of spirituality in science could also take off successfully if started in clubs.

Attendance, Class Size and Pedagogy

A different trend in terms of attendance and participation is when there are events and holidays in the school or when out-of-school events are prepared by the school itself. When some extracurricular activity is taking place, students show up in large numbers and participate actively. In fact, all participating teachers agreed that

students become more interested when teaching methods and topics are varied, as in the story "The Pedagogy of the Oppressed."

In a lesson where they can participate in all aspects, from planning to implementation to evaluation, in activities where there are physical performances and real mental work, and in a situation where they feel spiritually satisfied, students become mindful and learn better. The examples of students' performance in the extracurricular activities around Nation and Nationalities Day—similar to Culture Day in some schools in Canada—bear this out. It is ironic that Ethiopian educational policy encourages active learning, a student-centred approach, and problem solving education, but there are no appropriate strategies in place to promote these goals in the classroom. Based on the stories told by teachers and students, Plasma TV kills all the grand objectives set for education. The only available avenue for achieving these objectives is extracurricular activity, which tends to be informal, not well planned, and inconsistent.

There are some important lessons to be learned from the success of the Ethiopian Baha'i Junior Youth learning groups, as we see in the story "From a Gnat into an Eagle." These lessons include the capacity for spiritual transformation of oneself and the community at the centre of learning, small group activities with maximum participation from the children, more hands-on approaches, and the design and implementation of service projects.

Show the Controversies: Background of the Values

One of the causes of tension in the classroom or with the inclusion of values is when they are imposed, or when they are taught simply for the sake of teaching values. In such situations, students do not see a reasonable context or realize the need to learn about values. But, as Weiler (2001) has stated, there are deliberate efforts being made by publishing corporations, research organizations, institutes of higher education, and testing services to privilege one form of knowledge or value over another. In my view and in light of my observations, science lessons can be conducive to providing the context for privileging certain values. That is why teachers need to be aware of this state of affairs and be able to counteract privileged postcolonial attitudes. Since science cannot escape from its founding values or from promoting them it seems wiser to make a conscious choice and to work with the values that are cherished most by local people. As stated earlier, teachers can help students understand the situation and may use examples for this purpose, from the history of science.

We know that most scientific discoveries are surrounded by controversy. The science historian Kuhn (1970), for example, speaks of how science grows from crisis and controversy. Any scientific discovery has a history of how the innovators interacted and how they arrived at decisions. The commitment, courage, loyalty, and truthfulness with which the decisions were made and carried out are shrouded in intrigue. As expressed so vividly in the story "Whose Culture, Whose Spirituality, Whose Scientist?", when teaching about scientists, we are telling stories that transmit values. Unfortunately, the teaching of science in Ethiopia is focused on the

memorization of facts and information and the development of a few skills, but there are no debates or discussions that would encourage controversy. Moreover, the open discussion of local values in science class is either totally absent or minimal at best.

For example, when teaching about blood circulation, we can mention William Harvey, who explained it properly for the first time, improving on the Greek conception (Ribatti, 2009). But he raised a furor in Europe for introducing this new idea. Examples of his life and those of others can help us teach the values of tolerance, empathy, courage, and the independent investigation of truth. In science, students need to learn, more than anything else, to be open and see things with the eye of possibilities. As Nashon (2003) writes encouragingly, it is possible to combine controversial and cultural issues in a multicultural physics classroom. He states:

> Teachers might also consider the idea of 'a physics box': Students write down problems, issues, and solutions to physics-related subject matter and place them in the box for consideration by the teacher. In addition, students write their traditional (cultural) explanations for natural phenomena and a time is set aside during the week when the whole class can react to some of the controversial ones. Controversies to be discussed in such a class may include values in science, truth in science, and the question of objectivity in science. (p. 343)

Future scientists do not have to oppose an idea just because it does not repeat an older one, or because the idea seems to go against some popular notion. We can be as creative as possible in listing every scientific topic and thinking how values can be integrated into each one. In fact, going one step forward we can ask students to dramatize, write poetry, compose songs, or paint a picture illustrating the concept they have learned.

In my interview with one of the curriculum expert, I was told an Ethiopian proverb which can be a good starting point for the discussion of values in science. When a teacher presents the physical state of matter in chemistry, she can mention the Ethiopian adage *Wuha biwokitut emboch* [literally translated as "if you pound water over and over again, you will still hear the same sound"]. People already know that one cannot either compress or break down the water. In chemistry, we know that water particles are already compact and cannot be compressed like gasses. The proverb can be used in relation to someone who does not listen to advice, just as water does not change a bit regardless of how hard you press it. Having heard the proverb and the context in which it is told, students can discuss the physical and spiritual properties of change and transformation

Though the expert admitted that there are no formal efforts to make a listing of our best traditions and include them in the curriculum, he did acknowledge that there are many issues we might study and bring into the curriculum. Some teachers across the country might already be tapping such local wisdom in their classrooms. Officially, there are efforts being made to do some integration at the primary school (regional) level. At the start of my data collection, I was told that the social studies curriculum framework is sent by the Ministry of Education (MoE) to the regions, and

that experts at the regional level then have the authority to consider their application in the local situation. They start from the locality, the district, and grow to the region. There was also an attempt to include mention in the courses of famous personalities, at first those known locally, then at the level of the district, and finally regionally. Well known elders, religious figures, and famous personalities of the area were to be studied in the school. Students were asked to do some research about why those people became famous.

Students also study at primary school famous landmarks in their locality and region. They are asked to study the churches, mosques, or other historical places in the vicinity of their school.

The MoE deliberately set up the framework of the primary school curriculum so that children would know and understand their own localities first, and then progress from there. This model of a decentralized curriculum should have been followed until university level. Unfortunately, at the end of my data collection, I was told by experts from a regional educational bureau that the mandate for developing their regional curriculum was revoked for reasons they were not informed of.

Balance between Unity and Diversity

One of the challenges in developing a school curriculum is striking the appropriate balance between the local and the national or universal, between the old and the new, between integration and specialization, and, most importantly, between what is common to all and what is unique to diverse individuals or groups.

It has been repeatedly said that Ethiopia is a country of widely diverse ethnic groups, most of them having their own language, spiritual, and cultural traditions. If the curriculum addresses one type of ethnic food, others may feel rejected and becomes angry (see again the story "Whose Culture, Whose Spirituality, Whose Scientist?). Though treating all ethnic groups equitably is vitally important, it is not easy to bring everyone and everything into the curriculum.In fact, at present, there is a sense of competition among the different ethnic groups in the question of representation. Who is represented most or who is dominating the national scene has become a question everyone is asking. The fear or the tension is that if curriculum experts bring every possible value and tradition into the curriculum, the learning process becomes overburdened.

There must be an innovative approach to represent all while maintaining balance. It might be easier to do it at the lower grade levels. It is easier to talk about the family and the locality with first graders. Then one can talk about the zones and districts for the second and third graders. There is no opposition at that level, if you talk about local values. There will be no complaints about learning the values of people not of the locality. But as the child grows and enters higher grades, let us say 4th Grade, teachers will be addressing children who come from three or four different localities. At that point, teachers cannot talk about one locality only; they have to be able to talk about the region or the province. By the time the students reach high school, lessons take

on a national flavor. Regardless, my observations confirm that the curriculum experts need to be retrained and foster more openness to other experts in other fields in their efforts to identify those most appreciated values that can be brought to the curriculum.

In more practical terms for example, when one draws a sketch of a farmer, if he is wearing a short or longer pant it is easy to identify whether the farmer is from central or west Oromia. If the farmer is from Harrar (in east Oromia), the farmer will be depicted wearing a skirt *shirrit*.[9] When one talks about animals, it would be about camels in Harrar, but about donkeys in Wollega, as these are the most familiar pack animals in their respective regions. A farmer in Wollega (west Oromia) might never have seen a camel in his life. So, in a national curriculum, if a teacher talks about camels, the Wollega area farmer could well ask what a camel is. Furthermore, the farmer from central Oromo (Showa) is culturally closer to Showa Amhara than to Harrar Oromo, because of its geographical location and many years of interaction. The Showa Amhara and Oromo share more in their physical characteristics and religion than is shared by two Oromo groups. In the same way, it may not even be appropriate to set a regional curriculum based on the sharing of common language.

In large cities like Addis Ababa, where there is heterogeneity in every aspect, the teaching of common values could become even more complex. An example given by a curriculum expert is the way girls are expected to do their hair. In earlier times, it was generally expected that girls' hair must be clean. School administrators and teachers were careful to make sure that all girls wash and comb their hair, keep it neat, and come to school without a veil. Currently, Muslim girls have the right to cover their heads, whether they are clean or not. If one were to make a policy or rule against this practice, it would cause a commotion. Muslims wear veils in the name of Islamic values making it difficult to challenge the practice.

Moreover, every Friday after 11:00 a.m. no one can force Muslim students to attend class, unless it is of their own will. Friday after 11:00 a.m. is the time of *Jumu'ah,* when Muslims say the longest congregational prayer. Even the Plasma TV schedule has taken this into consideration. Therefore, as more religious and ethnic groups become more sensitive and concerned about their religious and cultural values, classroom practices and pedagogy become challenging. The teachers have to be very careful not to offend any ethnic or religious group. In fact, city students are generally more flexible and tolerant, in the face of the wide diversity.

In areas where one finds a "close relationship among the Ethiopian tribes . . . founded on inter-tribal marriage and migration" (Retta, 2003, p. 6), one might be able to set a common curriculum. Capitalizing on this Ethiopian commonality, Retta (2003) claims:

> Well, as you could see, in the course of our millennia of interactions, we have changed and exchanged as much material goods as biological blood and spiritual habits! Ethiopians, as tribes and as individuals have been in a process of continuous and multifaceted interactions—of which a shared culture and a way of life has inevitably evolved and handed down to us all—the heirs. (p. 13)

Another perplexing issue for curriculum experts is how and when to create balance between integration and specialization. Much indigenous knowledge, including that in Ethiopia, emphasizes the importance of an integrated approach to knowledge, whereas specializations in current Western science produced many benefits in such fields as medicine and communication. The question is left open for curriculum experts and researchers to decide the appropriate time and context for the integration of and specialization in different subjects. It is also worthwhile investigating whether the concepts are not mutually exclusive. It may be possible for one to lead to the other or for both to occur simultaneously.

Easing Sources of Tension

The focus group discussion helped to illustrate the tensions that could arise if we wanted to implement some of the best ideas for restoring local spiritual and cultural values into science education. In fact, during the FGD, most of the time was spent discussing the importance of belief in and fear of God, as revered in the Ethiopian way of life. Though there was consensus that the curriculum should not exclude the concept of God and the teachings of religion in any way, there was disagreement as to what it means to include God and religious teachings in the curriculum. The discussion centred on weighing two options: whether to set up a separate religion class, or to integrate the concepts along with all other subjects.

The student, the teacher, and the curriculum expert were all three in favor of identifying important spiritual and cultural values and integrating them in existing subjects in an "interesting and professional way," whereas the parents and the elders took a long time trying to "convince" the rest of the participants that religion—as exemplified by the fear of God—should be taught separately for students based on our traditional schooling. Their argument was that "religion is a foundation for everything. People without religion are people who do not know their purpose in life. When the vitality of religion dies, people become corrupt, and social and economic development are arrested. Therefore, the teaching of religion should start early and run through the university." The first group argued that "the curriculum has enough burdens already. There are more subjects than the students can study. Moreover, there are different religious groups with different interests and the school will have a problem to decide which ones to include. But if everyone comes together and identifies what are important values to include, experts may then be able to integrate those same values into the rest of the subjects."

There was also disagreement about whom to include during a discussion of integrating religious teachings in the curriculum. "The priests and the sheiks are not academically educated and may not understand the subtleties involved in school curriculum; and they may also have their own expansion agenda to push," a major argument advanced; but the curriculum expert said, "we cannot do much in this respect

without letting the 'owners' (leaders) participate in the affairs of religion." Then the teacher suggested that "there must be other countries with similar experiences, so we can always learn from the experiences of others, if there is willingness from the government side."

Having Consistent Educational Philosophy

The idea of having a consistent philosophy in education goes as far back as Tyler's 1949 book The Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction. According to Tyler, educational philosophy must reflect the values of the society in which it operates. Moreover, the objectives and methods of education have to be in line with this same philosophy. Evidently, the Ethiopian government philosophy of "revolutionary democracy" is an effort to tailor philosophy to the local condition. As commendable as this effort is, it raises the question of how much the philosophy is consistent with or reflects what the Ethiopian people believe and practice. In a society in which the words and some of the principles of "revolution" and "democracy" are strange, reinstating the philosophy seems to be an imposition. Where students, their parents, and teachers are not on the same playing field with the government as regards philosophy, there are apparent tensions in homes and in schools. Even in Ethiopian recent history, where the principles of communism tried to rule out the values of the people, there was resistance everywhere until the word communism itself disappeared from the Ethiopian vocabulary. Once again, this reminds us of the importance of getting to the heart of Ethiopian divine philosophy itself and exploring the possibilities of its impact on the education system.

CONCLUSION

Ethiopians have always believed that human education and development should be a reflection of spiritual life, a positive thought, and a synchronization of self with the universal. Spiritually and morally grounded science has been at the heart of its culture and way of existence. Traditionally, spiritual education has been the centre of the Ethiopian universe and affected many aspects of individual, family, community, and institutional life. Currently, the formal science education is divorced of the traditional divine philosophy and also there are no separate religious/value/moral teachings in the public schools, and this gap has created a grave crisis, both in education and in development. The present-day imported secular education has resulted in the erosion of values thereby rendering the skills and knowledge gained as inefficient and disempowering. The philosophy of revolutionary democracy, Plasma TV teaching method, diversity within the country and the fear of the unknown seem to be some of the resistance in implementing a home-grown, spiritually centered curriculum. Educators and concerned citizens are asked to take heed of the situation and take necessary actions to rebuild the curriculum.

NOTES

[1] Solomon Belay Faris holds a doctorate degree in Curriculum Studies and Teacher Development (Centre for Science, Maths and Technology), from Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto. Currently, he is a researcher consultant for The Association of Higher Education and Development (AHEAD), Ottawa, Canada. AHEAD is an Ethio-Canadian organization that works for the improvement of higher education in Ethiopia.

[2] Ge'ez is the best known African script used for writing the two principal Ethiopian languages: Amharic and Tigrigna.

[3] The word "modern" here refers only to the time period when the Western model of formal education entered the country, and not with the relevance or quality of that education.

[4] Highlight/italics mine. These are the 'identifiable values' I would like to address in this article.

[5] 90% of the population believe in God, either as Christian, Muslim or other minority faiths.

[6] Plasma TV is a name given to the video streaming of almost all subjects in the secondary classrooms of Ethiopia from a central location and centralized curriculum. The human teacher in the classroom stands at the corner and waits to summarize the lesson in the last five minutes of the period.

[7] A moral and practical empowerment program for junior youth ages 9 to 14, run by the Baha'i community of Ethiopia as part of a worldwide endeavor to empower this age group.

[8] The book of laws and regarded as the Most Holy Book of the Baha'i Faith.

[9] A type of loose clothing worn by most people in Ethiopian lowlands by wrapping it around the waist.

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CHELSEA HAN BIN

9. PLENTY OF FOOD BUT NOT ENOUGH TO EAT

Hunger and Power in Ghana

INTRODUCTION

This Chapter examines the theoretical and methodological limitations of food security literature. The case study of hunger in Ghana in the aftermath of the 2007 global food crisis illustrates how the Ghanaian government has been perceived as the primary agent to address the issue of food security. The centrality of the Ghanaian government in food security implies that official development assistance has been instrumental in bolstering the government capacity to implement programs that reduce hunger. Indeed, aid is an indispensable component of solutions to hunger, as 20 percent of Ghanaian government's revenue derived from official development assistance from foreign governments in 2007. Since Ghana is expected to obtain the status of middle-income country, foreign aid has been gradually dwindling. The paper evaluates how the prospect of scaling down foreign assistance operations may have negative repercussions on the capacity of the Ghanaian government to maintain and expand food security programs in the future. Using the case study of Ghana, I argue that the failure of the traditional food security literature to explain the notion of "security" in food security, and the lack of discussion on hunger in critical security studies perpetuate the analytical blind spot in security studies.

When the international prices of grains such as wheat, rice and maize increased dramatically in early 2007, the global food crisis revealed the vulnerability of 40 million people as they became chronically undernourished.[1] As the wholesale price of maize tripled, rice prices grew by 170 percent, and meat prices doubled from January 2005 to June 2008, the number of people suffering from hunger increased to 963 million people in 2008.[2] In more than 30 countries, there were "food riots," which undermined the stability of political regimes.[3] While domestic food markets were reeling from price shocks and food shortages, international food markets were shrinking due to food-export restrictions emplaced by 40 states.[4] In addition to agricultural protectionism, several countries such as China, South Korea, Saudi Arabia, and United Arab Emirates purchased more cultivable lands abroad.[5] These emergency measures, such as export ban of grain, emergency hoarding, and overseas land acquisition for agriculture, cast a shadow over the future of an international food system against the backdrop of rising numbers of the hungry in sub-Saharan Africa and Southeast Asia since the mid-1990s.[6] Although the international price of

A. Asabere-Ameyaw et al., Indigenist African Development and Related Issues, 143–161.

food eventually declined due to the global recession in September 2008, the ad hoc-nature of the emergency actions taken by governments indicates the lack of a policy framework that can be used to prevent another global food crisis.[7]

The absence of international coordination led to mutually harmful actions that undermined the welfare of the world's hungry. This collective action problem is compounded by the analytical gaps in the security scholarship, which has neglected to study hunger as a risk or a threat. The Copenhagen School's securitization concept describes how an issue is framed as an existential threat to a referent object, thus necessitating the suspension of the normal rules of procedure in order to adopt emergency actions.[8] The view of food shortage as a supreme priority warranting emergency actions attests to the relevance of explaining the 2007 food crisis through the lens of critical security studies. While traditional security studies have viewed hunger as a non-security issue, the opposing viewpoints such as those of the Copenhagen School and the "risk society" framework have also failed to analyze it.[9] The Copenhagen school has reoriented the reference point from the state to an individual but has been silent on the issue of hunger as a threat to an individual. Despite the prevalence of the use of the term, "food security," the field of food security uses the term without considering how the notion of "security" has become embedded in "food security." The under-theorization of food security in critical security studies attests to the shortcomings of the current scholarship on hunger.

What analytical utility do the critical security studies suggest in overcoming the limitations of the conventional scholarship on hunger? This academic inquiry is guided by the survey of traditional food security scholarship, and the examination of how critical security studies can contribute to a fuller explanation of the 2007 global food crisis. Part I presents a literature review by identifying the key assumptions of food security studies. Part II applies the analytical tools of the Copenhagen School and risk society view to the 2007 global food crisis while Part III delineates theoretical cleavages on the role of the government and the market in providing food security. Using the case study of Ghana, I argue that the failure of the traditional food security literature to explain the notion of "security" in food security, and the lack of discussion on hunger in critical security studies perpetuate the analytical blind spot in security studies.

PART I: SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE ON FOOD SECURITY

While the silence of both traditional and critical security studies on the issue of hunger contributes towards a lack of analysis on the "security" side of "food security," the food security scholarship has confronted a problem of definitional clarity and operationalization of the term, "food security."[10] The existence of more than 200 definitions and 250 measurements of food security demonstrates the inconsistency of how the term has been used.[11] The dominance of political economy and human rights scholarship in food security studies has resulted in the largely descriptive and idealistic treatment of the issue of hunger. The failure to clarify how

the right to food will be enforced in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Rome Declaration on World Food Security (1996) underscores the moralistic and prescriptive stance of human rights scholarship.[12] Institutions such as the UN Food and Agricultural Organization obfuscate the definition of the term defining food security as hunger, vulnerability, undernourishment or under-nutrition/ malnutrition.[13] Critical security studies can expand academic space on the topic of hunger that lacks a coherent definition and consistent indicators of food security.

The problem of measurement for the term, "food security" is due to inconsistent definitions of the term. From the 1970s to 1980s, food security was defined as adequate food supply on a national level. The World Food Conference of 1975 codified the earliest definition of food security as "the availability at all times of adequate world supplies of basic foodstuffs."[14] The conventional definition of food security defines it as self-sufficiency of a country to accommodate the nutritional needs of the population through the domestic production of food.[15] This supply-side framework on national food production was useful in explaining the issues of the green revolution and the Ethiopian famine of 1985.[16] Famine in Africa was attributed to the failure to adopt agricultural techniques from the green revolution, such as new varieties of seeds, which were successful in eradicating areas of undernourishment in India.[17] The belief that hunger was simply caused by the under-supply of food on a national level obscured a more complex picture of how famine occurs.

The re-orientation of the state to the individual as the referent object of food security re-defined the analytical parameters of the scholarship. Food security studies underwent a theoretical evolution when Amartya Sen proposed an entitlement approach to hunger in 1981.[18] Instead of examining the national availability of food, Sen's approach had an explanatory power in accounting for famine in Ethiopia in which there was widespread starvation despite the surplus of food in other parts of Ethiopia.[19] Sen's entitlement approach has become popular in policy-making circles and human rights scholarship. The World Bank, the UN Food and Agricultural Organization, and the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights have adopted the measurement of poverty as an indicator of food insecurity.[20] More contemporary research has thus emphasized the demand side of food security rather than the traditional focus on the supply of food. The entitlement approach moved away from examining food security through the national supply of food. It has instead highlighted how individuals could be hungry despite macro-level availability of food.[21] Thus, demand for food based on individuals' economic ability to access food has been a new vantage point to examine the issue of hunger. The determination of food security as access to food has departed from the conventional focus on the supply-side of food security and national self-sufficiency in agriculture.

The divorce from the supply-side definition of food security has been crucial in delineating how food insecurity arises from the lack of economic means to obtain domestically produced food or imported food.[22] Food insecurity due to poverty has been called, "food poverty," which is measured by proportion of a poor household's income dedicated to buying food.[23] For instance, 99 percent of economically

disadvantaged households' income in Malawi is dedicated toward acquiring food.[24] The new framework of hunger as an outcome of individuals' inadequate access to food has focused on how the improvement of the economic livelihood of the poor can alleviate food insecurity. The demand-side narrative of hunger as mal-distribution of food based on economic inequality broadened the analytical horizon of food security studies.[25]

The changing narrative of hunger as either a problem of food shortage or bi-product of poverty reveals the complexities of defining and measuring food security. The World Food Summit in 1996 merged the supply and demand perspectives of food security by arguing that food security combines the purchasing power of individuals in an environment that facilitates the affordable price of food and the physical availability of food on a national level.[26] In this comprehensive definition, food security refers to sufficient consumption of food that accommodates daily nutritional needs required for physiological growth and health.[27] The efforts to reconcile the supply-side and demand-side schools of food security have complicated the process of measuring food security. It has been problematic to determine national food availability because of the difficulty of measuring the national stock of food as an aggregate of imported food and domestic agricultural production.[28] It is challenging to estimate an optimal level of food production to meet the ideal nutritional requirements of the population of a country.[29] The food security scholarship suffers from a problem of measurement because there is no objective and comprehensive method of determining the optimal amount of food for individuals.[30]

The analytical shortcomings of food security studies arise from the potentially conflicting use of the indicators of food security. The Food and Agricultural Organization has defined undernourishment as an intake of less than 2,100 calories per day. However, nutritional adequacy has been difficult to determine because nutritional well-being is not solely influenced by the amount of daily calories consumption.[31] Scholars argue that the diversity of measurements undermine the cohesion of the scholarship.[32] The indicators of food security for children, such as the number of underweight children with stunted growth, mortality rate of children under five years old, and life expectancy at birth, are inadequate measures of nutritional wellbeing because they are indirect proxies for food insecurity.[33] Despite varying indicators of food security, the absence of a direct measure of food security presents a problem of operationalizing food security.

ANALYTICAL PARAMETERS OF STUDY ON FOOD SECURITY IN GHANA

There have been numerous studies on hunger in Ghana. However, these approaches have been limited in their scopes since there is no study that has provided comprehensive national data on food consumption.[34] On the micro-level, data is incomplete in estimating the total magnitude of hunger. While the World Food Programme has argued that the food-insecure has decreased from 5.4 million to 1.9 million from 1992 to 2005, the Food and Agriculture Organization estimates that 5

to 9 percent of the Ghanaian population was food-insecure in 2008.[35] This imprecise nature of available data on hunger presents methodological challenges in conducting a comprehensive examination of food security in Ghana.

The examination of hunger in Ghana tends to be regionally focused and fails to capture a national picture of food security.[36] For instance, regional studies, which have been conducted by Dake and Food Agricultural Organization, have focused on Volta Region, while the Ghanaian government and the World Food Programme have examined Northern Ghana.[37] Thus, discussions on hunger in Ghana have had highlighted the vulnerabilities of certain regions from hunger. The study that has attempted to provide a national scope is the Ghana Living Standards Survey, which has gathered data on export crop production and micronutrient status from 8,687 households in Ghana.[38] The data from the sample households is hardly adequate as a national equivalence. Most of studies have a small size of sample population: 112 questionnaires in a study by the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, 300 surveys conducted in the Eastern region, and the interviews of 500 farmers in Northern Ghana.[39] A holistic scope is necessary to address the question of hunger in Ghana. While sample data focusing on regions is helpful, it fails to convey a national picture of hunger in Ghana.

Although there are data on the macro-level indicators of food security, these are inadequate to document the realities of intra-household and individual level of food security. The vulnerabilities of the poor are more pronounced because the high proportion of household income devoted to food procurement. While the national average for poverty is 18.2 percent of the total population, poverty is more pronounced in the Upper West and Upper East regions in which 88 percent and 77 percent live under the poverty line respectively.[40] The poverty incidence in Ghana is an expression of economic development of urban and rural areas. While there is a high rate of under-nutrition in the Upper East region, adult women in urban regions tend to have a high obesity rate.[41] Urbanization and rural-to-urban migration influence the urban and rural divide on poverty. The migration of young people from northern region to southern counterparts exacerbates hunger in northern parts of Ghana.[42] The urban-rural dyad in the phenomenon of poverty arises from reliance on agriculture as a main source of food procurement in northern parts of Ghana. The cyclicality of a "hunger period" from April to July is a common occurrence.[43] Furthermore, some have argued that climate change may deteriorate food security in Ghana because of an increasing degree of abnormal weather patterns, such as heavy rains in 2007, which devastated crop fields in the Upper East and Upper West regions.[44] However, food insecurity is not entirely confined in rural areas. Since urban areas such as the Greater Accra region lacks sufficient food production due to urbanization, the poor in urban areas are reported to spend as much as 67 percent of their total income on food.[45] This vulnerability of the urban poor to hunger challengers' claim that poverty and subsequently hunger in Ghana are concentrated in rural regions.[46] While currently available case studies on regional basis provide

an explanation for the urban-rural dichotomy of poverty rates, this fails to capture a national view of food security in Ghana.

The literature on food security in Ghana research may benefit from a comprehensive survey on the conditions of hunger and under-nourishment in all regions of Ghana. This national scope will mitigate the current weakness of the literature that is either regionally focused or specific to sub-subjects such as hunger among women and children. The examination of case studies affords an analytical anchor to estimate temporal and spatial scope of the national study. Most likely, collection of national data of hunger across Ghana will entail at least a year. This project may be realizable as an expansion of Ghana Living Standard Survey. The challenges of food security studies in Ghana are compounded by divergent viewpoints on how to alleviate hunger.

PART II: CRITICAL SECURITY STUDIES PERSPECTIVES ON THE 2007 GLOBAL FOOD CRISIS

The 2007 food crisis opens a window to examine the Copenhagen School's securitization logic and Ulrich Beck's framework of self-reflexivity in a risk society. Contrary to the long-term trend of falling international prices of food since the green revolution, the rising prices of food in early 2007 marked the beginning of global food shortage that eroded millions' access to food in developing world. Consistent with the Copenhagen School's securitization process, food shortages in the world were viewed as an urgent issue that entailed extraordinary measures. Beginning with India's export ban on non-basmati rice in 2007, 29 countries including Vietnam, China, Cambodia, Egypt and other net exporters of grain restricted the export of rice in order to dampen rising food prices at home.[47] These protectionist behaviors generated a global panic mood in which bans on grain export, domestic price controls on food, consumer subsidies and stockpiling of food further exacerbated the global shortage of food.[48] Although international agricultural trade constitutes the source of only 5 percent of global rice consumption, "beggar-thy-neighbor" responses of food-producing countries worsened food insecurity of the poor in the developing world.

The emergency nature of agricultural protectionism in 2007 was accompanied by the phenomenon of "land grabbing" by countries that sought to achieve domestic food security by purchasing agricultural lands abroad. In 2008, the United Arab Emirates established Dubai Natural Resources World, which is tasked with buying agricultural lands abroad.[49] Saudi Arabia, which relies on imported food, invested $800 million to found the King Abdullah Initiative for Saudi Agricultural Investment Abroad in April 2009.[50] Likewise, South Korea's Daewoo Corporation initiated the negotiation of land purchases with the government of Madagascar in 2008.[51] The UN Food and Agriculture Organization has criticized overseas farming initiatives as being a neo-colonial scheme.[52] The food crisis was a conduit of many governments such as China and Japan to oversee land acquisition by private companies for food production. Although there has been relatively little research on land grabbing

spurred by the 2007 food crisis, critical security studies may shed light on the perceptions of food shortage as an existential threat to domestic food security.

The 2007 food crisis illustrates the analytical utility of the risk society framework to analyze how emergency actions engender the fear of the unknown. Sociologist, Ulrich Beck, has advanced a risk society perspective that expounds how individuals in the developed world label a threat or hazard as a risk, and how a society adopts coping mechanisms to reduce anxiety from the uncertainty brought about by the risk.[53] Although the risk society perspective has been rarely applied in food security studies, this approach has been useful in explaining the issues of food contamination, pollution in agriculture, use of pesticides and fertilizers in industrial farming, genetically modified crops and mad cow diseases.[54] The framework delineates how the fear of "invisible dangers" induces a particular risk management strategy, which in turn influences the construction of the risk.[55] Within this view, food shortage as a source of risk has received scant attention. Although the 2009 World Summit on Food Security noted that food insecurity due to climate change can be a risk, there has been no systematic examination of so-called "war famines."[56] Furthermore, the scholarship overlooks climate change as a risk to food security due to the unknown effects of climate change on food production on environmental refugees or conflict.[57] Thus, the risk society perspective is a novel approach to examine the anatomy of the 2007 global food crisis.

The risk society perspective explains how the rising international prices of food precipitated emergency actions. The perception of global food shortage as an unknown risk informs the risk management approaches such as overseas agricultural land acquisition and restrictions on food exports. Risk management refers to preventive and mitigation measures that seek to alleviate a crisis posed by a risk.[58] While the prevention function of risk management describes proactive actions to minimize the possibility of a negative event, mitigation denotes responses to reduce damages caused by a crisis. In the 2007 food crisis, governments adopted a mitigation strategy in order to cope with the uncertainty regarding the magnitude of the food crisis and the unknown risk of first food shortage since the 1973 food crisis.[59] As the global supply of grain declined in 2008 due to droughts in Australia, countries entertained different expectations as to how long food prices would have continued to rise.[60]

Perceptual divergences on the origins of the food crisis led countries to implement largely uncoordinated emergency actions. The global food shortage was seen as "unknown risks" because the causes of the crisis were widely disputed. There was a disagreement on the causal roles of biofuel production, financial speculation in agricultural commodity markets, financial crises in the United States, and growing demand for food from China and India.[61] The questions about the causes of the food crisis conditioned countries to revert to the old ways of coping with the global food shortage that occurred in 1974. As the price of soybeans skyrocketed due to an oil embargo by OPEC in 1974, countries such as the United States restricted food exports in order to control domestic food prices.[62] Similar to the emergency measures

of 1974 food crisis, the uncoordinated nature of responses in 2007 reflected the perceptions of food shortage as an existential risk to a society. The uncertainty about the origins of the 2007 food crisis encouraged emergency actions of governments that were harmful to the nutritional wellbeing of the poor in the South.

While the risk society framework elucidates the perceptual discord on food shortage as a risk, the lack of analysis of the 2007 food crisis in the Copenhagen School demonstrates the shortcomings of the critical security studies. The Copenhagen School fails to explain how food riots may have contributed to the construction of the food shortage as an extraordinary threat to national food security. The Copenhagen School's bias on solely examining the political leaders as securitizing actor and the speech as the means of communicating the threat neglects other forms of securitization.[63] Securitization is composed of a securitizing actor who performs the speech act in order to communicate an existential threat to an audience and to justify the necessity of an emergency action.[64] The securitizing actor is important in conveying the meaning of a threat, which is exclusively articulated by linguistic acts. The speech act refers to the verbal construction of a security narrative.[65] The Copenhagen School has mainly characterized securitizing actor as the government or political elite and therefore excluded the politically powerless as a potential communicator of security.[66]

This marginalization of the hungry as a possible securitizing actor and the exclusion of non-verbal forms of communication perpetuate the narrow definition of securitization.[67] The stories of food riots leading to emergency actions in many countries illustrate the potency of the hungry as an effective securitizing actor. In Burkina Faso, there were protests over the increasing price of food in February 2008. The government responded by arresting more than 300 people and providing emergency subsidies to farmers.[68] Similarly, a gathering of a thousand people who carried empty rice sacks in April 2008 propelled the Senegalese government established a public procurement scheme, called the Grand Agricultural Offensive for Food and Abundance to stabilize the domestic price of food.[69] The expression of food insecurity by the hungry who participated in food riots reveals how the securitization logic excludes the body as a conveyor of food insecurity. The hungry as securitizing actor and food riots as the securitizing move have been a story that has been unnoticed by both traditional and critical security studies.

HOW TO REDUCE HUNGER: THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT VERSUS THE MARKET

The ideological divide in the food security scholarship on food as either a public good subject to government regulation or a market commodity is crucial in examining food security in Ghana. First, the human rights tradition portrays food as a public good because of the non-excludability of food. This discourse suggests that everyone is entitled to an adequate amount of food.[70] Human rights scholars' view that dependence on imported food contributes to hunger since the volatility

of international food market undermines individuals' access to food.[71] The human rights scholarship supports the role of the government in safeguarding food security, which resonates with the centrality of the government as the securitizing actor in the Copenhagen School.

The proponents of food as a public good assert that the government provides sustainable access to affordable food through public management of agriculture. This view argues that market-based solutions to hunger, such as liberalization of agricultural markets are inadequate to reduce hunger.[72] Instead, the government may enhance individuals' access to food through the regulation of food production, such as public procurement, national grain reserves, ration systems, marketing boards, farmer subsidies, import restrictions, and price stabilization through maximum and minimum price controls.[73] The market has failed to deliver a socially optimal level of food production in the developed world because of the commercial motive of profit maximization and the lack of private investment in agriculture in the developing world.[74] While human rights scholars conceptualize food as a natural right of individuals protected by the government, the neo-liberal perspective in political economy portrays it as a commodity subject to self-adjusting forces of the market.

The emphasis of human rights literature on the government's role in achieving national self-sufficiency of food production has dovetailed with the criticism of free agricultural trade. The critics of free trade argue that cash cropping and specialization in export of a small number of food items exacerbate food insecurity because of the volatility of international food prices.[75] When a country specializes in the export of a single agricultural good, such as sugar, coffee or bananas, foreign currency earnings would be inadequate to import other items of food. For instance, high prices of imported food, which constitutes more than 50 percent of food consumption in Haiti, precipitated demonstrations in Port-au-Prince in 2007.[76] The dramatic rise in the international price of rice, coupled with the deteriorating ability of the Haitian government to purchase rice abroad worsened food insecurity. The food as the public good view underlines the unpredictability of food prices that threatens sustained access to affordable food by the poor.

The arguments for the government as a guarantor of food security are informed by the idea of an unequal playing field in international agricultural markets. Agricultural protectionism in the developed countries, such as the Common Agricultural Policy of the European Union, have suppressed international food prices until late 2006.[77] Thus, distortion caused by agricultural subsidies in the North has encouraged over-production and developing countries have become net importers of food to capitalize on low prices of food due to over-production. Furthermore, the surplus of food produced by the North has decreased demand for food produced in the South. Food insecurity has worsened because agricultural trade liberalization policies such as structural adjustment programs of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have eliminated protectionist measures in the developing world.[78] Given the asymmetrical dynamic of the international food market where subsidized food from developed countries floods the market, farmers facing the deregulation of domestic

food markets in developing countries have difficulty in competing with the low price of foodstuffs produced in the North. Although the supporters of the interventionist government concede the limitations of protectionism, they suggest national self-sufficiency or individual self-reliance on domestic production of food may be an optimal means of alleviating hunger.

The centrality of the government in food security contrasts with the concept of food as a market good in self-adjusting agricultural markets. Neo-liberal traditions in political economy have objected to human rights approaches to food as a strategic good, which should be secured by the government.[79] Neo-liberals point out the lack of government capabilities in the South to protect domestic agricultural sectors and the ineffectiveness of protectionist measures.[80] The neo-classical economists reject protectionism and advance a market-based solution to alleviate hunger.[81] Despite the analytical value of the neo-liberal critique, the proponents of the market fail to consider that the majority of the food-insecure reside in rural areas where there is a relative lack of access to markets due to poor infrastructure.[82] Thus, inadequate access to markets implies that imported food may not effectively reach the food-insecure. The theoretical schism regarding the role of the government and the market in safeguarding food security identifies analytical holes.

THE CENTRALITY OF THE GHANAIAN GOVERNMENT IN ADDRESSING FOOD INSECURITY

The centrality of the Ghanaian government in agriculture coupled with the possibility of reduced aid for the government projects points toward the necessity of considering domestic means of alleviating hunger such as land reform, microfinance, or mechanization of agriculture. The examination of analytical divide about food as a public good or a market commodity presents a challenge for Ghanaian agricultural sector where government agencies such as the Ministry of Food and Agriculture and the Ghana Cocoa Board largely influence the agricultural sector. While agriculture is one of core economic activities in Ghana, the reduction of hunger in Ghana has been a by-product of agricultural sector growth, which is mainly fuelled by export crops such as cocoa.[83] The government has disproportionately directed more resources to export crop sectors rather than subsistence farming. Many projects in agriculture have been funded by the Ghanaian government, which receives budgetary support from other countries, such as the Canadian International Development Agency, and international organizations such as the World Bank.[84] The centrality of the Ghanaian government in food security implies that official development assistance has been significant in bolstering the government capacity to implement programs that reduce hunger. Indeed, aid is an indispensable component of solutions to hunger, as twenty percent of Ghanaian government's revenue in 2007 came from official development assistance from foreign governments.[85] This financial dependency on foreign aid to underwrite national food policies such as School Feeding Projects presents a dilemma. Since Ghana is expected to obtain a status of middle-income

country, foreign aid has been gradually dwindling. For example, the United States Agency for International Development has ceased food assistance and Food for Peace program in March 2006.[86] The UN World Food Programme and Canadian International Development Agency are considering the discontinuation of budgetary support to the Ministry of Food and Agriculture.[87] The prospect of scaling down foreign assistance operations may have negative repercussions on the capacity of the Ghanaian government to maintain and expand food security programs in the future.

First, advocates of land reform spotlight apparent disadvantages suffered by female farmers in accessing land for cultivation.[88] The question of gender equality in agriculture has been intertwined with approaches to reduce hunger in Ghana. A common narrative, which is echoed by the Food and Agriculture Organization, portrays the dominance of women in subsistence agriculture as opposed to a high percentage of male participation in export crop sectors.[89] Culturally, the high incidence of poverty among women is attributed to the responsibility of women to secure food and child-rearing for the household.[90] Particularly in the northern regions where agriculture is the main means of economic livelihood, inadequate access of land for women heightens food insecurity for women.[91] Although there is no consensus on how access to land influences agricultural productivity and food security, traditional land management is seen as a factor of hunger.[92] This perspective underlines the cultural determinants in access to land, particularly customary laws of land and inheritance, which favor men.[93] The communal land arrangements in the Upper West and Upper East regions suggest that access to land may reflect the power imbalance between women and men.[94] The Food and Agriculture Organization conducted a study on the traditional management of land and found that the tradition of land transfer based on congenial lineage adversely affects women farmers' access to land. Although there are matrilineal land transfers as in Fanti, Akyem, and Ashanti cultures, there are also patrilineal systems in Ewe, Ga, Dangbe and Krobo peoples.[95] The asymmetry of rights such as the lack of right of women to own land in the northern areas of Ghana reflects the gender imbalance that affects hunger.[96] This account of gender inequality in agriculture underlines land reform as a leveling mechanism to mitigate hunger among women farmers in subsistence agriculture. Thus, better access to land for women farmers and land tenure security are seen as a remedy for hunger.[97]

Second, microfinance has been seen as a means of improving food insecurity. Proponents of this view argue that microfinance bolsters agricultural productivity in subsistence farming by providing small loans for those lacking collateral to borrow loans.[98] This school underscores that female farmers are at a greater danger of becoming food-insecure because they lack access to financial instruments and assets necessary to borrow funding for agricultural projects.[99] Advocates of microfinance posit that farmer-based-organizations mitigate the lack of financial access for women farmers who receive cash and farm inputs through microfinance schemes.[100] Since food insecurity is more prevalent in subsistence farming, the farmer-based-organizations reduces women farmers' disadvantaged access to credit and inputs.

While land reform and microfinance address the gender question in food security, a technological view call for the mechanization of agriculture as a means of alleviating hunger. The technocratic viewpoint stresses the modernization of agriculture through the better use of equipment, fertilizers and know-how of farming as a remedy to improve crop yields. According to the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, the use of machinery is not common in Ghana since less than fifty percent of farmers use equipment.[101] Rudimentary equipment such as hoes, axes and cutlass and animal traction reduce agricultural productivity. The lack of machinery and the use of inferior variety of seeds exacerbate hunger.[102] According to the Food and Agriculture Organization, insufficient knowledge of farming such as irrigation techniques and post-harvest management is also seen as a determinant of food insecurity.[103] This supply-side definition of food security prescribes mechanization and technology as a solution for food insecurity.

CONCLUSION

The theoretical divergences on the definition, measurement and the provider of food security in food security studies have presented an opportunity for critical security studies to explain the 2007 global food shortage. Although the risk society framework may suggest analytical utility in understanding the emergency actions of governments such as agricultural protectionism and land grabbing, the Copenhagen School's securitization fails to account for the bodily expression of the hungry in food riots that led to emergency actions. The study of food security in Ghana reveals that the regional focus on food security has resulted in the lack of a national analysis of hunger. Furthermore, the centrality of the Ghanaian government in alleviating food insecurity does not bode well for the future as foreign aid is dwindling. Thus, domestic solutions to hunger such as land reform, microfinance and mechanization of agriculture may be considered. Future research may benefit from collecting data with a national scope and scrutinizing various proposals to alleviate hunger.

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JENNIFER M. JAGIRE

10. INDIGENOUS WOMEN SCIENCE TEACHERS OF TANZANIA

Implications of Power and Knowledge Focus on Women Farmers as Science Teachers

INTRODUCTION

From popular perspectives, the widespread picture of the African rural woman is that of someone uneducated, under the control of her spouse, resource-less, and virtually powerless. But to the contrary, Pitika Ntuli (2002, p. 53) gives a more optimistic picture of the continent and suggests, "Africa is neither Europe nor America." Rural Tanzanian women are to be seen as science teachers and custodians of Indigenous knowledge that sustains the country's agriculture necessary for development. This role they perform through oral and hands-on knowledge retained over a long period of time in the society that ought to be recognized in the politics of knowledge (see also Brock-Uttne, 2002). Development is really what women do with their Indigenous knowledge in the process of passing it on to younger generations. Development therefore cannot entirely be defined for the rural Indigenous people from the dominant Eurocolonial perspectives (see Dei and Asgharzadeh, 2001). According to Vandana Shiva (2000) the Western-centric assertion of agriculture and medicine tended to offer the final definitions for scientific systems" Vandana Shiva (2000) also suggests that such definitions cannot be sustained any longer as they appropriate Indigenous knowledge from the Indigenous women whose scientific knowledge starts in their backyards because of their knowledge of shrubs, fauna and soils (see also Odora-Hoppers, 2002.) An Indigenous woman rural farmer knows which soils are most suitable for what kind of crop during what season. The slow pace of recognition of Indigenous African women's knowledge denies them their power, does not promote development but rather slows it (see Mathaai, 1988; Semesi, 2001, Odora-Hoppers, 2002). African women are not really docile because they possess the cultural knowledge and their contribution to science education and subsequent development must not be underrated, but recognized (Brock-Uttne, 2002; Tema, 2002; Jagire, 2011). This paper uses an Indigenous framework to look at the Indigenous women of Tanzania which is a departure from the heavily dominant frameworks that do not connect with the Indigenous people or how they pass on the knowledge to the people they train.

A. Asabere-Ameyaw et al., Indigenist African Development and Related Issues, 163–180.

This paper proposes multiple writings or readings on Indigenous women that look critically at Indigenous women's strengths and capability as custodians of knowledge that contemporary learners have utilized unknowingly rather than depend on only the familiar Western-centric resources in trying to 'develop' agriculture or increase food output among the Indigenous people (see Dei, 2000, p. 79; Odora-Hoppers, 2002; Tema, 2002, Sillitoe, 2002). Without consulting Indigenous women's knowledge of plant and soil, science contemporary development projects in agriculture are bound to miss learning from the skills should the Indigenous women decide to hold back the knowledge when not consulted (see Mathaai, 1988, Brock-Uttne, 2002). The non-recognition of Indigenous knowledge is what Paul Sillitoe (2002, p. 111) calls the 'stark polar discrimination between the scientific knowledge and Indigenous knowledge.' In this context, Sillitoe (2002) foresees a loophole in not recognizing Indigenous knowledge as scientific knowledge. But Sillitoe himself is not clear on what he means by 'scientific knowledge' coming from the dominant perspectives that fails to recognize 'indigenous science.'

This topic is important for necessity of the visibility of Indigenous African women's knowledge and their power to influence development. It also contests the assumptions of the total powerlessness of the rural African women in their society by examining Indigenous knowledge in its context. Using an Indigenous theoretical framework, I attempt to argue that Indigenous African women from the rural society of Tanzania have a wealth of knowledge and expertise in farming and some status in the social organization where they have important roles as science teachers and trainers with the salient role as Indigenous conservationists. The Indigenous framework does not see Indigenous knowledge as not scientific, but rather advances Indigenous science as authentic and organic. Indigenous science is the foundational knowledge about the soils in Indigenous people's area for farming education. To concretize my argument and focus on specificities, I will illustrate that Indigenous Tanzanian women are science teachers who know the soils, the trees, and the seasons for crops necessary for development and at the same time they have a role in land preservation as environmental conservationists in their own rights (see Mathaai, 1988; Tema, 2002; Brock-Uttne, 2002). My interest in the Indigenous African women farmers of Tanzania stems from my early days living in Tanzania. The paper also gives a feminist visibility for Indigenous women and states that nearly 80% of the food grown in an African agricultural country, such as Tanzania, is done by women (see Kenyatta, 1965; Maathai, 1988; Wane, 2007).

l will be drawing from various Indigenous writers such as Odora Hoppers (2002), Tanzanian botanist Semesi (2001), who are mainly African, and also other Indigenous writers such as Linda T. Smith, and other researchers, such as Brock-Uttne, among others, and their findings on Africa. The paper will be interspersed with some oral knowledge and African proverbs as well as some few Foucaldian quotes in the willingness of weaving knowledge and making it accessible. For example, concerning Indigenous knowledge, Kalugila and Lodhi (1980, p. 26) have recorded Kiswahili proverbs which say chako ni chako hata kama ni kidogo which

translates into "what is your own is your own even if it is small". And concerning food production their other proverb says, chakula cha kuombaomba hakimalizini njaa which translates "food that is begged never satisfies." These proverbs have some bearing on assumptions that Africans have no means for self-reliance in food production (see Sillitoe, 2002). It is worth noting that current global development initiatives tend to ignore the fact that Indigenous people have always planned for self-reliance using their own Indigenous knowledge. Foreign knowledge for innovative agriculture must therefore rely on local knowledge or interconnect with it rather than ignore it. As a critical researcher, I locate myself among the Indigenous African women. In examining the role of the rural Indigenous woman, the paper departs from the generalized view or popular assumptions towards African women and their place in the society. A slight Foucauldian analysis will attempt to look at women's roles and their positionality to power and knowledge and how they influence African development. The women's invisibility must be attributed to male privilege and power exercised over women as prevalent in the Tanzanian society like many other societies. At the conclusion of the paper, the visibility of Indigenous African women's role as custodians of cultural and agricultural science knowledge will be reinforced.

SCIENCE TEACHERS, CONSERVATIONISTS IN SILENCE AND INVISIBILITY

In advancing some arguments on behalf of Indigenous African women in Tanzania, I am obliged by the level of their invisibility to quote Michele Foucault's (1972, p. 215) idea about 'the discourse of language' that "institutions solemnize beginnings, surrounding them with circles of silent attention; in order that they can be distinguished from far off, they impose ritual forms upon them." The invisibility of African women is mainly in the Eurocentric discourses. But with regard to Indigenous women of Tanzania, it is fair enough to say that the women are actually science teachers on the ground (see Odora Hoppers, 2002). Tanzanian women have invaluable knowledge in crop growing and management. They are also experts in environmental conservation whose beginnings or even impacts have not been solemnized having been kept largely invisible in their society. But it is fair to state that the women are backbone of the agricultural economy in the developing country of Tanzania.

Oftentimes we are drawn to talk about agricultural knowledge in patriarchal Africa as a male preserve. On the contrary, as mentioned earlier, in most 'sub-Saharan' African countries some 80% of farming is done by rural African women with Indigenous knowledge passed on from generation to generation by the women (see Wane, 2007). Foucault (1972, p. 216) contends that "discourse reminds us that in every society, the production of discourse is controlled, selected, organized and redistributed according to a certain number of procedures, whose role is to avert its powers and its dangers, to cope with chance events, to evade its ponderous, awesome materiality." Although Foucault writes from Europe, there are implications in the Indigenous rural society of Tanzania and how Indigenous women's knowledge

is represented, misrepresented or appropriated 'without recompense' (see Odora Hoppers, 2002). It is also worth mentioning that the colonial era administration and its Eurocentric culture added to the invisibility of Indigenous women. Europe's cultures are patriarchal and the colonization of African countries was based on patriarchal values. Some of this foreign intervention perpetrated the invisibility of Tanzanian women relegating their role as science teachers and trainers in the villages to a marginal status. On the one hand, we are confident to explain that the Indigenous Tanzanian women have the power to distribute their knowledge to everyone, and also the power to protect it or withhold it from being appropriated by persons not ready to acknowledge their ownership of Indigenous knowledge. However, it is fair to state that the magnitude of Indigenous women's invisibility on the national scene has something overall to do with patriarchy reinforcing political governance numerically with more men receiving more publicity in their roles in what they do whereas women are ideologically on the periphery.

On the other hand, Indigenous knowledge has for a very long time suffered the violence of appropriation without recompense (see Odora Hoppers, 2002). Coming from an oral culture in Africa, I am aware that there are social organizations that allow for certain specific cultural knowledge regarded as hereditary. Some of the hereditary knowledge is spiritual and has to be passed on spiritually or hierarchically. A good example of this kind of knowledge passed on that cannot be taken away from women is that of Indigenous priesthood or the position of a healer. The hereditary spiritual knowledge, though passed on to both men and women, is mainly for women where both men and women consult such a person for help. There is an advantage for women because Indigenous priesthood is hereditary and if it is for a woman it remains with a woman. The role of a healer, though regarded as spiritual is also scientific, involving the use of herbs obtained from trees that only such women have knowledge about.

Odora Hoppers (2002, p. 3) contends that globalization threatens to appropriate collective knowledge of non-Western societies into proprietary knowledge for the profit of a few. Moreover, Semali and Kincheloe (1999, p. 43) also contend that globalizing development is a Eurocentric threat that tends to universalize scientific knowledge in a way that denies Indigenous knowledge. Such denial of Indigenous knowledge is dangerous, because with that denial is also the marginalization of particular knowledge systems.

> The end of twentieth century in Western cultures is a time of sharp criticism of the scientific establishment by scholars engaged in cultural studies of science, sociologists of scientific knowledge, multiculturalists who uncover the gender and race inscriptions on the scientific method, and philosophers exposing science's bogus claims to objectivity. The purposes of such studies do not involve some effort to critique the truth of value of Western scientific knowledge that is the correspondence of a scientific pronouncement to a reality existing in isolation to the knower.

This implies that apart from globalization threatening to appropriate Indigenous knowledge for academic capitalism or corporate interests, the scientific establishment emanating from the mainly patriarchal West with its dominant Eurocentric education system drives the Indigenous women knowers and scientists into silence and a state of invisibility. In Tanzania too, it is the Western scientific knowledge that is privileged and written about more than the Indigenous knowledge. Unfortunately, in Tanzania, the Western scientific knowledge is also nearly the preserve of male dominance where there is an established power relationship in the recognition of what constitutes knowledge. The leadership of the country, which is predominantly male, tends to sideline Indigenous knowledge, especially where it is in the hands of Indigenous women through their invisibility. This is despite the fact that Tanzania is mainly regarded as one of those more egalitarian societies through the personhood of *Ujaama* (see Nyerere, 1973). Bothlale Octavia Tema (2002, p. 131) reiterates that "one of the key factors that accounts for the utter suppression of effective learning of science in Africa has been the controversial status of the knowledge that African learners bring to the learning situation. The controversial status of knowledge is the status or the role of Indigenous science going unrecognized in the institutions of higher learning.

It is fair to say that the suppression and subjugation of Indigenous rural African women's knowledge of science outside the rural areas especially in Tanzania, abates because of the presence of official male privilege that prevents Indigenous knowledge with women from claiming its rightful place. Such a stance compounds women's invisibility and denies them the right to exercise the power of their knowledge. This invisibility of women as the science teachers of the Tanzanian Indigenous rural community can be fairly compared with the Foucauldian analysis about the "speech of the madman" whereby his words (the madman's words), though credited with strange powers of revealing some hidden truth, of predicting the future, of revealing, in all their naïveté, what the wise were unable to perceive, so that the madman was totally ignored or his words not taken as truth. It then becomes quite appropriate to argue that Indigenous African women trainers in scientific knowledge have been subjugated and rendered invisible with their importance nationally systemically sidelined or marginalized (see Foucault, 1988). Moreover, despite the women being skilled in subsistence agriculture which is important to the economy, when modernization makes entry into the field, they are ignored while their experience living off the land and knowledge of the same is not consulted or acknowledged. We will return later to illustrate the skills of the African woman, specifically in Tanzania, and what consequences are there of ignoring, or failure to consult the women's knowledge with regard to the use of land and the soils.

Indigenous African women's knowledge has been confronted on every side, not only by male domination in a gendered society, but also through some feminist discourses from the Western countries when their ability to hold the subjugated knowledge, is almost non-existent. Therefore, in examining the Indigenous African women farmers in Tanzania as agricultural scientists, it is also an attempt at a

'wake-up' call for the dominant feminist discourse which sometimes co-opts their knowledge so as (the dominant feminist view) to be seen as 'all inclusive'. But 'inclusion' alone without recognition also involves a power relationship between the one including and the one being included. In fact, it perpetuates a relationship that is not based on equity or mutual respect or trust. The experiences of African women as farmers in the East African nation of Tanzania shows that the women are the experts of their work as a form of resistance to an ongoing patriarchal system of knowledge production that is contestable.

My relationship with Tanzania is a long one, not only that of neighbors but also of a host during a political upheaval. Tanzania currently forms part of the East African Community, a regional block that also comprises Kenya and Uganda. These were countries divided up during the European colonial expansion into the region that weakened and subjugated Indigenous knowledge. I was born in Uganda, a country with 50 ethnicities and languages, with own kingdoms and though with strong Indigenous systems of government, there were disruptions resulting into the local cultural knowledge being subjugated.

A former Anglo-Jewish governor for Uganda admits some of the weaknesses of the colonial administration. For example, Andrew Cohen (1967, p. 44) admits:

> First we must remember, when this or that happening in Africa depresses us, that the difficulties these countries now face and some of the difficulties they suffer from, stem from the state of affairs, we ourselves left behind in Africa. For two or three generations, we and others had power in these countries, and for most of that period absolute power. We did much during that time but few people would dispute that we did not make enough public investment in these countries and did not do it early enough.

Some of the lack of public investment admitted here must be interpreted as the subjugation of Indigenous knowledge that continued after independence from 1960s, especially with structures reinforcing the adoption of the British Westminster style of government and Western educational systems. Uganda had been a 'protectorate' with the people who formerly co-existed through collective knowledge ending up being divided up in order to be ruled. The new government to which the British handed over power at independence proved quite unstable, overthrown after only nine years after the departure of the colonial administration. A soldier, Idi Amin, a conscript during the British administration took power. Michel Foucault (1972, p. 218) tells us about a division between Hesiod and Plato, of "separating true discourse from false; so that there was a new division for, henceforth, true discourse was no longer considered precious and desirable, since it had ceased to be discourse linked to the exercise of power."

A parallel here is between the Indigenous knowledge and discourse and the ability to exercise power. The Indigenous populations of Uganda and Tanzania were both ruled over by the British when the subjugation of their cultural knowledge began. Linking these populations' Indigenous knowledge to discourse, it is clear that the

colonial rulers exercised brute force to determine what was valid knowledge, as only what the colonizers recorded constituted knowledge. The British exercised power over the people and therefore drove their knowledge system underground by not considering it as valid knowledge in their discourse about the colonized subjects. A suitable Foucauldian (1972) analysis portrays the British in Tanzania as effectively rendering the Indigenous Tanzanian women's knowledge or discourse that should have been considered 'true discourse' about knowledge that had been considered 'precious' and 'desirable' of no consequence because of colonial patriarchal system of exercising power. No doubt, the science knowledge of the Indigenous women only survived obliteration by the British and by the women going underground with it and by retaining it orally, and passing it onto the future generations through training and educating their children in it (see Mathaai, 1980).

Therefore, it is safe to say that the welcome that Tanzanians gave us, Ugandan refugees, upon arrival in their country was due to their Indigenous system of brotherhood or sisterhood with other Africans that enabled us to integrate and quickly learn easily and speak Kiswahili language, a lingua franca of Eastern Africa. Making the Tanzanian women visible is giving back to them in a learning experience that necessitates showing appreciation about shared knowledge in their community. Visibility to Tanzanian women recognizes them as active custodians of Indigenous knowledge, as mentioned earlier, in the pursuit of knowledge transformation, especially for learners and knowers in Canada. Learners of African descent as well as other Western learners need to recognize Indigenous knowledge and also see in it alternative systems of acquiring knowledge that promote equity. Children of African descent in the diaspora in Canada or North America need to learn the history of their foremothers or fore-parents to in order to strengthen their identity and avoid the power of assimilation and hegemonic dominant way of knowing or even knowledge itself. Learners need access to Indigenous knowledge that is not imposed on them. Indigenous knowledge has to be of value to the learners as a holistic alternative to something that is imposed. Acquiring Eurocentric knowledge alone can prove assimilationist as it tends to deny the descendants of Indigenous people the opportunity of learning from a knowledge system that they can relate to.

INDIGENOUS RURAL TANZANIAN WOMEN AND THE PHILOSOPHY OF UJAMAA - SHARING

African women have often been infantilized in Western-centric feminist discourses, if not made invisible with regard to their agency in the society. This agency has sometimes been 'run over' or overlooked by the dominant discourse on the systems of knowledge acquisition. Tema (2002, p. 128) asserts that everywhere science does already exist in one form or another. Similarly, African women have been farming using their Indigenous knowledge of science even though the world takes another view, of not acknowledging them. On the other hand, Tanzanian women are the ones most likely than men to have more knowledge on soil and water conservation.

Rwezaura (2002, quoted in Brock-Utne) reminds us that African women live in extended families where knowledge is shared between them. In Tanzania too, there is the Ujaama ideology (see Nyerere, 1973) that encourages traditional patterns of sharing knowledge, especially of farming which impacts development.

Ujaama, as an ideology, was officially coined in the 1970s even though it has always existed within the African rural life and Indigenous women continue to make the full use of it. It is therefore an ideology based on the historical way of co-existing with neighbors as sisters or brothers or family. Earlier, Ujamaa was also an African philosophy that Tanganyikans (later Tanzanians after union with Zanzibar isles) used in spreading the word to resist German colonization by organizing the Maji Maji, connected to the drinking of 'supernatural water' mixed with herbal medicine, in a rebellion that lasted two years from 1905 to 1907. Tanganyikans also later resisted British colonial system of education that attempted to depict the traditional way of knowing as "primitive" (see Elabor-Idemudia, 2002). Maji Maji rebellion used spiritual knowledge that kept alive the resistance against German intruders into African hinterland and culture to cause loss of independence. The Maji Maji rebellion can be interpreted from Indigenous perspectives as resistance to transforming "new colonies into laboratories of Western science" (see Tema, 2002). Julius Nyerere, who was the first Tanzanian president therefore built on Ujamaa philosophy and defined, promoted, or even translated 'Ujamaa' as an attitude of mind as that of 'fair' share that must be fair in relation to the whole society (1973). Because of the collectivity of knowledge in the communities, Nyerere could not exactly define Ujamaa as an individual because it was already in existence among the Indigenous African societies. He could only attempt to make the non-Indigenous learners or development 'partners' try to understand that Africans view each other as brothers and sisters, and sharing everything good or bad is their way of life. Nyerere (1973) also explains that his understanding of an African socialist is that they are grounded on or founded on the extended family. Nyerere (1973, p. 12) concludes that 'Ujamaa' or 'Familyhood' describes our socialism, which is to build a happy society, but not that kind of socialism of inevitable conflict.

In understanding Nyerere's Ujamaa, the notion of shared knowledge or culture also meant that women embodied and manifested in the training of children and members of the community. In pre-colonial Tanzania, there is little trace of European or Western-type of oppression of women by a patriarchal society as oral history survived and persists. The pre-colonial society therefore appears more egalitarian and that is why Nyerere reclaims it through the philosophy of Ujamaa meant to resist what colonial and foreign interventions, both German and British have done to Tanzania.

Whereas the German presence was the first, it was followed by British occupation. They were both resisted militarily using Indigenous knowledge in the communities. In Mills (2003, p. 40) Volume I of The History of Sexuality, Foucault states that 'where there is power there is resistance' (quoting Foucault 1978). Tanganyikans resisted the power that the colonizer was exercising over them, by using Indigenous knowledge systems of networking by exploiting the language barriers, between

them and the foreigners. After the Germans left, the Indigenous people continued practicing their knowledge systems regardless of the attitude and policy of the new British administrators. It is worth noting that when the men went to war, the women continued farming and supplying the rebels with food, using Indigenous farming methods (see Gwasa, 1968; Geiger, 2009). Moreover, even though the colonial army resorted to destroying crops to cause famine and therefore weaken the Indigenous people, the knowledge about cropping was not entirely destroyed or lost as women sustained the agricultural economy.

On the other hand, the water magic that was administered to the male rebels was mixed with herbs from the forests on the advice of women knowledge custodians. It can be argued that the people felt powerless and that is why they sought supernatural power or a myth to mobilize for a rebellion, hence the symbol of a charm mixed with water and renamed after a river. From an oral and Indigenous perspective, no war is fought without the aid or support of a prophetess or priestess taking charge of spiritual matters. Moreover, the resistance through Maji Maji dwelt on collective consciousness. And even though the hero of this rebellion was a man known as Bokero, it was Nkomanile, a woman who took over after his death helped sustain the rebellion for another year (see Gwasa, 1968). Furthermore, a royal Ngoni woman Nkomanile that the Germans recognized as a chief in her own right was a major influence in leading the rebellion (Giblin and Monson, 2010, p. 197). Again, the ideology and war medicine were introduced to Ungoni (the state of Ngoni) people through a royal woman with vast knowledge of herbs (Giblin and Monson, 2010, p. 1999). Once again, a woman as a leader in Indigenous knowledge kept alive the rebellion against foreign intervention.

Spiritual power in an African context is connected to the knowledge of roots of certain trees which are not just medicinal but spiritual. Herbal medicine is usually spiritual. From an oral perspective, it is true that, herbalism also as a science is dominated by Indigenous African women. And more often than not, female herbalists are more trusted by all members of the society than the male ones. Contrary to the fact that women have the 'real' knowledge of science, the gendering of the social organization today in Tanzania, has made women entirely invisible. But originally or pre-colonially, as mentioned earlier, women played leading roles in the war of resistance as custodians of Indigenous knowledge (see Mathaai, 1988; Wangoola, 2000; Tema, 2002; Brock-Uttne, 2002. But it is better to keep the women happy by recognizing them openly as Indigenous custodians of knowledge that keep them in the background. Kalugila and Lodhi (1980, p. 31) have this proverb about the consequences of keeping women worried because their worries affect the community. In Kiswahili, the proverb says *Kama mwanamke hakutulia ni huzuni kubwa nyumbani.* Translated it means, according to Kalugila and Lodhi (1980) "If the wife is worried the house is melancholic." But for a Kiswahili speaker like me it literary translates into, "If a woman is not settled her sorrow is big in the home." The non-recognition of Indigenous women by the Eurocentrically informed society troubles the Indigenous society. It is better that women withhold this Indigenous

science than give it freely to the global project, for example, that of the World Bank. In withholding this knowledge, the women science teachers make sure they retain the power to give knowledge or not give (see Brock-Uttne, 2002).

Despite women's near superior status in the retention of Indigenous farming knowledge and the support that Indigenous women scientists currently offer or offered to support to the community, public recognition has not been forthcoming. Like their counterparts in the West, the people who dominate higher educational institutions are mainly men. On the local scene in Tanzania the current education system has been rather slow to integrate Indigenous women's scientific information. And though this knowledge is largely oral, it is practical (see Snively, 1998; Corsiglia, 1998). But one of the several strengths of oral tradition is its persistence. Oral tradition continues to remain important to adults, particularly older people in their intergenerational interaction with younger generation, in the transmission of Indigenous knowledge.

An important exception is the University of Morogoro's Faculty of Forestry which acknowledges that 'women are the main managers of natural resources on land in Tanzania' (Brock-Utne, 2001). But despite this recognition, there is a concern that very few women have graduated from the Faculty of Forestry from the University based in Morogoro, being one of the more important agricultural areas of Tanzania. Morogoro being an important agricultural area should pay more attention to Indigenous scientists who are initially women. Wangari Maathai (1988) reiterates that food production in Africa is a responsibility relegated to small farmers, mostly women. Maathai also notes that although women have now been pushed to the periphery of the economy due to colonization mainly, they remain central to food production. Since the era of colonization, which ended in 1961, with Tanzania regaining its independence from the British rule, the elite have ignored Indigenous women's way of knowing with regard to food-processing and storage that eases famine. But traditional food processing is an Indigenous science among the rural women. Maathai (1988) suggests that women farmers must be supported if food production is to increase in Africa. According to Maathai (1988), in some areas colonial rulers had confiscated Indigenous people's land whereby the people were driven from being owners of their farms to being employed as laborers on new commercial farms. When the men were employed as farm workers after being taught to read and write so that they are employable (Maathai, 1988), the women who stayed home retained their attachment to the land, and retained Indigenous knowledge that is still used for much of the conservation of the environment and communities' livelihood today. Women's roles as Indigenous science teachers need to be reinforced rather than substituted with paradigms that tend to support male dominated Western-centric science that tends to appropriate Indigenous knowledge and thereafter marginalize it.

WOMEN'S RESISTANCE AND THE RETENTION OF INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE

The introduction of colonial and patriarchal Western system of education attempted to destroy the Indigenous African science system that women held through their

close connection to the land (see Wane and Chandler, 2002). The success of retaining the Indigenous science system among women was part of resistance to foreign domination. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2008, p. 65) contends that "new colonies were the laboratories of Western science. Theories generated from the exploration and exploitation of colonies and of the people, who had prior ownership of these lands, formed the totalizing appropriation of the Other". Smith also cautions about the discipline of anthropology from a Euro perspective as most closely associated with the study of the other and with the defining of primitivism (p. 65). The contemporary science teachers in schools modeled on Eurocentric ideologies tend to propagate Eurocentric science that appropriates traditional knowledge while at the same time sidelining it together with its Indigenous knowers in the name of 'modern development'.

Similar to Smith's assertions in support of Indigenous way of knowing, it is safe to say that learners and researchers owe the Indigenous African women recognition as custodians of a thriving knowledge system. Defining a knowledge system as "primitive" is but a tactical refusal of recognition, with a possibility of the knowledge system being replaced or causing it to be lost (see Smith, 2008, p. 65; Dei, 2010). Downgrading Indigenous knowledge creates a hierarchy that entrenches unequal power relations. Sara Mills (2003, p. 40) cites a Foucauldian argument that where there is no resistance, it is not a power relation. The very presence of Indigenous women as science trainers in the rural areas of Tanzania is a powerful evidence of a strong knowledge base that resisted colonial Western knowledge (see Mashelkar, 2002, p. 188). The Western system of knowledge as the newer system to the Indigenous people, in effect, uneasily competed with the Indigenous knowledge. This parallel existence of the knowledge systems was not out of agreement but a situation that arose out of the uneasy power relations, between the Western-centric system of knowledge, as the recorded one exercising power *visa avid* the Indigenous knowledge system that was largely oral.

Indigenous knowledge systems across Africa are interrelated as there are similar linguistic groups from one country to another. Odora Hoppers (2002) whose research areas are South Africa and Sweden, contends that in seeking to move towards an Indigenous research agenda, the core strategy at the level of epistemology should seek the best of both the Western system and the Indigenous knowledge systems as the latter represents national interests. In Odora Hoppers' statement, we have to realize that the colonialist knowledge could displace the Indigenous knowledge when redefined as "primitive" and therefore "inferior" or a non-entity. In referring to Odora-Hoppers statement, it fair to realize that South Africa is an African country that has been highly radicalized due to the apartheid system, where Indigenous knowledge had been downgraded against the people's will. Indigenous knowledge system being promoted in South Africa now will have to maintain a level of independence to avoid outright co-optation by the Western system. Current knowledge tells us that the typical South Africans at the moment prefer Indigenous medicine and Indigenous spiritual solutions to Western medicine or solutions for sicknesses.

In Tanzania, as in most countries throughout Africa, some of the retention of cultural knowledge has been recorded in proverbs. Most proverbs are learnt by listening to elders, first women and later men, to build one's vocabulary and ultimately the continuity of one's oral culture. For example, women trainers of children in farm methods know the importance of food sufficiency. An appropriate proverb to compound this point in Kiswahili according to Kaluga and Lodi (1980, p. 26) says, *'Cholula cha kuombana hakishibishi au hakimalizi njaa,'* translated it means '*Food that is begged never satisfies.'* This proverb stresses the need for food sufficiency, learnt at an early age and later passed on as elders concerning farming and food self-sufficiency (see also Wane, 2000, p. 54). Such a simple proverb also teaches children from an early age the importance of retaining one's cultural knowledge rather than borrowing or readily accepting knowledge that does not emanate from ancestors regarded as a right (see Mashelka, 2002).

In Tanzania therefore, it is important to review the methods of knowing. An institution such as the University of Morogoro Faculty of Forestry does well to acknowledge that their students of forestry had prior background training from their rural mothers. The rural women are their students' first science teachers. Moreover, increasing the number of female students or allowing them easier access and reducing the hurdles that disadvantage female agriculture students will help in the continuity of Indigenous science remaining with women scholars. According to Brock-Utne (2002,) Morogoro University acknowledges that the few male farmers in Tanzania actually tend to concentrate on commercial farming. Commercial farmers do not have much attachment to the land and neither are they as knowledgeable in soil or environmental conservation as the rural Indigenous women are. Commercial farmers actually threaten the rural areas with environmental degradation when they uproot Indigenous tree species in order to make way for cash crops at the expense of food sufficiency. Commercial farmers, in many ways, are agents of destruction and are a threat to the preservation of Indigenous knowledge because they pay more attention to maximizing profit that benefits Eurocentric globalization.

On the other hand, when Wangari Maathai of Kenya advocates for the need to save Indigenous trees and shrubs and other flora, she too has, first and foremost Indigenous knowledge of her foremothers that forests, and vegetation in general are valuable resources that provide firewood, animal fodder, fruits, honey, timber, herbal medicines, as well as building and fencing material. Maathai (1988) stresses the need to conserve our genetic resources for their immense value in the area of medicine, food, water balance and maintenance of the natural ecological balance. Indigenous African knowledge as passed on by mothers not only remains important for conservation, but also for retention of a knowledge system that serves a local environment and the people's culture and also spiritual needs. In any rural farming community in Tanzania, the importance of a mother as a trainer and teacher of Indigenous knowledge concerning conservation and farming methods is elaborated in this Swahili proverb: 'Mama ni mama, wengine pepo za porini.' (Kaligula and Lodhi, 1980). Translated it means 'A mother is mother; all other claimants are winds

in the bush.' This Indigenous proverb speaks about the need for recognition of the status of women as keepers of and trainers in Indigenous methods in an agricultural society such as Tanzania.

WOMEN'S INDIGENOUS SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE OF TREES

Brock-Utne (2002) reaffirms that it is the rural women in Tanzania who know more about trees and forests. To the women, trees and forests are multifunctional (Brock-Utne, 2002). For example, the women know the women trees, the multipurpose trees used for food fodder and fuel, and men trees used for timber. For example, according to Pakia (2006, p. 108), in plant production 'male' plant is not considered a functional plant. Thus, the female papaya is known to produce without any contributions from the male counterpart. Children will then be trained to cut down the male papaya. The Digo farmers, in both Kenyan and Tanzanian, will cut down the male papaya whose only importance is given to its roots being of medicinal interest (Pakia, 2006, p. 108). These farmers use the knowledge of Indigenous science passed onto them by their mothers with authority in cultural knowledge they have always depended on (see Mathaai, 1988).

Women as conservationists also know the medicinal trees by name and how they must be preserved. Tanzanian biologist and botanist, Adelaida Semesi (1991) says that women are also the ones who pass their farming knowledge to their children, friends, and neighbors and this is done through practical training. Semesi (1991) also adds that a mother will show children how to plant seeds, to weed, to select seeds and to identify pests. The fact that it is the mothers who know the suitable soils for different crops should qualify them for recognizable leadership in an agriculturally developing the community. The mother is also the one who knows about food processing and preservation, for instance, the drying and smoking of meat. Women therefore have accumulated knowledge about what is likely to cause crop failure and food spoiling and have devised ways to overcome such problems (Brock-Utne, 2002). It is then quite appropriate to say that the invisibility of Indigenous women teachers of Tanzania will not continue in the future because in order to gain 'authentic' knowledge for development one has to go to the 'roots'. Indigenous Tanzanian women are at the root of this relevant knowledge that they have preserved and will continue to pass on for further development in agriculture and science.

Moreover, despite living in a society that became more patriarchal after the advent of European colonization, the Indigenous women in Tanzania view men not as their hero but as equal. This view is expressed in a Swahili proverb concerning sexuality in the rural areas: 'Babe si babe kwa mchumbawe.' In translation, the proverb literary means, 'No man is a hero to his woman.' Such a notion agrees with a Foucauldian view regarding sexuality today as being constructed. Sexuality is constructed around power relationships. Similarly, Sara Mills (2003, p. 49) contends "relations between parents and children, lovers, employers and employees – in short all relations between people are power relations. In each interaction, power

is negotiated and one's position in a hierarchy is established…" However, from an Indigenous African perspective, the Swahili proverb actually stresses the absence of hierarchy among lovers, in the view of any Indigenous woman concerning their role as science teacher. Therefore, the visibility of the Indigenous woman and her prominent role demystifies the power relationship concerning the knowledge of science needed for development.

As noted earlier, Indigenous knowledge is passed on orally and through practice from generation to generation (see also Dei, Wane, Wangoola, 2000). Therefore accumulated knowledge is usually not documented or challenged (Brock-Utne, 2002). The preserving of the knowledge within the community prefers practical training as opposed to individualistic and hegemonic literary knowledge or documented Western-centric knowledge. Indigenous knowledge therefore gives a sense of identity for resistance (Elabor-Idemudia, 2001, p. 102). Currently, Western societies often equate knowledge with written literature that tends to forget that oral traditions are embodied in folkways that preceded and actually shape written knowledge (see Elabor-Idemudia, 2001). Dei (2010) contends "we must uphold the power of orality as an elegant and purposeful form of knowledge making." The Indigenous Tanzanian women have in their power retained science knowledge used in training younger people in developing agriculture.

In fact, the level of appropriation of Indigenous ways of knowledge without acknowledgement is colonially shaped globally (see Odora-Hoppers, 2002; Abdi & Cleghorn, 2005; Dei, 2010). In Canada, often there is talk about "spreading the word" especially in community activism. From an Indigenous perspective, 'spreading the word' sounds familiar because it is more oral oriented (see Mathaai, 1988). The 'spreading of the word' in community could have its origins in the Indigenous knowledge systems exported through the trans-nationals or the Indigenous people in diaspora emanating from oral traditions and philosophies such as Ujamaa (see Nyerere, 1973; Mathaai, 1988; Semesi, 1991; Abdi, Puplampu & Dei, 2006). It is appropriate to point out that Indigenous African knowledge as spiritual knowledge is experiential through sharing philosophies embodied in Indigenous Africans and their descendants in diaspora where this tradition sticks. In reference to the sharing tradition being alive as continuity is an example of my visit to Mombasa in Kenya in 1990s. Mombasa city is one thousand years old with many cultural similarities with most of Tanzania because of the Swahili language (see Kalugila and Lodhi, 1980). On entering a bus before paying the fare, a man seated next to me, calls me "dada" meaning sister and offers to pay the fare. This culture of sharing is ongoing and such gestures reflect the authenticity of respect for the status of women carried over since the pre-colonial times retained Indigenous knowledge

Maraire (1996) contends "The village is our library" Therefore, the *mbuyas* and *sekurus* as the elders in the villages have a duty to pass on Indigenous knowledge to the younger generations (see Manyimo, 2011). Maraire (1996) calls the elders "our encyclopedias." It is from the "village encyclopedias" that science knowledge holders train the younger generation in agricultural development and the preservation of

knowledge. Indigenous knowledge is an alternative knowledge for a more equitable world.

An Indigenous Canadian, Lee Maracle (1990) in her short stories series, demonstrates that it is violence when their cultural knowledge is denied them. The Indigenous people, whether in Canada, New Zealand or Africa, value Indigenous knowledge for their survival and the preservation of Indigenous science. Dei (2000, p. 70) contends that omissions have long been embedded in schooling and school knowledge, or the near absence of teachings on non-European forms of knowledge. The Indigenous way of knowing, such as that of the Indigenous Tanzanian women science teachers, when equitably represented while remaining in Indigenous hands limits its destruction.

There is the Indigenous knowledge of banana trees that I learnt listening to mothers in Uganda, as an entitlement while growing up in Uganda. Banana trees have Indigenous names rather than the usual Latin names we sometimes see in botanical studies. For example, some bananas are used for cooking and others for brewing alcohol (see also Mathaai, 1988; Brock-Uttne, 2002; Tema, 2002). The banana for brewing alcohol is the male banana tree and the female ones are for food (see also Pakia, 2006, p. 108). The leaves for male bananas cannot be used for covering cooking bananas while steaming them. The male leaves make the banana meal bitter. The male bananas themselves, if accidentally cooked due to lack of training, make a tasteless over-starchy meal. There are similarities between Ugandan Indigenous knowledge and that of Tanzanian women (see also Wangoola, 2000, p. 265-277; Jagire, 2011, p. 183). There is need to pay attention to science training by the Indigenous women as science teachers both in higher learning and development activities, without which the take-off may prove difficult.

The failure to consult the women or failure to recognize their status in the Indigenous society concerning land use has resulted in failure of foreign inspired projects for national development. Wangari Maathai (1988) talked about men leaving the village to be employed as laborers during the colonial era. Leaving the homes to women is a normal process that men go through. Such a migratory process for men leaves women in charge of farming activities in the rural area. Ignoring or silencing Indigenous women through omissions in dominant discourses hurts development because it means losing the knowledge with the women. Semesi (1991) illustrates how a Groundnut (peanut) Scheme in Tanzania funded by the World Bank as a government project failed because the local rural women were not consulted on the suitability of climate to cultivate the crop. The feasibility study did not consult the rural women or their knowledge and hence its failure to know the soil science which was with the women. This is a lesson to development projects that unless women are left to manage their knowledge and are recognized silent resistance by not releasing any Indigenous knowledge of science can result in the collapse of the macro projects. Indigenous Tanzanian women and in the majority of many other Indigenous communities, women retain the knowledge of crop, tree, soil science and will advise on suitable seasons necessary for advancing agriculture and development.

CONCLUSION

This paper talks about Indigenous Tanzanian women, their knowledge, and role as science teachers. It dwells on the importance of Indigenous Tanzanian women as agricultural scientists with Indigenous knowledge in farming, soil conservation, water conservation, as environmentalists with knowledge of trees in the forests and their specific uses that they preserve while farming the area from generation to generation (Mathaai, 1980; Brock-Uttne, 2002). This paper also deliberately departs from the dominant mainstream feminist way of knowing that has not yet worked closely enough with African women. The paper demystifies the notion that Indigenous African women might be mere victims of patriarchal oppression while ignoring their important role as science teachers, trainers in their villages and keepers of Indigenous knowledge. I have portrayed Tanzanian women as effective managers in the farming sector who have to be consulted for the success of any future projects in international development. Indigenous knowledge is a powerful weapon for the preservation and retention of cultural knowledge through orality and practice. Indigenous Tanzanian women own knowledge for environment preservation and are agricultural scientists who share cultural knowledge as they train children early in Indigenous knowledge. They also know and pass on oral knowledge from generation to generation. Promoted here, is the agency of Indigenous African Tanzanian women as owners of knowledge in a gendered space to debunk Western-centric views concerning their role in the society. There is urgency for transformation of knowledge production and a look in this sector is important to counter the unequal power relations that threaten women's recognition (Dei, 2000; Wangoola, 2000). In this paper there is an attempt at a Foucauldian analysis of power relations. Indigenous African proverbs are crucial for attempting to understand of the views, roles and status of Indigenous African women and men in their society (see Kalugila and Lodhi, 1980, Nyerere, 1980; Mathaai, 1988; Tema, 1980). These theorists and others have tried to tap into Indigenous science knowledge held by women, their status in the society, the role of Eurocentric education and the need to recognize Indigenous women as the initial teachers of science right from the rural areas. A final proverb with regard to the Indigenous knowledge held by Tanzanian women in Kiswahili is: Elimu haina mwish, hakuna aliye mzee mno asijifunze. Translated it means "education has no end, or there is no one too old to learn" (Kalugila and Lodhi, 1980, p. 27). Let us all learn from Indigenous women science teachers of Tanzania and their generosity in retaining Indigenous science and their work in training the younger generations and their willingness to share knowledge with all learners respectfully.

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11. INDIGENIZING THE STATE?

Indigenous Governance in Africa and Its Potential for State Reform

DECOLONIZING AFRICAN STUDIES

It can be argued that African Studies originated at the Berlin Conference of 1884-85. At which point France, Germany, Britain, Portugal and other conspiring powers began to fund large-scale research projects on their new colonies. This research was carried out by self-described "explorers" – such as Henry Morton Stanley of Wales and Carl Peters of Germany – who doubled as writers, geographers and colonial administrators. By the mid twentieth century Britain had shifted its colonial research from Africa's physical to cultural geography. Much like the contemporary African state, colonial officials feared traditional culture and institutions as rival sites of political, social and economic power. To effectively infiltrate and control the "natives", colonists had to first study them. Inspired by the West's quest to understand Africa for the purpose of enclosing and dispossessing it, anthropologists E. Evans-Pritchard and Fortes (1940) released *African Political Systems*. This book marked the first major work on Indigenous governance in Africa. It also only thinly veiled Britain's attempt to mobilize political anthropology for colonizing purposes. In the editor's note that opens the book, the authors reveal their research goals:

> We hope this book will be of interest and of use to those who have the task of administering African peoples. The anthropologist's duty is to present the facts and theory of native social organization as he sees them… Whether or not an anthropologist's findings can be utilized in the practical tasks of administration must be left to the decision of administrators themselves (Evans-Pritchard & Fortes, 1940, Editor's Note).

Evans-Pritchard and Fortes go on to thank the International African Institute (IAI) for its funding of their research. The IAI was itself an inherently imperialist agency interwoven with the expansion of British-controlled Africa. Lord Frederick Lugard himself, lead architect of Britain's system of indirect rule in Africa, was the IAI's Inaugural Chairman from its founding in 1926 until his death in 1945. Lugard was a lifelong advocate for colonizing Africa in and through traditional lines of political authority and organization. His logic was simple: why focus on building a settler state external to traditional chieftaincies, when Britain could use co-optation, assassination, and other means to rule *through* chieftaincies?[1] Under Lugard's

A. Asabere-Ameyaw et al., Indigenist African Development and Related Issues, 181–201.

stewardship, chieftaincy became an important site of institutional control for colonial administrators, intellectuals and religious missionaries. Following Britain's example, other colonial powers quickly learned to dispose of chiefs who refused to tow the colonial line. They would simply redraw lineages of traditional political leadership, a practice that flag-independent African governments would later use to disorient and disarm Indigenous leaders.[2] Not enough scholars on Africa have studied the connection between colonial engagements with Indigenous authority and the spread of authoritarianism on the continent today.

Presently conceived, the area studies model in general, and African Studies in particular, are little more than still-colonized models of knowledge production incapable of shedding their colonial origins and orientations. As a historical figure, Lugard (and his near obsession with Indigenous governance in Africa), was crucial to the formation of African Studies. Only a decade after Evans-Pritchard and Fortes lay the foundation of African Studies as an interdisciplinary space for building colonial intelligence, the CIA formalized the field in an effort to learn more about Africa for the sake of competing with the Soviets for land and resources (Robinson, 2007, 13). The field of African Studies became an intellectual terrain on which Cold War politics would be fought, and continues to be plagued by this history. To date, much of the field is still interested in developing Orientalist scholarship on Africa that doesn't serve the continent itself, but informs how the West can continue to benefit from engaging Africa. Dominant African Studies remains alienated from the continent itself and continues to be written from the perspective of outsiders looking in. For the field to contribute to Africa's decolonization, it must return to the questions of who it serves, for what purposes it exists, and why it's necessary to develop Africa on its own terms. As Africans we must be the arbiters of our own experience; we must become the leading producers of our own stories, assessors of our own problems, and prescribers to our own solutions.

Whether African Studies can become an interdisciplinary space for self-determining and anti-colonial scholarship remains to be seen. What is clear, however, is that there is a need for alternative disciplinary spaces for theorizing Africa. In the last decade, the field of Indigenous knowledges has thrived in both the breadth and quality of work produced on Africa (Mosha, 1999; select chapters from Dei, 2000; Falola, 2003; Dei, 2011). Whether we do it from the purview of Indigenous knowledges, or elsewhere, we must remain confident that in order to decolonize our communities we must first decolonize our study of them. The project of writing Africa has within it the parallel project of trying to theorize Africa from outside the contaminated historical, political and theoretical confines of "African Studies". Here, we attempt to do this by examining the intersecting questions of Indigeneity and governance from outside the colonial gaze. Theorizing Indigenous governance is itself a project meant to empower Indigenous knowledges and communities on the ground, while also building a counter-space for the growth of truly spirit-centered, anti-colonial Indigenist scholarship that serves Africa's liberation. More than anything else, this project requires us to see Africa's Indigeneity as both a site and tool for decolonization.

INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGES: A FRAMEWORK FOR DECOLONIZATION

A natural relationship exists between anti-colonial struggle and Indigenous knowledges. The reclamation of culture does not happen for culture's sake. Culture is to be reclaimed as part of a broader effort to contest and subvert the imposition of Eurocentric languages, values, and epistemologies. If anti-colonialism answers the question of how we fight colonialism, then Indigenous knowledges answers the question of what we replace it with. A combination of the two allows us to both resist ongoing colonial violence and power relations in the present, while also envisioning what futures may be possible if we draw back the colonial curtain. The end goal is a future in which Africa asserts itself as an independent agent of social, economic and political power in the world. Of course, to get there we require a framework for decolonization[3] that recognizes: a) colonialism has not ended, and continues to reify itself through local and global proxies; b) there is a clear distinction between concepts of 'flag independence' and decolonization; c) courage and imagination are necessary to bring about social-political change; d) decolonization demands a participatory structure in which all African peoples have a role to play; and e) Indigenous knowledges and identities must be directed toward a direct confrontation with ongoing colonialism (wa Thiong'o, 1986; 1996; Alfred, 2005, Alfred, 2009).[4]

Colonialism functions to both deny the colonizer's claim to history and eradicate its evidence. From the colonial perspective, Africa's past is similar to that of a blank canvass; it becomes emptied of all contributions to the world and unable to make something of itself. From this perspective, African history can offer nothing to the African present. Anti-colonialism grounded in Indigenous knowledges is a confrontational approach to social change that seeks to rupture this narrative. It seeks to bring about African decolonization and development by shifting the centre of conversation on governance to include more than just the imposed Western state model. Ngugi reminds us that "shifting the focus of particularity to a plurality of centres is a welcome antidote" (wa Thiong'o, 1993, 25).

Ngugi also informs us that language is itself an important terrain of power struggle. Half of the decolonizing project is to reconfigure power over who owns/controls what, and why? The second but equally important part of our project, however, is to reconfigure power over who constructs who, and how? Language is used to shape debate and limit – or expand – concepts that construct our world and everything in it. For this reason, we refrain from discussing African governance through a language of "ethnicity", and use "Indigeneity" in its place. "Ethnicity" is a domesticated term that exists as part of the African state's vocabulary. It functions to redefine Africa's Indigenous nations, people and systems as rival "ethnic groups" vying for power; rather than Indigenous groups who often lived in harmony both outside and across current state boundaries. This explains the salience of Western Anthropology in Africa over the last thirty years, and its preoccupation with "ethnic tension", "tribalism", and the pastoral/sedentary divide. "Ethnicity" carries with it a cultural politics that reduces Africa's rich history of Indigenous governance to a

depoliticized and dehistoricized realm of political symbolism, rather than political power. Conversely, Indigenous knowledges offer a politicized body of scholarship that recognizes the antiquity of Africa's traditional knowledges and systems, and emphasizes their similarities as well as differences.

Indigenous knowledges offer us a rich body of art, culture, and politics to fill the void left by colonial knowledges after they are gone. As a field of study, Indigenous knowledges reject the notion that 'going back' to tradition is a romanticized project of false return (Ranger, 1983). Claims that colonialism has created a 'door of no return' through which Africans have become permanently severed from their Indigenous past work in favor of the colonial project. Africa's Indigeneity is not a relic from the past to be preserved in museums or history books. It is not a set of static knowledges and identities that exist in pristine glass cases, to be seen and not touched. Instead, Africa's Indigeneity is alive and interactive within the world today. It informs everything from our sense of storytelling and knowledge production, to our diet and family structure; our history and trans-generational education, to our political struggle in the current context. Africa's Indigeneity continues to reaffirm what colonialism sought to destroy: our sense of history and spirit and how they continue to survive the present moment. Our pursuit of decolonization is, more than anything else, the struggle over the validity of our Indigenous knowledges and identities and their place in the world today.

Principles of Indigenous Governance and Education in Africa

In this section, we identify some of the common practices and epistemic trends that characterize Indigenous governance in Africa. We realize that these trends and practices may differ depending on spatial arrangements and configurations of power (i.e. elected assemblies in Saharan Africa versus Southern African monarchies). By no means do we seek to essentialize Africa's governing traditions or where they originate, but instead seek to locate the ways in which they intersect and overlap. For simplicity, this paper categorizes traditional institutions of governance into two basic types: centralized and decentralized. Centralized systems typically include monarchies or *vertical chieftaincies* in which power is concentrated in the hands of a select few. Although power is enacted vertically there remains a series of sophisticated checks and balances placed on leaders as well as mechanisms for their removal, if necessary. Centralized systems often rule over larger territories or national communities and are more likely to be perceived as a threat by the state. Examples include the Kingdom of Buganda in Uganda and Zulu-Natal chieftaincies in South Africa.

In decentralized systems, power is conceived of as being group-based. It operates through a diffused leadership culture preserved in village assemblies, elder councils and other sites of communal politics. Although decentralized systems often include individuals identified as 'principle elders' or 'chiefs', their stand-out role is more symbolic than it is functional. Examples include the Borona's *gada* system in

Ethiopia, Tigrinya *baito* in Eritrea. One of the dominant features of decentralized government is that a leader's power is understood as being horizontal in nature, is rotated amongst clan or kinship groups, and is limited in term. In the Borona system, for example, the head chief or *Aba Gada* serves a non-renewable term of eight years. The *Gumii Gaayyoo* – assembly of elders – preside over all transitions of power, and work hard to ensure that leadership is equitably shared amongst village kinship groups and that no group puts forth two leaders before each has been represented once. As a result of its rotational leadership, decentralized systems also refrain from using hereditary inheritances of power.

What we have described above is the simplest possible reading of institutions of traditional governance. For the sake of time and space, we have sketched two broad systems for analysis and will contextualize them with specific examples in the remainder of this section. It is important to remember that although the centralized/decentralized distinction can be analytically useful, in reality, it is complicated by spatial, cultural and historical specificities that will not be considered here.[5] Instead, the scope of this paper focuses less on the anatomy of Indigenous governing structures and more on the state's potential to integrate principles, worldviews, and leadership qualities from them.

'ANKH MDW': DEVELOPING A CULTURE OF POLITICAL HONESTY THROUGH 'THE LIVING WORD'

It is fitting that we begin the conversation with one of the oldest known principles of Indigenous governance in Africa. Although it assumes different names amongst different African communities, the ancient Kemetic concept of *Ma'at* houses a collection of educational teachings: truth, justice, cosmic order, righteousness, and reciprocity. Within the Kemetic education system, students, teachers and researchers hold blending roles. Power and participation operate in diffused ways to create a shared multiplicity in the classroom; in which all individuals, regardless of their social or political positionality, are regarded as both teachers and students at once. Even though there is a clear authority, figure presiding over the classroom or learning environment, that figure is only tasked with facilitating rather than dictating the learning process. Proverbs, fables, personal narratives, songs and dance are all used as learning tools. They are seen as legitimate sites of knowledge production, dissemination and debate. Ma'at may be a loosely understood collection of moral-ethical codes but it also doubles as a research methodology and framework for governance.

Here, we are concerned with the question of how responsible leadership and governance is conceptualized within the Kemetic tradition. Within Kemetic worldview, responsible governance and leadership is measured by one's ability to both live in accordance with Ma'at, and the degree to which one's word could be trusted. The spoken word is meant to be an articulation of Ma'at, through which its values are spoken into existence. Words carry meanings, symbols and consequences

that shape and give meaning to the physical and metaphysical worlds. Molefi Kete Asante elaborates that

> To live [in accordance with] Ma'at is to live the living word, the ankh mdw… that the word could be living is the great mystery of Ma'at. One does not find the word merely as a dead artifact or as a lifeless abstraction; it is active, dynamic, and alive in the everyday lives of humans at work, play, and worship (Asante, 2000, 113).

The divine power of speech is captured in one of the primary Kemetic creation myths, in which Ptah, the god of the city of Memphis, *khpered* (created) the world's creatures by speaking their names into existence. We see a contemporary equivalent of this in the role griots (traditional storytellers) play in Southern Mali and other parts of francophone West Africa. Griots occupy a hybrid role in society, serving as public speakers, family historians and musicians. They were historically called upon to legitimize a chief's claim to power by reciting their royal/chieftain lineage and confirming their place within it. Griots would – and still do – update local communities on timely political issues and governing processes. Through their historical association with griots, who themselves are seen as symbols of political legitimacy and diffused democratic participation, Indigenous leaders make effort to publically perform their transparency. The same way griots lend their voice in support of good governance, they also project the voices of those who wish to critique local authorities. In a recent effort to capitalize upon griots' historical influence in Malian society, state leaders have started employing them as public relations figures in order to boost their public image. The danger of this newfound partnership is that state leaders tend to extricate griots from their spiritual origin and political context, and attempt to reduce them to co-opted mouth pieces to rationalize state corruption and violence. Some scholars have taken a more creative lens to francophone Africa's oral tradition, and study griots as facilitators of public politics and debate, while offering their own analysis of both state and Indigenous governance. The work of Schulz' (1997) is particularly useful in examining the "symbolic forms that griots use to present a political order as legitimate and that people in the countryside also use to express their doubts and disenchantment with the political status quo" (Schulz, 1997, p. 444). In the francophone West African tradition, griots place important checks and balances on Indigenous leadership and governing structures. Perhaps more than any other figure in Africa, they capture and defend the spirit of public critique and the sanctity of speech.

Indigenous governance across Africa shares the Kemetic belief in the sacred power of speech. When one speaks in village assemblies, leadership campaigns, or legislates on legal matters, they are reminded that speech is itself encoded with expectations of social responsibility and a commitment to action. Our words carry within them the promise of transformation; to speak them into life is to be prepared to act upon them. Indigenous governance pays great attention to speech acts as a social-spiritual mechanism that guards against public lies, corruption and verbal violence; it discourages one from using the power of oratory for negative means and encourages a culture of political honesty, transparency and accountability. Whether

we believe the living word to be a literal or metaphorical concept is not the point. What matters is that we hold our political leaders accountable for their false promises and coercive speech. Can you imagine an Africa in which parties actually followed through on lofty campaign promises for social justice and participatory democracy? Can you imagine an Africa in which state leaders were, at all times, conscious of their words and the repercussions they carried? It is clear that this is not presently the case and that the African state has much to learn from its Indigenous counterparts.

There are far too many examples of African leaders speaking out of turn. In 1988, former secretary-general of the Organization of African Unity, Edem Kodjo, shocked the African world in publically denigrated the continent he served. At a conference on African development Kodjo declared that "Africa is nothing, does nothing, nor can do anything" (Davidson, 1992, 13). Given that Indigenous governance – and the spirit-centered worldview that anchors it – invests great faith in the power of words to name, shape and determine the future, Kodjo's words should be understood as a violent attack on the African past, present and future.

In the intersecting realm of law and governance the written word is tied to a process of individualizing customary and state law. Whereas from an Indigenous perspective, the spoken word is believed to be popularly shared, equally accessible, and preserved in society's collective consciousness. It is a means of drafting social-political laws that are commonly shared and applied. It constitutes a realm of public debate and democratized participation in community governance. Here, we can locate a tension between the written and spoken word as it relates to governance. Through the African state's attempt to document customary law in ways that are juridical and intellectually fixed, orality becomes robbed of its ability to adapt to changing needs and contexts. As an elder of the Dagomba Kingdom in Northern Ghana explained his frustration with state attempts to codify traditional laws, "this our business has nothing to do with writing and you keep trying to put it down and in the process you ruin it for us" (O'Rourke, 1995, 79). This is not to say that Indigenous governance is free of written codes nor that it should be, but that an emphasis on orality serves to further democratize public participation in community governance. Creating a situation in which those who are literate (in writing) no longer have an advantage in political participation. Of course this becomes harder at the national level. Which is why rather than operating the state on purely spoken governing processes, the state should simply borrow the same sense of intellectual honesty and commitment that is expressed by traditional African orality.

Ancestorship and Spirit-Centered Leadership

The Igbo have a proverb that sums up the problem of political leadership in Africa: "a leader who took no oath is never accused of breaking one" (Falola, 2003). In other words, if state leaders swear no oath to the ethical-moral teachings enshrined in Indigenous spirituality, and fail to see themselves as an extension of their ancestors, then they are likely to be accountable to no one but themselves. Would Africa's statesmen think twice about unleashing police violence against their people if they were sworn into office on ancestral symbols, such as the Ashanti Goldon Stool,

rather than Bibles/Qurans? Would they so readily grow up to empty national coffers if they truly believed in the Bembe adage to "be like ants, eat little and carry the rest back to your home"? In order to develop a more historically informed and popularly supported culture of governance, the African state must first adopt a spirit-centered approach to leadership development. It is crucial that the reform process begins with governing leadership rather than governing structure. After all, governing structures in themselves are merely a product of the people who create them. Where as a change in leadership compels a change in both the culture and structure of governance.

Ancestor worship figures prominently in many traditional institutions of governance. In Eritrea's village baito (assembly) the commitment to ancestor worship preserved in the principle of "Abotatna Kem Zemharuna"/"Like Our Fathers Teach Us"[6]. The verb is rendered in the present tense, as "teach", to emphasize that our ancestors continue to live amongst us. In African cosmologies, the metaphysical is deeply entangled with the physical, to the point where even in the present moment the dead continue to interact with and educate the living.[7] "Abotatna Kem Zemharuna" becomes a starting point for *baito* decision making, conflict resolution, and leadership contests. Chiqas, who hold positions equivalent to that of a chief, begin their assessment of all matters with a consideration of how those matters were dealt with previously. The prevailing logic is that in order to impart the wisdom of the future one must first become a student of the past. Therefore, extending the often recited Western adage of "I am because we are", to include a more historically profound understanding of, "I am because we are *and they were*". In this way, past and present become dialectically linked. The former bleeds into the latter as the two exist as part of a spirit/governance nexus that transcends time and space. In the *baito* and other institutions like it, ancestral code is not subordinate to state code, but believed to preside over the nation at large. Spirit-centered leaders are those who school themselves in ancestral lineages, histories, values and codes of conduct. Of course, the idea is never to uncritically accept these things at face value, but to critically study the institution of ancestorship to find teachings that speak to the present context.

What we advocate for here is a state framework for leadership development that borrows from ancestral models. That is, leadership models geared toward our spiritual re-orientation as African peoples; leadership models geared toward a greater sense of community accountability through responsible governance. As we said previously, these models are also critical, self-reflexive and in line with what Taiaiake Alfred calls 'self conscious traditionalism', or the process of "bringing forward core values and principles from the vast store of our traditional teachings, and selectively employing those aspects of [our] tradition that are appropriate to the present social, political, and economic realities" (Alfred, 2009, p. 104).

There are few signs that African statesmen and women are taking notice of their spiritual and ancestral obligations. In few 'zones of refuge' cropping up throughout the continent we see state leaders beginning to respect the privileges and punishments prescribed by ancestral custom. In South Africa in 1999, President Thabo Mbeki

paid the traditional fine of one cow for failing to attend the wedding of King Letsie III of neighboring Lesotho (Englebert, 2003, p.29). The fine was a rare display of respect and dialogue between Indigenous and state authorities. In another example, former President of Ghana, John Kufuor, who also happens to be a relative to the Asantehene (King of the Ashanti - Otumfuo Osei Tutu II), was known for instructing visiting diplomats to pay their respects to the Asantehene before any other business. The Asantehene draws his spiritual authority from his possession of the 'sika 'gua' or Golden Stool – a 46 cm high stool that contains the 'Sunsum' or spirit of the Ashanti people, and commemorates the moment of the Ashanti nation's unification in the late seventeenth century.

Leaders like Kufuor recognize the strategic importance of cooperating with Indigenous authorities, who themselves are intermediaries between the living, living dead, and the unborn. In reference to his relationship with the Asantehene, Kufuor commented, "I respect Otumfuo and I can never do anything without first receiving his blessing". What is also interesting is how the Asantahene's chose to respond to Kufuor's comment. When asked if he supports the Kufuor government in return, he cleverly responded, "I can tell you that it is where I look that my people also look" (Adu-Asamoa, 2008). Based on his comment it seems the Asantehene both realizes and is prepared to wield his ancestrally inscribed authority. These examples reaffirm that in the hearts and minds of African peoples governing legitimacy has at least two dimensions. There is *political* legitimacy – as represented by Kufuor, Mbeki and all others who occupy the corridors of state power – and there is *spiritual* legitimacy – as represented by the Asantehene, King of Lesotho and other elders who work within a framework of spirit-centered politics. There is something to be said about the fact that traditional leaders like these are rarely if ever overthrown or replaced. Leading one to recall the Alur proverb that, "Judongo bedo wi udhuru (wi cet) / elders solve shameful and major problems in peace" (Atido, 2011, 36).

Perhaps, nothing demonstrates ancestorship and spirit-centered leadership more than one's concern for the future generations that follow them. Indigenous knowledges exercise a deep and reflexive concern for how decisions made in the present are not only informed by the past, but survive to shape the future. That this concern is a spiritual one is clear. But, it is also one that creates a governing culture based on notions of social responsibility. Many of the Indigenous nations of Turtle Island speak of their responsibility to protect local land, resources and human wealth up to seven generations into the future. (Although the number of generations may change, many African societies share the concept of trans-generational responsibility.) This can be a useful point of reference at the state level as well. Especially, when due to state sanctioned oil drilling in the Niger Delta has led to forty years of continuous oil spill into nearby water sources used for drinking, bathing and aquaculture. Parallel to the BP oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico that captured headlines in April 2010, a ruptured ExxonMobil pipeline in the Nigerian state of Akwa Ibom leaked more than one million gallons into the Delta.[8] Despite immediate sickness and disruption to local food security, state authorities expressed little interest in relief. It was only after

protests by nearby communities organized in conjuncture with traditional authorities that the state assisted in relief efforts. Without any consideration of how oil fields harm wildlife, food security, and the general regional ecology, Nigerian statesmen and women have sold enough land for 606 oil fields in the Niger Delta alone. The Nigerian state has sacrificed the Niger Delta's natural ecology to provide 40% of all crude oil sent to the United States, consequently making it the world's most oil-polluted region (Vidal, 2010).

In the light of the Nigerian state's slow response to repeated oil spills, and its general unwillingness to renegotiate its contracts with multinational companies who cause environmental degradation through drilling and spillage, traditional authorities have taken up the challenge to protect the well being of future generations who will one day inherit the land. From an Indigenous perspective, knowledge should compel action and action should be understood as having consequences for, in, and over the future. A Tigrinya proverb often invoked in political contexts promises that "when you throw a rock in the sea, the water will ripple for miles". Similarly, the challenge of African governance and its production of political knowledges is not only to meet the needs of the future, but to ensure that those needs are non-conflicting with those of the future. This requires incredible foresight, patience, and sometimes imagination. All of which are traits that African statesmen and women have failed to display at the state level. Any incorporation of Indigenous governance within the state, or as an advocacy body outside the state, must include such foresight and imagination in designing a sustainable African future.

Determined to design a sustainable African future, Ogoni chiefs played a crucial role in supporting Ken Sara Wiwa in founding the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP), a human rights group that has worked to safeguard Ogoni peoples control over local resources and livelihoods since 1990. In 1993, a year in which over half the Ogoni nation expressed public support for MOSOP, four Ogoni chiefs were assassinated by government forces in collusion with Shell Oil. Despite such violence enacted by the state and its multinational alliances, Ogoni chiefs continue to advocate for bargaining rights and Indigenous control over local resources.

DIFFUSED AND PARTICIPATORY DECISION-MAKING

It is the centralized nature of state power that corrupts African statesmen and women, and interrupts their commitment to participatory democracy. Fanon (1966) warned us of the state's corrupting nature nearly fifty years ago when he observed that "before independence, the leader generally embodies the aspirations of the people for independence, political liberty and national dignity". But once the flag-independent state was achieved, leaders became immersed in the alien governing culture of the Western state, which prioritizes a top-down style of governance with limited and highly controlled avenues for public participation. Thus, the second half of Fanon's observation:

> But as soon as independence is declared, far from embodying in concrete form the needs of the people in what touches bread, land and the restoration of the country to the sacred hands of the people, the leader will reveal his inner purpose: to become the general president of that company of profiteers impatient for their returns which constitutes the national bourgeoisie (Fanon, 1966, p. 166).

Fanon's words are just as true today as they were yesterday. Presidents like Isaias Afwerki of Eritrea are said to make the majority of their major decisions in isolation from members of his government, let alone members of the general public. Afwerki has also yet to ratify the constitution (1997) and routinely purges the ruling party – People's Front for Democracy and Justice – of officials who are critical of his unilateral decision-making. Even in electoral democracies, voting as a process of collective decision-making fails to lead to transformation. The centralization of power in electoral politics has even driven Archbishop Desmond Tutu, once a staunch supporter of the flag-independent state, to deeply question the limits for democratic participation in post-Apartheid South Africa. Only ten years after Apartheid, Tutu posed the question, "what's the point of having made this transition if the quality of life of [blacks] is not enhanced and improved? If not, the vote is useless" (Klein, 2007, p. 233). Tutu's question may have failed to be addressed by parliament, but the ruling African National Congress (ANC) should have responded otherwise. Since independence South Africa has surpassed Brazil as being the most unequal society in the world; as a result of high black unemployment and poor living conditions, the number of blacks living in shacks also doubled; and since the ANC took power, the number of South Africans living on less than one dollar per day has also doubled (Klein, 2007). So, we see that even in Africa's prototype for 'good governance' there is a widening gap between the state's rhetoric of participatory democracy and realities on the ground. The fact that the living conditions of the elite has improved at the expense of the black majority is no doubt a result of limited participation in governance. One wonders, how might the country look today if the state applied the South African principle of *ubuntu* as a framework for participation?[9]

The failures of state-based parliamentarianism stretch far beyond South Africa. Given the cycle of political volatility, corruption and military coups in the post-flag independent period, we must question whether the "crisis" of African statehood is in fact a crisis of capability, or a crisis of inheritance. In particular, popular assumptions that state-based parliamentarianism is the end-game of political development must be interrogated. If this was the case, how do we explain the widespread disenchantment and lack of public support for the African state? Between 1952 and 2000 thirty-three African countries experienced 85 coups. Many of the outgoing governments failed to preserve power because they failed to garner widespread grassroots support. Much of the African public sees the see-saw of power-sharing between military and civilian dictatorship as two sides of the same coin. As one elder told Al Jazeera following the Malian military's overthrow of President Amadou Toumani

Toure on May 22nd, 2012, "It doesn't matter if we are ruled by the left hand or the right, we have no say either way". It has become clear that large segments of the African public are demanding a third way of governance; that they wish to imagine governing frameworks from outside the military and civilian state, and one that is based on Indigenous conceptions of participatory and diffused-decision-making. So long as African states, no matter what their configuration, continue to deny their citizenry a voice in local governance, we can expect to see more instability and armed contests for power. In *Challenges to the Nation-State in Africa*, Liisa Laakso observes that the West's imposition of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) on Africa brought with it greater centralization of power and decision-making. Laakso further recognizes that the phenomenon of state centrality only tends to encourage traditional, alternative governments to gain strength in the periphery. Under SAPs introduced in the 1980s, power has become increasingly remote to people. In this context of structured disempowerment, she argues that Indigenous identities and institutional resurgence is inevitable, as people search for alternative methods of organizing themselves outside of the state (Laakso, 1992).

> We can juxtapose the African state's limited avenues for democratic participation with that of Indigenous governing culture. Nelson Mandela has described the difference as follows:
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> The council (of elders) was so completely democratic that all members of the ethnic group could participate in its deliberations. Chief and subject, warrior and medicine man, all took part and endeavored to influence its decisions… in such a society are contained the seeds of revolutionary democracy (Ayittey, 2006, p. 105 – emphasis added)

Mandela presents a diffused, relational and mutually enacted culture of leadership. The 'revolutionary democracy' he describes prevents authoritarian or repressive government from taking hold over Indigenous governance. Revolutionary democracy ensures that decision-making processes are a) decentralized, b) equally accessible to the community, and c) offers communities the chance to transform themselves. Sticking with the example of South Africa, we can contrast the level of decentralization between Indigenous and state institutions. The province of Kwazulu-Natal has one governor and several state representatives, but it also has a vast network of 277 chieftaincies; each one offering a more localized and direct space for participation. Only twelve chiefs are appointed by and representative of the state, the rest have been put forth by (predominantly rural) communities that feel they need more representation. In their extensive study of Indigenous governance in Africa, P.S. Reddy and B.B. Biyela have described Kwazulu-Natal's traditional governing institutions as having the strongest grassroots support and legitimacy in the country (Ray & Reddy, 2003,p. 269).

In today's Africa, the 'revolutionary democracy' that Mandela speaks of is not found in the corridors of state power, but resides where it always has, amongst

the bulk of traditional society. Revolutionary democracy is formed at the nexus of collective knowledge production, application and social transformation. It requires the foresight, patience and intellectual honesty necessary to bring about populist debate. The spirit of which is captured in the practice of consensus-based governance. The now departed Kwasi Wiredu has offered valuable considerations of consensus-based decision making. In one of his final works, entitled *Democracy and Consensus in African Traditional Politics*, Wiredu makes the case for a system of African governance founded on "consensual democracy". He goes on to define consensual democracy as any system in which "no one group, ethnic or ideological, will be afflicted with the sense of being permanent outsiders to state power" (Wiredu, 1997, p. 311). As a historian of African political custom, Wiredu recognizes that Indigenous governance in Africa dares to practice itself beyond the confines of majoritarian democracy. This is because "majority opinion is not in itself a good enough basis for decision making, for it deprives the minority of the right to have their will reflected in the given decision" (Wiredu, 1997, p. 307). In place of majoritarian decision making, he prefers consensus-based decision making.

Here, the role of consent becomes the noticeable difference between the two systems. In a consensual democracy all parties will either concede their point, become convinced by oppositional arguments, or claim victory for their ideas. The matter is not decided until each of the three parties come to a consensus to move forward with a decision. This style of government operates on the belief that "the interests of all members of society are the same, although their immediate perceptions of those interests may be different" (Wiredu, 1997, p. 306). Although consensus-based governance is unlikely if not impossible at the national level, it continues to process council decisions at the village and municipal level. Majoritarian democracy may be the de facto system of national politics, but it is riddled with flaws. The most obvious of which is its silencing of minority voters. No matter how large their number, minority voters receive no consideration since they failed to garner a majority. A move toward proportional representation in state voting systems would help amend this problem and provide minority voters with a sense of impact.

CHALLENGES TO INDIGENOUS GOVERNING RESURGENCE

Restriction to the Cultural Realm

The most obvious challenge to Indigenous governing resurgence in Africa is the African state. The relationship between state and traditional authorities remains relatively delicate throughout the continent, as the former continues to be suspicious of traditional authority as a rival site of political power and organization. In much of Africa, flag independence brought with it new constitutions that reduced the power of traditional authorities while locking them into strictly ceremonial roles. It is possible that Africa's new heads of state feared that traditional systems would continue to serve colonial interests and act as the nucleus of indirect rule.

In Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah wasted no time in containing the power of local chiefs. He did so by enshrining their reduced role in the republic's first constitution (Valsecchi, 2008, p. 141). Article 276 of the constitution forbids any chief from taking part in "active party politics", and if they choose to s/he must first "abdicate his stool or skin".[10] For his many strengths and intellectual foresights, Nkrumah's legacy is marred by his devaluing of Indigenous systems within the Pan-Africanist project. Pan-Africanism and Indigenous resurgence movements have continued to suffer political tensions in the contemporary period as a result. Today, it is typically Africa's strongest states that fear opposition movements finding momentum in rural bases, and thus "limit traditional resurgence to the cultural sphere or to the bifurcated traditional functions of local land allocation and dispute settlements" (Sklar, 2003, p. 40). The Ghanaian National House of Chiefs is constitutionally restricted to addressing matters of customary law, but prohibited from entering matters of state. Similarly, the Ugandan constitution is clear in stating that traditional leaders are no more than cultural institutions restricted from passing laws, policies, or procedures that interfere with, undermine or overlap the central governments. In the truest sense of the word, Indigenous systems in both countries are relegated to a strictly symbolic realm far from the politicized power of the state. This was underscored by President Museveni few years ago after the Kabaka of Buganda demanded a separate, self-governed Baganda Parliament. When asked by reporters if the Kabaka had the authority to assemble a parliamentary system independent of the state, the President sarcastically responded, "should we even discuss these issues with the kings? Or should we leave it to the political leaders?" (Greste, 2009). Explicit to President Museveni's response is a clear demarcation of traditional and state authority, in which traditional government becomes the mere symbol of power rather than the source of its function. Supporters of the Buganda Kingdom made it known which authority they pledged their ultimate allegiance to by rioting in the streets of downtown Kampala following Museveni's comments. The message being yelled by pro-Kabaka protestors was clear: tradition is itself inherently politicized and laced with ancestrally enshrined powers. Just like the British colonists before him, President Museveni has no authority to intervene with or interrupt such power.

Co-optation

Yet another challenge to Indigenous governing resurgence is ongoing co-optation by the state and multinational corporations. Across the continent, Indigenous leaders are included on the payroll of presidents and big business, thus weakening their ability to serve as independent advocates for their constituents. As a result many chiefs, kings and elders find themselves motivated by financial greed rather than social justice, and fall into the same cycles of corruption that have consumed the African state. There are structural restraints placed on traditional systems that submit their authority to competing interests. Thus, perpetuating a system of indirect rule as pioneered under colonialism, where kings, chiefs and elders remained patrons of the colonial state.

Until his death in 2005, President Gnassingbe Eyadema of Togo was Africa's longest serving head of state (1974 – 2005). Although an incredibly anti-democratic statesman, Eyadema was able to govern unchallenged because those officially recognized as chiefs needed to first be screened by state police, and then placed directly onto the presidential payroll as a reward for their cooperation (Vaughan, 2003, p. 10). At the time of his death, due to the systematic co-optation of traditional authority, Eyadema had consolidated the country's many chiefs into a class structure dependent on state patronage.

In still other cases, outspoken Indigenous leaders are quieted through large-scale corporate 'donations' to their kingdoms. This was recently the case in Ghana where the Asantehene accepted money from the Coca-Cola Bottling Company of Ghana, Chase Petroleum and other corporations. In May 2011, Coke donated a modest $12,217.47 while launching Shweppes Malt Drink at a related press conference. At the press conference, it was announced that, as a result of the company's partnership with the Asantehene, Kumasi now accounts for 50% of all Shweppes sales nationally (Freiku, 2011). There are two troubling consequences of this partnership. First, Coke's 'donation' is dependent on the Asantehene's willing endorsement of a commercial good; which positions him as a salesman within the partnership more than anything else. Second, Coke has been linked to the theft of Ghana's groundwater for the manufacturing of its drinks (Adam, 2011), and responsible for a well documented history of worker exploitation. Which begs the question, is Coke's 'donation' a charitable gesture or hush money? What is the Asantehene's capacity to criticize multinational corporations when his office is financially dependent on them? It appears that such 'donations' provide just another avenue for corporations to buy support in the pillaging of African resources.

POTENTIAL SITES FOR INDIGENOUS/STATE SYNTHESIS

Under the guise of synthesis, Indigenous leadership tends to get reduced to a submissive junior partner in Indigenous-state relations. For Africa to truly 'Indigenize the state', it is important that synthesis is not understood simply as an additive measure. Nor can synthesis be used to hide state attempts to integrate and/or disfigure the original purpose and function of Indigenous governance. Alfred (2005) gives us reason to be weary of Indigenous invitations into state politics, especially since the state itself is a colonial creation. He explains that state discourses of 'reconciliation', 'integration' and 'synthesis' are just stand-ins for the continued project to denigrate, depoliticize, and ultimately destroy Indigenous ways of being in the world. For this reason, we must always ask ourselves what the repercussions of knowledge synthesis in Africa are. On whose terms does such synthesis take place and for what purpose? What is required is an honest process of knowledge contest, exchange, and mixing from both state and Indigenous leaders, practices and systems.

The recently passed United Nations Declaration for the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, to which all fifty four African states are signatories, has provided a

constitutional framework for the promotion of Indigenous governance. The Declaration's preamble states that its drafters were guided by the

> …urgent need to respect and promote the inherent rights of [I]ndigenous peoples which derive from their political, economic and social structures and from their cultures, spiritual traditions, histories and philosophies, especially their rights to their land, territories and resources (United Nations, 2008, p. 2).

Given the failures of international law to bring about social justice in the so-called "post-independence" period, and African peoples growing disenchantment with the toothless nature of UN declarations, it remains to be seen if the Declaration can facilitate Indigenous/state synthesis.

A more likely site of synthesis is the realm of conflict mediation, especially in rural areas where the African state has formal jurisdiction but the majority of people show their primary allegiance to Indigenous governing systems. William Zartman echoes many African scholars in pointing out the irony of conflict mediation in Africa. He notes that Indigenous leaders are often imagined in the West to be 'tribalists' who create conflict, while in reality they are often the ones "keeping the heart of society in harmony while imported overlays such as states and currencies are collapsing in conflict around them" (Zartman, 2000, p. 1). As Zartman and many African scholars before him have identified, conflict prevention and mediation is a key area where Indigenous/state synthesis is needed. Where African states – funded and directed by their Western handlers – have the tendency to handle conflict with a heavy hand, Indigenous governing principles encourage dialogue and non-violent intervention.

In an era where African states rely more on military and police violence than diplomacy, proven mediation processes used by the Igbo, Oromo, Dinka, Fulbe, Akan, and Buems are needed now more than ever. In the absence of a Western-modeled state system, traces of successful conflict mediation processes can be seen in Somalia. Nonetheless, conflict management and negotiation in Somalia remain sophisticated art forms. However, such art forms may not be readily identified as being related to conflict management and negotiation. As one scholar has observed, "the highly acclaimed art of poetry in Somalia, for instance, can be a forceful weapon for promoting peace or inciting war" (Menkhaus, 2000, p. 184). In Somali culture, poetry holds within a persuasive and conversational function. It is used to build relationships and act as a 'language of diplomacy'. It can bring the most unlikely foes to the same table of dialogue and debate. Unlike the tribalized image of Somalia presented by popular Western media, Somali traditions value and place great emphasis in the power of non-violent conflict mediation. This commitment to non-violent conflict intervention is upheld by proverbs, which are often evoked to de-escalate local conflicts and remind stakeholders of their commitment to discussion over physical aggression. One of such proverbs upholds that "the solution to a conflict is talking about the conflict" (Menkhaus, 2000, p. 183).

Given that elders play an important role in Indigenous approaches to conflict mediation, and tend to be respected by all stakeholders in a given conflict, African

states can begin the synthesis process by establishing national councils of elders to act in place of supreme courts. These councils would provide national direction, a screening mechanism for legislation, and mediate conflicts that threaten the state's stability. Elders who serve on such councils would be drawn from different regions in order to comprise a balanced representation of the nation. Given their dedication to traditional practices, they would also provide the necessary checks and balances on the overwhelmingly Eurocentric nature of state approaches to conflict mediation, which favors top-down decision making and armed repression. Ultimately, the Indigenous emphasis on eldership is meant to measure one's ability to mediate conflict by their experiences in the world, wisdom, spiritual commitment, and archive of previous conflicts of a similar nature. This criteria for measuring mediation skills is far more legitimate than the state's investment of mediation power in an arbitrarily selected class of bureaucrats. In order for Indigenous/state synthesis to be effective in conflict mediation, chiefs have to be restored to the politicized positions they once held prior to colonial distortions of their office. The growing trend of customary laws being integrated into the state system while chiefs are sidelined is both insufficient and contradictory to the principles of elder-directed mediation (Ramutsindela, 2011). Indigenous laws and processes are inseparable from the leaders selected to enact them.

A third and somewhat unrelated site of possible Indigenous/state synthesis is the rural school system. In Ghana, the Asantehene has assumed greater jurisdiction over schooling by creating the Otumfuo Education Fund, an international fund contributed to by Ashantis living at home and abroad and other philanthropists.[11] The Fund has alleviated much of the financial burden placed on the state, and sustains educational infrastructure, teacher training and scholarships for minoritized youth. The Asantehene has further stretched his jurisdiction by ensuring the fund benefits non-Ashanti children as well. While delivering his keynote address to the Fourth African Development Forum in 2004, Otumfuo Osei Tutu II stressed the importance in Indigenous leaders working together to benefit all Ghanaians, not just their particular nations. He boasted that "beneficiaries have not come from Asante alone, but also from the other nine regions of Ghana, irrespective of their gender" (African Development Forum, 2004). At the time of his keynote address, over 2,000 children had benefited from the Otumfuo Fund nation-wide. Maybe, the most useful aspect of the fund is that it allows the Asantehene – and other Indigenous leadership – greater leverage in deciding what, why, and how curriculum is developed and implemented. The Asantehene has been expressive about his interest in curriculum that better incorporates pedagogical traditions and applied learning in line with ancestral custom. Lastly, the Fund has helped bridge the disparity between funding for rural and urban schooling, creating a base of resources to infuse into alternative rural sites of Indigenous education.

No matter where African leaders begin the process of synthesizing Indigenous and state knowledges and practices, it is clear that such synthesis needs to happen. First, though, the ways in which synthesis can occur must be better studied and theorized.

The establishment of "Institutes for Indigenous Knowledges and Governance" would provide a significant first step in the right direction, while forging an intellectual space of inquiry, debate and implementation.

CONCLUSION: TOWARDS THE POLITICS OF RECOGNITION OR REVOLUTION?

What are the pitfalls of traditional institutions seeking recognition from the state? History has proven that the state is willing to celebrate resurgent sites of Indigenous tradition, but still appears unwilling to share real governing power with them. The relegation of Indigenous cultural practices to the realm of state 'multiculturalism' or 'ceremony' has served to depoliticize them. In Canada, we have seen the ways in which multiculturalism operates as both a mechanism of peripheral inclusion for marginalized groups and as means of ensuring the centrality of whiteness to both nation and state. Ironically, we can trace some of the same purposes of governing synthesis in Africa. Only instead of ensuring the centrality of just whiteness, governing synthesis is used as a framework to silence Indigenous governance and preserve the hegemony of the African state. This problem has long kept Indigenist scholars skeptical of claims to cultural 'synthesis', 'exchange' or 'hybridity' between Indigenous peoples and the Westphalian state. Through which institutional and cultural alternatives to the state become included in celebrations of national diversity but still excluded from meaningful power sharing. They become included in tourism brochures, Independence Day parades, arts and culture festivals, and held up as exoticized contributors to communities of cultural difference. What is clearly missing from this approach to cultural difference are the joint questions of which groups have self-governing power, and how they choose to organize it?

As Glen Coulthard (2007) asked in the context of the Indigenous peoples of Turtle Island, if Indigenous governance is dependent on the colonial state for recognition, how sovereign are these systems and do they still remain within colonial relations of power? Following Fanon's (1967) observation that the colonized are psychically conditioned to seek validation from the colonizer (even while resisting them), Coulthard argues that Indigenous governance can only decolonize when it no longer requires state recognition to be considered valid. He tells us that when "'recognition' is conceived as something that is ultimately 'granted'… or 'accorded' to a subaltern group or entity by a dominant group or entity … [this] prefigures its failure to significantly modify, let alone transcend, the breadth of power at play in colonial relationships" (Coulthard, 2007, pp. 5-6). Coulthard identifies the state as a vehicle for capitalist-modernity and its pernicious attack on Indigenous ways of being. Through the African state's surveillance and policing of culture, "Indigenous subjects are *always* being interpellated by recognition, being constructed by colonial discourse, or being assimilated by imperial power structures" (Coulthard, 2007, p. 453).

What are the possibilities of Indigenous/state synthesis, especially keeping in mind Coulthard's warning that any Indigenous/state governing synthesis runs counter to the anti-colonial project and decolonization? In the second leg of Africa's

decolonization, the continent's past will figure prominently in how we choose to decolonize. Nearly fifty years ago Fanon prophesized the revolutionary potential of Indigeneity in designing an anti-colonial future:

> The colonized man who writes for his people ought to use the past with the intention of opening the future, as an invitation to action and a basis of hope. But to ensure that hope and to give it form, he must take part in action and throw himself body and soul into the national struggle (Fanon, 1966, p. 232).

In line with the Fanonian call to "use the past with the intention of opening the future", scholars and activists in support of Indigenous governance must think more critically about how it can be used to forward the decolonizing project, while also Indigenizing the African state wherever possible; we must take more seriously the notion that our future is open to be shaped, negotiated and designed based on the pedagogical wealth of our past.

NOTES

1. Given our own location in Toronto, a colonized geography over which the Mississaugas of New Credit have inherent sovereignty, it is important to mention that the Canadian state – which traces its colonial origin back to the British Crown – continues to displace and co-opt traditional political authorities through its creation of the Band Council system (1867). For a closer reading on this see the work of Taiaiake Alfred (2009; 2009b).
2. We would also agree with those who believe decolonization to be an ongoing process rather than an arrival. We suggest working with a definition of the term that motivates us to imagine and aim for a fully decolonized future, even if unattainable.
3. In theorizing Indigeneity we draw specifically from Taiaiake Alfred's concept of *anarcho-Indigenism* (2005, 45) and Ngugi wa Thiongo's *quest for relevance* (1986, 87), which he uses to name the importance of Indigenous languages in allowing African's to identify, name and theorize their place in the world. Both writers have been instrumental in bridging anti-colonial praxis with the recovery of traditional languages, values, epistemologies, and spirituality.
4. See Ayittey (2006) for a more succinct examination of Indigenous governing structures.
5. Given the exclusionary gendering of the term we can extend this principle to include female ancestors as well.
6. This happens daily through prayer, libations, offerings, and even the ancestors returning in the form of new life.
7. In contrast to the frantic efforts by American authorities to stop the oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico, Nigerian state officials continue to display remarkably lax regulations to prevent spills. Even , as John Vidal reported in 2010, "more oil is spilled from the delta's network of terminals, pipes, pumping stations and oil platforms every year than has been lost in the Gulf of Mexico" (Vidal, 2010).
8. Ubuntu is a worldview articulated in Southern Africa's bantu languages. It espouses a culture of mutual kindness, understanding and respect. Ubuntu is based on a belief in the fundamental relationality of humanity, while endorsing a politics that seeks the greatest good for the greatest number. Some argue that Ubuntu is inherently socialist in relation to decision making, through which every individual's opinion is equally sought, heard and weighted in relation to others.
9. It is curious, however, that chiefs can be appointed to bureaucratic positions by a member of the state.
10. The Otumfuo Fund operates on a scale of suggested donations, with those Ashanti's living in the United States expected to pay $60 per year, compared with 200 cedis – or 3 cents – per month for those at home.

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ISAAC NORTEY DARKO

12. WALK AND TALK IN SOLIDARITY

A Canadian Experience On The Need For A Purposeful Coalition Between Aboriginals/Natives And African Immigrants: What's In For Africa's Development?

INTRODUCTION

In this paper, I center Indigenous Knowledge and Indigenous histories as pedagogical tools for engaging Aboriginals and settler communities in Canada, in particular the possibilities of drawing settlers of color from Africa to engage in solidarity work with First Nations people of Canada. This alliance may present a significant boost in the fight against systemic inequalities, human and infrastructural deficits in the lives of these two groups. Directly or indirectly, such collaboration and awareness would have developmental implications especially for Africa as it would not only raise wakefulness on shared challenges that confront Aboriginals and African immigrants, but provide strategies on how to meet those challenges. Additionally, it has direct economic, political and social implications for Africa. In the economic sense for example, studies have shown that remittances sent by 31 million international African migrants reached nearly $40 billion in 2010, equivalent to 2.6 percent of Africa's gross domestic product (GDP) (Mohapatra & Ratha, 2011). This means situations that may affect the financial status of immigrants would directly affect developmental goals on the continent. In another instance, the continuous interference in the political and religious institutions of the Aboriginal population in Canada is a clear example of what is happening in several parts of Africa, where Western powers seek to directly and indirectly impose their standards on local people. When these happen, local communities lose their sense of identity, and a new form of intellectual, spiritual and mental colonialism occurs.

I engage in this discussion as an Indigenous African student currently pursuing my doctoral education in Canada. As a graduate student who draws on his traditional Ghanaian heritage, I understand the effects and implications of schooling within colonial structures, especially the tendency of colonial education to dismiss and delegitimize the spiritual knowings of a learner. For indigenous and Aboriginal students whose values and worldviews are grounded on indigenous spirituality, such colonizing educational environments can be de-spiriting and dehumanizing. Understandably, I was born in an era where Ghana was politically independent with its own flag, currency, and system of government, yet the schooling system in Ghana was still structured on Western values, worldviews, and culture. Similar

A. Asabere-Ameyaw et al., Indigenist African Development and Related Issues, 203–215.

to the experience of George Dei and Paul Adjei (see Dei 2004; Adjei 2007), I went through an education system that taught me to be more of a European, Canadian, and an American than a Ghanaian. Thus the colonial classroom in Ghana was also a battlefield for many indigenous students; it was a battlefield to fight for survival of our souls, sanity, and spirit selves (Adjei, 2007). There is no doubt that this knowledge and experience of colonial education has armed me with deep understanding of the violent effects of colonial education on Aboriginal students. While these experiences of colonial education might have exposed me to similar experiences about how Aboriginal people may feel towards colonial education, it nonetheless has not made me an expert on Aboriginal issues; thus, my approach to this essay is with great humility of knowing and humility of not knowing all the answers.

The central aim of this paper among other things is to acknowledge the different unique experiences of Aboriginal people and immigrants of color from Africa in relation to colonial rule, sovereignty, land and property, nationhood, freedom, governance, and the settler community in Canada. In addition, I hope to open a dialogue between Aboriginals and African immigrants on the possibilities of working together as allies in the struggle to challenge and address colonial issues within Canadian as well as African schooling and education. Yes, the different experiences are evident (Lawrence & Amadahy, 2009), but I hope this paper will go beyond simply outlining these unique global desolations and examine these similar experiences as living histories and tools for building coalition against oppression and racism.

European colonization has had similar repercussions on Indigenous communities around the world. The loss of land, property, culture, language, and the constant reification of colonial policies that control and exploit the lives of Indigenous people worldwide especially in North America and Africa cannot be underemphasized. Constant reminders of our past, present, and future discourses as Indigenous people reinforce the need for coalition building. Even though European colonialists encourage certain types of forgetfulness, these histories would never be forgotten or disregarded (Hooks, 2002). Aboriginals and Africans are usually asked to forget or disregard colonialism and its repercussions in order to move forward. My question is: can Europeans also forget or disregard those falsified, coerced, and indoctrinated agreements signed with our forefathers that gave them control over indigenous lands, property and resources? Why must certain histories be forgotten whiles others remain intact? This paper presents the need for an overdue conversation and action plan among Aboriginals and immigrants from Africa for two main reasons: Shared Spirituality (Ontological) and shared experiences with regard to Colonialism. The outcome is what Hooks (2002) notes "sharing a common cause assists individuals and groups in maintaining relationships that transcends their differences" (p. 344).

WHAT COMPLICATES THIS RELATIONSHIP TOWARDS SOLIDARITY BUILDING?

In spite of the historical evidence on similar experiences and beliefs (colonial rule and spirituality respectively) among Aboriginals and Immigrants from Africa, one

cannot deny the presence of agents that complicate relationships and solidarity works in general. This tension I believe is one that is inevitably based on historical considerations and coloniality. As Thobani (2007) suggests, the nation-state through the crotchets of colonialism and liberalism (i.e. multiculturalism) position bodies in a hierarchical relation to each other. This complicates relations between Aboriginals and immigrants and raises a number of questions as to what it means for immigrants to be positioned in relation to the exalted nation. What would it mean for people of color (immigrants) to assert rights and citizenship, belonging in a settler colony like Canada? How is this antithetical to indigenous sovereignty? How do settlers challenge the project of colonialism given politically constituted multicultural identities? How can we pedagogically examine relations between Aboriginals and settlers, especially settlers of color? What can be done and what is the way forward? It's also important to note that migration cannot be easily collapsed into the settler category considering the facts that migration (particularly forced migration) is often a response of people who have been colonized and/or dispossessed of their prior livelihoods. Although most immigrants are implicated in the colonial project as nationals, Sharma and Wright (2010) have critiqued the essence in collapsing various migrations (e.g. the history of colonial trade in indentured Asian laborers and African slaves, as well as contemporary temporary migrant worker programs) into a general 'colonizing' position –e.g. Dua and Lawrence (2009). It becomes more complicated in the case of Canada as relations between Aboriginals and African immigrants had a different shape compared to similar relations in the United States (Lawrence & Amadahy, 2009). The question that comes up in the Canadian contest is whether former African slaves, who were forcibly moved from their native lands and enslaved in another, could claim to be true settlers? In general, our (African immigrants and Aboriginal) relationships are affected by the historic construction of political identities that complicate the project of decolonization. Moving forward in solidarity and coalition, settlers of color must start by accepting responsibility and acknowledge aboriginals as owners of the land. Whether with a known or unknown Indigenous heritage, the histories and stories are there to prove that people of color (blacks) migrated from the motherland (Africa) whether forced or voluntary (hooks, 2002). This migration dates back to the pre Columbus era. It transpires that even though most black people struggle for survival in Canada, it would not be appropriate to do so at the back of the Aboriginal people. Acknowledging the ongoing colonization of Aboriginal people in Canada must therefore be an integral part of the struggles for decolonization (Dua and Lawrence, 2009). In this sense, anti-colonialism must not be separated from anti-repressive campaigns such as anti-racism. It becomes very significant to include Aboriginal people's perspectives in post-colonial and anti-racism works especially in Canada. One other issue that complicates this relationship is the unwillingness of some black immigrants as well as Aboriginals who seem apathetic or don't want to talk about their experiences. Some Individual immigrants and Aboriginals may find it unnecessary to engage in such relationships for various reasons. In other words, for solidarity to work, Black immigrants and Aboriginals must deconstruct their

"posture innocence – the ways in which both Black and indigenous people may insist that the primacy of their own suffering and powerlessness is so unique and all-encompassing that it erases even the possibility of their maintaining relationships of oppression relative to another group" (Razack, 2004, p.14). The question is, how do we educate new immigrants and non Aboriginal Canadians especially from Africa, on Aboriginal relations in the spirit of mutual respect? How can we (as settlers) fit into the history of Aboriginals through education?

WHY THE TALK?

Solidarity is never a new concept to Indigenous communities around the world. Symbols, and teachings of elders/leaders in many Indigenous communities promote communal and none exclusive living among members. Individualism and discord were strange concepts to many Indigenous communities. For example ownership to land and property was usually on communal bases. This was the mantra for community development. It nurtured development on the notion of harnessing the potentials of the whole community not as individuals but as one collective body. Shared ownership of community properties ensured communal responsibility and accountability. The present several exclusivist divisions were created with the introduction of colonial rule and a shift to the capitalist controlled system. In the ensuing lines, I argue for coalition building among Aboriginals and Immigrants from Africa because of the similar spiritual, historical and present experiences shared by the two groups. In this context, I ask the question: what has solidarity got to do with Africa's development? What have African immigrants got to do with Aboriginal concerns? Indeed, settler states in America and Canada are "founded on, and maintained through, policies of direct extermination, displacement or assimilation" (Lawrence & Dua 2005, p. 123). To ensure efficiency at coalition building, it is necessary to engage postcolonial, Indigenous and antiracist theorists to understand Canada as a colonialist state founded on the "backs" of Native peoples sovereignty (Lawrence & Dua, 2005). Solidarity offers a greater chance at moving forward with the decolonization process. It presents the greatest front in deconstructing, interrogating, and challenging imperial and colonial oppressive policies and knowledge that turns to represent Natives and Indigenous cultures as the other (Dei, 2001).

SHARED ONTOLOGICAL WORLD VIEW – SPIRITUALITY AND CULTURAL HISTORIES

Aboriginals and Immigrants from Africa need to work together because we share similar ontological views of the world. This view recognizes "the sacredness of activities and acknowledges the communication that exists with the living, the dead, and even the unborn. It accepts limitations of the human sense to comprehend everything. Such beliefs are embedded on the notion that "there exist mysterious forces beyond human capacities and senses which have direct control over

humankind" (Darko, 2009, p. 30). Spirituality becomes an inseparable feature of relations between Aboriginals and settlers of color. It is an integral part of any possible discussion towards coalition building among Natives and African immigrants in Canada. Aboriginals and many Indigenous communities in Africa share similar histories, experiences and stories on creation, environment, nature of humans and our relationships to one another, nature and the universe. Even though, some of these stories may differ in specifics, they share common principles, understandings, as well as mystical and spiritual ties that bring people together. They share common values, delivered through oral storytelling usually by Elders as well as mystical and spiritual ties that keep communities together. For example, the stories around the spider in creation and daily routine are shared by many indigenous communities around the world (including Aboriginals in Canada and indigenous communities in Ghana – "Akan" tribe specifically). The belief in higher gods, natural and supernatural forces strongly upheld by many Indigenous communities in Africa is also shared with Natives in America and Canada. These views are entrenched in community practices, institutions, relationships, rituals and ceremonies (CFIKS, 2009).

Indigenous people especially from Africa and North America, hold views that emphasize the need to find meanings in life beyond "science". Hooks (2005) commenting on Native reception and acceptance of African immigrants even before Columbus notes that, "Not just because, as Jose Marti had written, "the same blow that paralyzes the Indian, cripples us", but because similar ontological understandings of the world united the two groups. Always aware that ancestor acknowledgment was vital to the sustaining of culture and community," new world" Africans and Native Americans shared belief systems" (p. 180). Canadian Aboriginals and Indigenous people around the world practice and promote a life that ensures equal respect for all people. These world views were depicted in artifacts, multilingual tribes and the daily lives of Indigenous people. These views also established the bases of the relationship that existed between native and settler communities. For example, the Two-Row wampum belt illustrates the kind of relationship that should exist between the Natives and the White settler communities. I must say at this point that using the Two-Row Wampum for relations between Aboriginals and people of color is contextualized. What I mean is, even though the Two-Row Wampum centers on relationships between settlers from Europe and Haudenosaunee (see Martin, 2006, p.47), no comparable wampum between indigenous people and settlers of color exists. What therefore remains is how Aboriginals would determine the bases for their relationship with settlers of color. From discussions in class (SES 2999-Centering Indigenous-Settler Solidarity in Theory and Research, OISE, Winter 2010/2011), I realized the principles underlining the Two-Row Wampum belt transcends race and ethnicity. The relationship was based on peace, friendship, and respect for each other's culture and internal affairs (Borrows, 1997). Adopting these principles to determine relations with all settlers in Canada, especially settlers of color, would be a great idea. Similarly, this principle is reflected in other indigenous communities around the world. For example, a Nigerian Indigenous proverb reads "One does not

love if one does not accept others". Indigenous people hold the ontological belief to live at peace with all men and nature. There is the need to realize that indigenous communities, both in Africa and Canada still hold on to ways that teach individuals to pay more attention to the unity in their milieu, and develop respect towards each person, be kind to the environment and acknowledge our ancestors. Lawrence and Amadahy (2009) noted that the most fundamental principle of Indigenous communities around the world is "human interdependence with other life-forms in non-hierarchical ways. Creation stories "emphasized the interdependence of two-legged (human beings) with plants, animals, the sun, moon, and the land itself" (p.116). By centering Indigenous spirituality, it becomes evident that Aboriginals and the Settler community in Canada, especially settlers of color from Africa can build a strong coalition that will immensely affect ongoing decolonization research and actions. Hooks (2002) also notes, "in keeping with the spirit of ancestor acknowledgement, the memory of earlier communion between Africans and Native Americans laid the groundwork of an interaction based on mutual respect and reciprocity" (p.181).

It is also necessary to understand the context under which African immigrants came into contact with Aboriginals in North America. There are many ways in which communication between two individuals may begin. It could start with something simple as a question, shared hobbies, games and interests. Others may begin communication as opponents on the different sides of an argument. In all these instances, a conversation takes place. For Africans and Aboriginals in North America, the contact was the results of shared cultures and the understanding of humanity's place in the universe. Culture determines the place of an individual or community in the universe. To share in similar culture with someone ties your destinies, actions and inactions together. In the words of Chinook, leader Chief Seattle, "even before Africans journeyed to the 'new world', their destiny was linked to that of Native Americans" (see Hooks, 2002, p.180). According to Hooks (2002), Africans who sojourned to the Americas, even before Columbus, were never regarded as strangers to the land. Citing Ivan Sertima in "they came Before Columbus," hooks further notes that "these Africans brought with them ways of knowing akin to that of Native American people –a reverence for nature, for life, for ancestors" (p.180). Africans and Natives shared similar views on the universe, hence the former recognized their common destiny with the Native people who happily received, sheltered and fed them as brothers and sisters. Hooks (2002) also notes that the Africans "did not come to command, to take over, to dominate, or to colonize. They were not eager to sever their ties with memory; they had not forgotten their ancestors. These African explorers returned home peaceably after a time of communion with Native Americans" (p.181). These histories on Natives and early African explorers outline the unique relationship that existed and must exist between the two groups, a relationship that was built on mutual respect and reverence for spirituality, communion, and a collectively shared ontological view on the world.

There are many variables that support a unique spiritual understanding of the world as shared by many Indigenous communities around the world. Healing practices among these communities is a vital example. Aboriginals and immigrants of "color" from Africa have a wide range of methods of healing rooted in spiritual, religious, and continuous activities that serves to "integrate the community and provide individuals with systems of meaning to make sense of suffering" (Kirmayer, Simpson & Cargo, 2003, p.16). The healing process among indigenous communities is linked to their understanding of the human being. The Being is understood as an energy force; hence the human being is the immediate manifestation of a spiritual power or force. Healing is centered on balance, harmony within and between the mental, emotional, spiritual, and physical aspects of individuals and societies as a whole. In this sense, any physical infirmity has a link to a deeper spiritual concern. Also among many African indigenous communities (using Ghana and Nigeria as an example), "sickness does not only mean the pains in the physical body or the malfunctioning of cells in the body. The concept, though complex, indicates an imbalance within the human being and the community that must be healed or reconnected" (Darko, 2009, p.74). Healing, therefore, becomes a harmonious effort to restore wholeness to an individual and his/her relationships with the physical, psychological, social, moral, economic, political, and spiritual. This explains the numerous rituals, music, sacrifices, dances, talking circles (Prairie cultures of Canada), prayers, feast, fasting, naming ceremonies, funerals, burnings and other ceremonies undertaken by the shamans, herbalists, spiritualists, or heads of clans in many indigenous communities. These numerous practices are undertaken to ensure the constant and harmonious relations between the living, dead and nature. Spirituality therefore remains an important base for calling for solidarity among Aboriginals and Immigrants from Africa.

SHARED COLONIAL HISTORIES AND THEIR IMPACT ON NATIVE AND AFRICAN PEOPLES' WAYS OF LIFE.

African immigrants and Aboriginals must engage in solidarity talks and discussions because of shared similar colonial histories (Imperialism). Undoubtedly, the impact of colonial rule among Aboriginals and Africans differs in degree. In this context also, I would like to situate myself as an immigrant from Ghana, who also experienced the effects of colonization on Indigenous Ghanaian people and their ways of life. My discussion on shared colonial histories would therefore be discussed in the context of the Ghanaian experience with the colonizer. As argued by Dei (2004), Ghanaian students were taught histories 1800 miles away from their land; similarly, Epp (2003) noted the burden colonial histories had placed on him as a white settler, "a history I didn't know or understand since it was never taught in school: the history of how my people, the people of European ancestry, came to North America, colonized the inhabitants, and ended up with their land" (p.xiv). The experiences of slavery, murder, rape, exploitation and dehumanization of Africans and Native peoples by European colonizer*s* in the earliest part of history can never be erased from history.

Talking of injustices by colonial Europe, Africans are bitterly reminded of the partition of Africa among European nations around 1898-1899 (Newbury 1962; Hyam, 1964; Touval, 1966;, Buah, 1980). Africans were not involved, nor consulted in what happened to their land. Families along the Ghanaian, Togo and Ivory Coast boarders were divided by boundaries established by these European powers. 'Legal' documents and laws in the form of Constitutions such as the 1916 Clifford constitution, 1925 Gordon Guggisberg constitution and Alan Burn 1946 constitution of the then Gold Coast, defined who a Ghanaian is and is not (Ward, 1958; Buah, 1980; Owusu-Ansah & McFarland, 1995,) a definition based on the Colonizer's ideologies and understanding without any consideration or consultation of the local Ghanaian person. Traditional chiefs who had been duly crowned under the traditions and customs of Indigenous ethnic groups were replaced with colonial residential chief commissioners who had no lineage to chieftaincy within the different communities. The confusion and conflicts this change brought to governance (at both community and family levels) among indigenous Ghanaian people were regrettable. The Native Jurisdiction Ordinance of 1878, among other things set out the procedures of election and "disposal of chiefs and the hierarchy of traditional rulers in the country" (Buah, 1998, p. 107). With such ordinances in place, the positions, respect, dignity and sacred offices of chiefs (as both spiritual and physical heads) was highly threatened. These ordinances also sought to establish Eurocentric patriarchal principles in Ghanaian societies, where the political, economic and social powers of the Queen Mother became erased. In many pre-colonial traditional communities, the Queen Mother worked in consultation with the king makers, but was the most instrumental person in the selection and enstoolment of a new King or Chief. However, with the introduction of modern governance and the subsequent appointment and imposition of some chiefs by the colonial authority, the role of the Queen Mother just became that of a ceremonial. Personally, I regard these actions to be deliberate moves by the colonizers to control both the human and natural resources of the people. By false pretence, lands and resources of the local people were stolen in falsified acquiescence. While local languages were discouraged as a lingua franca, English was imposed on local people. It was enforced and promoted as the only medium through which Indigenes could cope with the wave of change. The local peoples' ways of knowing and understanding the world including spirituality and oral tradition, were discouraged and blacklisted as inappropriate, savage and unscientific. Indigenes were indoctrinated to disrespect their own chiefs and elders whilst acknowledging the leadership of the Queen of Britain whom they had never seen. Whenever anyone tried to resist, the person was branded insane, unconverted, savage and either sold into slavery, thrown into jail or sent to colonial modeled schools, or a mental institution, where he/she was taught discipline through excruciating work and punishments. Indigenous Ghanaian communities were forced in many occasions to abandon fundamental tenets as a people. Individualism replaced communal living; government appointed judges

replaced local leaders who were seen as representing the gods on earth; exclusivity replaced equality and respect.

Anyone familiar with Aboriginal scholarships and histories who read these accounts will see the connection between Colonial Indigenous Ghanaian societies and Colonial Aboriginal communities. First is the question of the land, Altamirano-Jimenez (2008) argues that the politics of ordering and disrupting of Indigenous territories was the cause of numerous contested geographical constructions in North America. To him, Euro-centricity in the caricature social scientist, political scientist stressed the prominence of United States of America and Canada by "applying dichotomies such as First/Third World, North America/Latin America, and global North/global South to the political field" (p.177). He further notes that "the redefinition of boarders, the construction of colonial societies, and the homogenization/division of what is "Indigenous" and who is and is not part of the "national" geographical spaces, as well as the efforts to disentangle North American histories, have undermined Indigenous diversity and interconnections, and promoted a racially divided concept of North America" (p.176). To him, "the process of negotiating and imposing borders and constructing differences created a complex hierarchy of peoples that continues to exist today in subtle forms. This hierarchy grouped or homogenized people into new racial categories that defined them in relation to colonial history" (p.178). This created a cluster of problems that even continue to exist today among Aboriginals as to "who has a legitimate right to define his or her identity and by what criteria, and by whose definition this assertion may or may not be true" (p. 178).

It is disheartening to even read about such laws and acts made by colonial Europe to regulate even the most intimate matters in life. Laws determining who to marry in order to get "status" for one's children, sex discrimination laws, residential schools and the creation of reserves for Aboriginal people always remind us of the brutish rule of the colonizer. For example, residential schools altered the sexual division of labor in patriarchal ways which made men and women adapt to economic change with a mixture of traditional and contemporary methods especially in agriculture (Cannon, 2006). Clubine (as quoted in Cannon, 2006, p.42) notes "men were [being] taught farming skills such as how to clear land and hold a plow, [and] women, under the tutelage of the missionaries' wives and daughters were [being] taught 'civilized' domestic skills." These "Paternistic", Eurocentric intensions of the colonizer became evident in policies and laws, with the creation of reservations in parts of Canada (Cannon, 2006). According to Jameison (1986), these reserves were created to put into effect "British-agricultural-Christian patterns of behavior upon Native communities" (see also Martin, 2006, p. 45). Jamieson (1986) further notes that the stature of the 1869 Act which states that "Indian women should be subject to their husbands: In law, their children were to be his alone" was another way of establishing patriarchal principles on Indian reserves in Canada (see Martin, 2006, p.49). Martin (2006) also notes that laws such as the Indian Act of 1850 "introduced

a legal classification that did not recognize the linguistic and cultural differences among the Indigenous populations of Canada" (p.44). "Qualifying" for a legal status in Canada required a native to give up his/her Indian status. What this ended up producing was status and non-status Indians and a racialized and institutionalized categorization of Natives in Canada. Martin (2006) reiterates:

> The creation of the category "status Indian" also created its opposite: non-status Indian. This became of some consequence when, in 1857, the focus of policy shifted to something called enfranchisement in An Act for the Gradual Civilization of the Indian Tribes in this Province and to Amend the Law Respecting Indians (S.C. 1857, c.26). The purpose here was to assimilate the Indians of Canada. The premise was simple: upon meeting certain criteria, First Nations men who were literate, free of debt, and of good moral character could (along with their "dependents") give up Indian Act status and become legal persons, accorded all the rights and privileges of ordinary, civilized Euro-Canadians"(p.45) also see (Tobias, 1983, p. 42).

These imposed laws affected the family organization as well as wealth acquisition and governance structure among Natives. The patriarchal agenda of the colonizer, "held the potential to reorganize kinship structures that were once matrilocal and matrilineal" (ibid). Martin notes:

> It was through law that indigenous men retained their entitlement to Indian status, along with an ability to bestow it, regardless of whom they married. Women, on the other hand, lost the official means to uphold their traditional status in some societies, especially in once matrilineal ones. Through the late 19th century, First Nations were quite simply being re-socialized into Eurocentric systems of kinship organization. (p.49)

Unquestionably, European colonizers adopted many divide and rule, as well as intimidating actions as part of their strategies in exploiting Native people in Canada and the rest of the world. These actions had very devastating effects on Native history. Martin (2006) for example, notes the dissolve and subsequent padlock of the hereditary council office of the Six Nations as a result of the Thompson report against chief Deskaheh who requested that the spirit of early Wampum and nation-to-nation agreements made between Haudenosaunee and the British Crown be honoured (p.46). This action took a substantial amount of power from Natives. Freeman (2000) also noted that "In attempt to protect themselves from the aggressive proselytization of the Euro-American missionaries, the Anishinabeg were forced to relinquish a fundamental tenet of their own world view and become, in turn, exclusivists themselves" (p.369). Freeman (2000) further noted the cunning nature by which treaties were signed with the local Natives to have control over their lands and properties and also "reinforced the Euro-Canadian conviction that Aboriginal people could only survive if they abandoned their culture and assimilate into the mainstream society" (p.374).

SOME IMPLICATIONS ON AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT

As indicated earlier in this paper, collaboration between Aboriginal and African immigrants in Canada would have a far greater economic, social, political and mental consequence to developments in Africa. Such collaboration will serve as a platform to develop and share strategies necessary in decolonizing present institutions in many African countries. For example, most African governments can replicate the Inuit language Protection Act which is the only Act in Canada that aims to protect and revitalize first Nations peoples' language. The objective is to increase and encourage the use of native languages and also increase the population who can speak and read their language fluently in Nunavut. To ensure the success of this initiative, a cabinet position of Minister of Languages was created under the act (S. Nu, 2008; Inutiq, & Bertrand 2008). The process of achieving this goal started with the creation of a new Language Authority with the power to establish language standards by September 2009 - the Inuit Uqausinginnik Taiguusiliuqtii. Additionally it was established that by 2011, an Inuit will have the right to work for the Government of Nunavut in their own language (ibid). By 2012, it would be obligatory for municipalities to offer services in the Inuit language; by 2019, all school grades will have the right to an Inuit language education (Nu, 2008; Inutiq, & Bertrand 2008)). Furthermore public and the private sectors would be obligated to offer essential services in the Inuit language. This includes emergency, rescue, health, medical, pharmaceutical, household, residential, and hospitality services in all municipalities (ibid). Although this arrangement pertains to Nunavummiut, it is the beginning of an overdue process that will bring to the forefront the viability of Indigenous knowledges in governance and social organization in the whole of Canada. Many African nations could learn and initiate new policies and institutions or strengthen already existing ones, backed by the constitution, to enforce the use of local languages and knowledge in the daily administration of local communities. Not only will the use of local languages expand the human development potential of communities, but also help validate local peoples' culture and histories. In most developing nations in Africa, the use of local languages will help facilitate the youth to adult transmission of knowledge, i.e. the younger generation would have the capacity (in terms of language) to communicate modern developments, which a section of the adult population especially those who cannot read, speak or write English or French (predominant colonial languages) may not have the capability to understand. As a matter of fact, when this happens, education will not be confided to the classrooms but would be community oriented. Moreover, this may further go a long way to affect the social institutions of African societies. Societal organization as such religion, spirituality, family, marriage, ceremonies/rituals, recreation, and governance would be structured in accordance with the traditions, beliefs and general culture of the populace. This will avoid the several societal institution conflicts that do characterize most previously colonized African nations.

CONCLUSION

Present inequity, discrimination and marginalization against Native people and immigrants across Canada, calls for coalition in solidarity. It is very necessary for both parties, especially immigrants, to know their responsibility to Indigenous communities in Canada. Colonial experiences left a legacy that places Indigenous communities that shared ontological perspectives of the world at each other's throats. What behoves on us (as Indigenous people) is to diffuse the Eurocentric outlook on life that creates hierarchies, and disregard ancestral and reverence for the spirit. Through Colonialism, Indigenous communities have lost most parts of their culture and place in the universe (relationship to the land, people and environment). The experience from the Cheslatta T'en in Northern British Columbia and the study by Zainab Amadahy (2008) show that a strong alliance between Aboriginals and immigrants or non Aboriginals can result in great solidarity leading to political and economic change for Aboriginal and marginalized people in Canada (Larsen, 2003). My contribution as an educator is to advocate and practice a pedagogy that looks beyond empathy for Indigenous communities and seeks to decolonize the classroom.

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13. INDIGENIST AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT AND RELATED ISSUES FROM A TRANSDISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVE

Towards A Conclusion

If "development" has secured a bad name in Africa it is because the promise of deliverance from social poverty and economic misery has failed the local population. Development experts have rightly been criticised for offering wrong diagnosis and policy prescriptions not in tune with local aspirations and hopes. There has been a failure on the part of the so-called experts to listen to differing and counter views and voices that can help engender a new understanding of what it is that we are all trying to accomplish by 'development'. In fact, even promising to develop an alternative paradigm of 'development' is not without risks. It may be fashionable to day even to propose that. To start with such attempts and proposals must make sense. After all, it serves no useful purpose to simply engage in intellectual squabbles about how the development agenda is defined, understood, and executed by the experts acting on behalf of the voiceless local peoples. In fact, we do not think replacing 'development' with another terminology is the answer. However, we do recognise that perhaps there is an urgent need to deconstruct what conventional development has come to mean and to reconstruct what contemporary development could more appropriately be for local peoples. In calling for such counter-visioning of development, we are also exhorting all intellectuals and development practitioners to take on the challenge for a new understanding of our world through multiple knowledges. We need a need for understanding from a new vocabulary of what it means to speak of "development" and "social justice". We must begin on this road by "unlearning", rethinking, re-conceptualizing and deconstructing the hegemonic ideas of 'development' and the 'development process'. The reconstruction of an alternative idea of 'development' should be rooted in the values and local cultural systems of knowledge. Such approach to development would have as its primary goal to enrich the social, spiritual and the non-material circumstances of people and allow them to develop and utilize their full potential.

The problem of development in Africa is one of social poverty. By this what we mean is that poverty is not just economic and material, but also, social, psychological and spiritual. There is the "poverty of opportunity" as many local peoples in

A. Asabere-Ameyaw et al., Indigenist African Development and Related Issues, 217–222.

Africa lack access to basic services, jobs and education. Local peoples are having a difficult time achieving a reliable source of income to cover health, education and transportation. In Africa, rising youth unemployment and underemployment is a major concern (street kids, youth in prostitution, crime, etc.). Equity and social justice considerations have been left on the sidelines when it comes to addressing economic inequalities among populations. Rather than delving an education system that meets local development needs, Africa is caught in the web of the problems of internationalization of [higher] education (i.e., the craze to meet international/ Western standards and accreditation).

The coloniality of development is exhibited clearly in the power of global capitalist modernity. There is a hegemonic sway of free markets, competitive individualism and corporate capital modernity. There is a restricted definition of education to serve individualized, private, corporate market interests. The new age of globalization is predicated on individualized notions of success and wealth (whether material or moral) and this undermines a capacity for eradicating poverty and systems of power that perpetuate poverty among local communities and nations in the Global North and South. The dream of local communities being able to live life with dignity, freedom, safety and resources has just been that – a dream.

We need to take a critical look at our Indigenous technologies, improve upon them so as to offer alternative pathways to development. This is more than a search for appropriate technologies. In Africa, we have traditional technologies that have worked from time immemorial to sustain households, communities and peoples livelihoods. We know little about them in terms of how these have been sustained and improve upon through generations. The problem is that we have fallen prey to the bland talk of "modernization" to the extent that our Indigenous technologies have been shunned, disregarded or ridiculed as not appropriate with the times. What is needed is a sincere attempt to understand the working of these technologies and to improve upon them to ensure the development needs of local communities. The relationship between technology and development is akin to science and its connection with development. Through technologies, local skills, material culture and resources are used to eke out daily existence in communities and neighbourhoods. Rather than importing expensive technologies that sometimes do not work in our local environments, more attention should be paid to learning and developing our own Indigenous technologies that can be sustained over the years to promote development for African peoples.

One thing is clear from our discussions so far. We would put this in very simple terms: When it comes to development so far, most things have not worked in and for Africa. This begs for some questions to be asked. Why are we continuing to do the same very things when we know they have not worked as far as local development is concerned? So, for example, if traditional classroom assessments and assessment and evaluation methods have not worked or a focus on food security has not helped address the question of food shortages, famine, etc., in Africa then we must ascertain if perhaps a major part of the problem has to do with the particular

paradigms or conceptual thinking that has shaped development practice and thought. Colonial mentalities still undergird much of everyday practices. These mentalities have shaped and continue to shape what we do, i.e., our everyday practices of development. Consequently, we need to rethink what we have done or are doing. In the Introduction to this book, we have argued for a reconceptualization of development in a way that offers alternative and counter-paradigms to frame what it is we mean by "development". We see this as the best way to go for development to truly happen. We need a new frame of thinking that will help produce genuine and meaningful development for African peoples. This will be a type and form of development dictated by local paradigms, thought processes and knowledge systems.

At the end of the day how we understand research is important in farming this new paradigm of development. There is a conventional way that the 'research and development' link has been understood or constructed. In this conventional way, research and its findings have come to inform what to do in terms of actual development practice. While it may be argued there is nothing fundamentally wrong with this posture, we are putting forward a new approach - one that actually starts with a critical way of thinking, a sort of a paradigmatic shift or perspectives about development that will actually inform what we research upon or what type of research is pursued to frame the discourse of development practice.

In coming to a close, we briefly reiterate a few possible pathways to follow for genuine development (see also Dei, 2013a):

a) Re- Theorizing the Link of Education with Development

This link must be theorized and not simply assumed by asking such questions as: What type of education? What model of development is being pursued? And, where is the place of local cultural resource knowledge in such development?

b) A Need to Prioritize African-Centered Education and to Address the Competing Claims on National Educational Budgets

Such African-centered education would be tailored to respond to Africa's problems and development challenges as a national priority. This will challenge the current system of education that is promoted primarily to serve the needs of the labor market/ the global economy rather than local needs and priorities.

c) Pursue Alternatives to Neo-Liberalism

In other words, reframing 'development' must be about working with the knowledge that "something else is possible". A counter-visioning of development can be pursued through a decolonial approach to schooling and education. Being "taught" and to "learn" are not the same thing. Learning is not only about acquiring skills and knowledge (to be taught). Learning is a process that encourages one to develop more

self-awareness and reflective practices to be problem solvers and decision makers. There is a big difference between "enabling' others and people "empowering" themselves. Giving answers or helping complete a task only create a dependency on others or simply encourage people to merely reproduce what they have heard or seen (Loureiro & Cristovao, 2010). When people are allowed to find their own solutions/answers through local creativity and resourcefulness then they become independent problem solvers. African educators today need to provide critical anti-colonial education in ways that allow young learners to develop a strong sense of identity, self and collective agency and empowerment to communities, nations and the global.

d) Emphasizing Indigenous Science and Technology Education

African governments must place some emphasis on technical and vocational training using Indigenous science and technologies. The suggestion here is that a new route to development may well lie in placing more emphasis on technical-vocational education that offers immediate and direct practical solutions to everyday problems of local communities and helps direct development to the satisfaction of local peoples' needs and aspirations first. Such debates also draw upon the convergence and divergence between technical-vocational education and Indigenous science and technology studies for Africa. While the pursuit of a more practical education may be in line with the required educational change in Africa and the Global South, we must also ask what are the possibilities of such education actually challenging the dictates of global labor market forces and the on-going transnational economic development projects. In other words, we must ask: What are the challenges, constraints, limitations and, more importantly, the limitations of the external dictates of local/national development for the pursuit of a more effective technical-vocational and Indigenous science and technology education?

On this note, we would like to conclude going into some detail on this last point about "indigenous science and technology education. As Dei (2013b) argues in a forthcoming paper, poverty can be addressed by equipping young learners with education readily applied in everyday living to solve basic human problems and challenges. Thus, university and tertiary education cannot be privileged to the exclusion of other forms of education in this regard. Yet a number of scholars have noted the failure of school transitioning programs to bridge the gap between schooling and working life. How can we re-focus the current 'School-to-Work Transitions' focus including its policy and research agenda as far as African and Caribbean countries are concerned? School-to-work programs seek to offer a solution to the constraining historical dualism between academic and vocational training. Sawchuk (2009) enthuses that as a major area of academic and policy research globally, a foundational debate concerns "whether education should be made to serve the needs of industry or whether education is a social good in itself that should not necessarily be dominated by the needs of the economy" (p.1).

The dominant tradition in school to work transition policy is the emphasis on vocational training and apprenticeship to prepare young learners for the labor market. Infused in school-to-work research/policy debates of late is the matter of whether national policy should produce a more determined and structured approach to transitions. How do such educational systems of technical-vocational training of youth become a way of ratifying social differences in terms of vocational futures? How are systematic social inequities ratified early through education and initial vocational experiences (first jobs, entry points in career development)? If these questions are not addressed, the potential for education to help address social poverty will be limited in that it will actually intensify local and internal differences and cleavages creating uneven development at the local and national scenes. For example, as we know there are gender and broader equity dimensions of how technical-vocational education has historically been pursued.

The content of the curriculum of technical-vocational education itself must take into account social difference. Unfortunately, the general direction in this area tends to be school-based technical and vocational studies without a careful exploration of non-formal educational systems and what they offer by way of cautions and lessons of implementation. In the pursuit of technical-vocational education which bodies [even today] are being 'streamed' into vocational training and why? With the privileging of Cartesian reasoning and 'intellect' over body, vocational training is seen as less desirable and more suited for lesser intellects, often meaning working classed, racialized, ethnic and linguistic minority bodies. Vocational training often forces this separation of intellect from body, skill from reason - which, if we approach the critique with an Indigenous framework in mind is a false demarcation, as knowledge is more integrated and organic than this. Furthermore, because of this demarcation, vocational schools often receive less funding, struggle to attract top teachers, etc. The social stigmatization of the students plays into their self-worth, etc.

Asabere-Ameyaw (2013) is right in his observation that in local African communities there is our heavy reliance on imported technology and manufactured goods. There is a culture of consumption and strong appetite for things ‘foreign’. This appetite does not support local creative initiatives on Indigenous alternatives. In effect, we Africans prefer anything made anywhere but not Africa. The mentality that what is locally-produced is inferior needs to be dealt with. And because the majority of the population has not had their basic needs met, there is a sense of resignation to this whole dilemma where ‘they produce elsewhere' and 'we consume here’! Asabere-Ameyaw (2013) goes further to note that generally African governments are rhetorically promoting science, mathematics and technology education as an engine for development in the 21st century. But, the fact is that these governments are not heavily investing in it. The reification of science as a “tough” subject that requires an intelligent mind. This reification has also served to instill fear in the minds of some young learners who feel they cannot succeed in science, technology and mathematics education. the fear has become a self-fulfilling prophecy that has exacerbated distinction of ‘soft’ and ‘hard’ sciences.

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