CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY - OFFICE OF INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS
PRESENTS
FACULTY SEMINAR
AT UNIVERSITY OF GHANA - LEGON
THEME: "GHANA CALLS"
JUNE 2018

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

Co - Sponsors
CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

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University of Ghana Printing Press

Guest Editor
Dr. Brenda McGadney

Printed
November 2018
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SECTION A
OPENING AND GUEST SPEECHES

Dr. Rose Walls
Resident Director
CSU-OIP Ghana Study Center

Mr. Leo Van Cleve
Assistant Vice-Chancellor
CSU International and Off-Campus Programs

Professor Dzodzi Tsikata
Director
Institute of African Studies
University of Ghana

Ambassador Robert P. Jackson
USA Ambassador to Republic of Ghana

Professor Loren Blanchard
Executive Vice-Chancellor, CSU

Professor Samuel Adjei-Mensah
First Provost of College of Humanities
University of Ghana

Ms. Alesia Miles
CSU-OIP, Student

Ms. Elorm Prisca Nuwordu
Student, University of Ghana
DR. ROSE WALLS, RESIDENT DIRECTOR  
CSU-OIP GHANA STUDY CENTER

On behalf of the California State University (CSU) Ghana staff and our planning teams in Ghana and the USA we are delighted to have you join us. This is a celebration as we bring staff and faculty from the largest system of universities in the USA (CSU) and Ghana’s oldest university, the University of Ghana- Legon (UG) together to exchange ideas, process research, consider ways to network and collaborate together through academics.

The theme of the seminar is “Ghana Calls”. It comes from the title of a poem written by renowned scholar and Pan-Africanist Dr. W.E.B. DuBois. The poem was dedicated to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana’s first president. We think the title ‘Ghana Calls” is central. We are all responding to that call to be here and to try to work in partnership. This week we will all gain new insights, learn new techniques to approach education, research and communication in a Ghanaian/African context. We have a chance to topple prejudices, increase our understanding and find new ways to help educate our students and ourselves so that we all can become better global citizens and to help solve problems and enrich our world.

This seminar compliments our standing CSU program at the University of Ghana which involves bringing students to UG to spend one academic year in studies here. The CSU students reside on campus, attend classes as full time students, learn a local language, complete an extensive orientation course and provide more than 100 hours of community service through a required Service Learning class. Our students have described their experience in Ghana as, ‘transformative, inspiring and one of the best parts of their university education’. This faculty seminar allows the partnership between CSU and UG to move to the next level of faculty engagement, while at the same time, we hope it also will help boost international student enrollment as American faculty learn and experience the wonderful learning, exploration, research and cultural activities possible in Ghana.

This week is also a week of celebration. CSU – Ghana is celebrating being in Ghana for twelve years, while its local partner, the University of California celebrates being here for 50 years. Ghana has been a gateway to the African continent since 1957, when it became the first nation in Sub-Saharan Africa to gain independence from colonialism. The University of Ghana is a formidable gateway institution on the African continent that has more than 1,200 research projects and publications annually.

We owe a special ‘Thank you’ to the Office of International Programs at CSU and the following groups at UG: The International Programmes Office, The Institute of African Studies and The School of Arts for sponsoring this faculty seminar. The time, finances and work taken to host an event such as this cannot be understated. Thanks to you all for answering the call to come to Ghana and/or to join the seminar proceedings!

Ayekoo (Well done!)

Planning Committee Ghana  
Rose Walls 
Elsie Gaisie-Ahiabu 
Sharon Okantey 
Mjiba Frehiwot 
Kodzo Gavua 
Samuel Ntewusu

Planning Committee USA  
Leo Van Cleve 
Richard Marcus
MR. LEO VAN CLEVE, ASSISTANT VICE CHANCELLOR INTERNATIONAL AND OFF-CAMPUS PROGRAMS CSU OFFICE OF THE CHANCELLOR

Dear Participants:

This seminar is an opportunity to both deepen and expand the partnership between the California State University and the University of Ghana. We hope that bringing participants together from both sides will strengthen our current work while creating new conversations.

For twelve years students from the CSU have had the opportunity to live and learn at the University of Ghana-Legon. Their experience is framed by learning about the society and culture of Ghana while learning Twi and encountering people through service learning. In addition, they study in the university alongside Ghanaian students.

By bringing faculty from both sides together around topics of common interest we hope that both sides will come away with an increased understanding of each other. We also hope that the experience will build support for the partnership and open the opportunity for new collaborative relationships.

Our thanks go out to all of those who helped to make this possible in Ghana and in California. In particular at Legon, we acknowledge the Office of International Programmes, the College of Arts, and the Institute of African Studies. In California, the Office of International Programs and the Academic Council on International Programs were critical to the success of this project.
PROFESSOR DZODZI TSIKATA, DIRECTOR-INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

Invited guests, ladies and gentlemen,

I wish you all a warm welcome to the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana. We are honoured and energized by this opportunity to partner with the California State University-Office of International Programs and other units at UG to host this historic faculty seminar on the theme “Ghana Calls”.

Ghana Calls. The theme resonates deeply with us in recalling at time when under the visionary and audacious leadership of President Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana was a beacon of hope and a true leader of the pan-Africanist agenda of national liberation, regional integration and development. While Ghana has been through many changes and no longer provides the ideological and political leadership for the unfinished business of Africa’s emancipation because of its embrace of a neo-liberal economic agenda, it continues to be a country conscious of its historic leadership and commitments to Africa’s liberation. It has been rewarded with the appreciation and respect of its peers and its good standing in the comity of nations. It continues to welcome Africa’s diasporas and to work together with them in all fields of endeavor for the good of Africa’s peoples.

As an Institute, we truly appreciate this celebration of 12 years of engagement in which we have been intimately involved, particularly because of the healthy relationships we have forged, but also because of the opportunity offered by this seminar to reflect on the past 12 years, but also to revisit the ontological and epistemological issues of teaching Africa. A conversation between those of us teaching Africa in Africa and those teaching Africa abroad is critical for promoting the kind of African Studies that Kwame Nkrumah proposed at the establishment of this Institute in 1961- African Studies by Africa for Africa, free of the suppositions of the colonial era. This remains work in progress as we know, and therefore the opportunity to reflect on this is invaluable. We have fulfilled our Institute’s mandate to produce African centred knowledge on Africa and to provide training opportunities to a new generation of students of Africa and her diasporas by teaching and researching Africa in general and Ghana in particular for over 50 years in six inter-disciplinary areas- Societies & Cultures; Language & Literature; Religion & Philosophy; Music & Dance; History & Politics; and Media and Visual Arts. Our repositories- the Nketia and Manhyia archives, its library, museum and the Ghana Dance Ensemble are important sources of data for researchers and students from far and near, on a broad range of issues and aspects of life in Africa and Ghana. These are resources the Institute is happy to share with the rest of the world.

The timing of the workshop is also auspicious for the University of Ghana. It coincides with UG’s 70th anniversary and provides the opportunity to celebrate the partnerships forged over these 70 years, and to renew our commitments to such mutually beneficial partnerships such as that with the CSU and the University of California. The IAS is celebrating this anniversary with a number of activities including a planned commemoration of the 1958 All Africa Peoples’ Conference in December in Accra. This allows a gathering of scholars and activists from Africa and her diasporas to revisit the goals of that conference-decolonization and the development of Africa as well as justice for people in the African diaspora; while forging new partnerships for knowledge production and teaching. Earlier this year, we jointly organized a seminar during black history month to celebrate WEB du Bois’s life and times, his prodigious contribution to knowledge as a sociologist, his leadership of the pan Africanist movement and the unfinished business he left us with. Last year, our Kwame Nkrumah Chair presided over an international conference on Education for Africa’s development which welcomed Africans from Africa and its diasporas. The conversations from all these encounters should definitely continue during this seminar.
I am gratified that several members of our faculty—Mjiba Frehiwot, Samuel Ntewusu, Obodai Torto, Esi Sutherland Addy and a former director Professor Irene Odotei— together with other faculty from UG are contributing to the seminar in various capacities. We look forward to engaging and stimulating presentations and discussions over the next week days and are encouraged by the diversity in the room.

Finally, I would like to thank Professor Blanchard, Leo Van Cleve, Rose Walls, Ambassador Robert Jackson, Professor Ama de-Graft Aikins, and Provost Samuel Adjei-Mensah for supporting this very important initiative and the planning committee here in Ghana.

We look forward to a fruitful seminar and a continued long and prosperous partnership between the University of Ghana and the California State University system.
REMARKS BY U.S. AMBASSADOR ROBERT P. JACKSON
U.S. DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH GHANA

Thank you all for your warm welcome. I’m honored to be here at the University of Ghana and to welcome the faculty and leadership of the California State University system.

Akwaaba! Welcome to Ghana!

It’s always exciting to see academic connections between the United States and Ghana. Thank you for being here.

During Black History Month, I had the honor of speaking at a wreath-laying ceremony held at the DuBois Center, to mark the 150th anniversary of the birth of W.E.B. DuBois. The guest of honor was Arthur McFarlane II, great-grandson of W.E.B. DuBois — what a privilege to meet him, hear his story, and learn more about his great-grandfather’s legacy. I appreciate that you have drawn upon the themes of the poem “Ghana Calls” for this seminar, and on this idea of seeing Africa as DuBois did: coming from the sum of Heaven’s glory.

I share your commitment to promoting education, including for some personal reasons. Before I became a diplomat, I taught English and American Civilization at a French university. I feel at home any time I’m in a school or on a university campus. There’s so much energy and enthusiasm for learning.

My wife, Babs, and I have called Ghana home for two-and-a-half years now. I have focused on Africa throughout my diplomatic career, and we have made our home in seven African countries, from Morocco all the way to Zimbabwe.

Each country is different, of course, but the unifying characteristic that draws me back again and again is the vitality — the dynamism — I see across Africa. This is a continent of tremendous promise. I enjoy living and working here because, over the course of just two or three years, you can see concrete evidence that our partnerships are working and making people’s lives better.

Today, I want to speak with you about the U.S. relationship with Ghana. Allow me to start by saying that our relationship is strong.

The historical, cultural and spiritual ties between the United States and Ghana are deep. We celebrate these close ties, but we cannot ignore the fact that our connection with Ghana began at one of the lowest points in history, when so many were taken against their will to the Americas. We are still dealing with the repercussions of that injustice, but the spirit of those ancestors — their voices and their resilience — are woven into the fabric of the country I serve.

Here in Ghana, President Akufo-Addo has established a bold vision for the future — what he calls Ghana Beyond Aid. It is a future where all Ghanaians live in dignity and are able to provide for themselves, their families, and their communities — a future where the government can provide for its citizens.
The United States fully supports this vision, and our work here helps Ghana make concrete steps toward achieving that feat. Specifically, our work centers on the following four areas of mutual concern:

1. Economic growth;
2. Health and education;
3. Peace and security; and
4. Good governance.

These areas of concern are all intermingled. You can’t have one without the others.

For any country to move beyond aid, there needs to be economic growth and prosperity for all citizens. Governments do not create new companies. But they must create the conditions that give entrepreneurs and businesses the space they need — the space to take risks, find markets and, ultimately, thrive and become engines of economic growth and job creation. We work together with government — and with entrepreneurs, NGOs, and communities — to help them create that climate.

Our efforts include developing a strong and efficient power sector through the U.S. government’s Power Africa Initiative. Unreliable and inadequate power stifles economic growth. In fact, economic research shows that Ghana’s economy lost more than $24 billion between 2010 and 2016, as a result of the electricity shortages referred to as dumsor.

With the second Millennium Challenge Compact, we’re investing $498 million to transform the power sector. The main goal is to transform the Electricity Company of Ghana so that it can serve as a reliable and affordable source of power for Ghanaians.

We also want to expand trade and investment.

Diversifying Ghana’s exports beyond cocoa, gold, and oil is good for Ghana. How many of you have heard of AGOA? It’s an American law called the African Growth and Opportunity Act. Under this law, more than 6,000 goods from select African countries, including many Made in Ghana products, can be exported to the United States duty free — and our customs experts regularly visit Ghana to ensure exporters know what goods qualify as duty free. Working with the Ministry of Trade and Industry, we have identified a dozen products with great potential in the U.S. market. These include cashew, shea butter, handicrafts, gold jewelry, and garments. In fact, we have seen dramatic growth in apparel exports, which increased from $500,000 in 2010 to $8.5 million in 2017. That number is expected to double again over the next two years. New Ghanaian exports such as frozen orange juice and dried mango are also increasing. Last year, overall, Ghana’s non-oil AGOA exports to the United States doubled.

American brands and franchises are rapidly expanding, as well. As the gateway to Africa, Ghana plays a key role for U.S. companies developing their presence on the continent. KFC, Hertz and Avis have been operating in Ghana for years. Since I arrived in January 2016, Pizza Hut, Harley-Davidson, Pinkberry, Steak Escape and Uber have also joined this market.

These investments create employment opportunities for Ghanaians and help stimulate economic growth and development. A thriving, prosperous Ghana is in America’s national security interest.

If we want Ghanaians to be entrepreneurial and to create jobs in their communities, we have to make sure they can draw on a healthy, educated population to fill those jobs.
That’s why we support government initiatives to combat malaria; improve nutrition and maternal and child health; and address HIV and AIDS. We’ve inaugurated eight Community-based Health Planning and Services Compounds and are constructing 18 more. These compounds bring health services closer to Ghanaians, so they don’t have to spend all day traveling back and forth to the doctor. They can make the most productive use of their time.

Education, as you well know, is the foundation for the success of every individual. It is the one thing no one can take away from you.

Our Partnership for Education programs support the Ministry of Education and the Ghana Education Service as they promote reading and literacy among primary students — both in and out of the classroom. Over the last two years we have provided public primary schools with approximately five million books and teacher training aids to help children learn to read in 11 indigenous languages and English. We have trained more than 30,000 Ghanaian primary school teachers, head teachers, and curriculum leaders in phonics and reading. We are also helping Ghana expand access to education for adolescent girls, because we know that when girls are educated, societies are transformed.

So we can see how economic growth, health and education are tied together. Let’s add peace and security to that mix.

Ghana is noteworthy for the way it maintains peace and stability within its borders. Ghana is also well respected for the way it advances peace on the continent, and around the world, through participation in peacekeeping operations.

For more than 20 years, we have had ongoing coordination and training exercises with the Ghana Armed Forces and with law enforcement. This training is designed to help Ghana’s security forces tackle the global issues that could threaten development: issues like crime, terrorism, trafficking in persons and narcotics, border security, maritime security, and even cyber security.

This truly is a partnership. Let me give you one example: Last year, the Ghana Armed Forces became the first African force to train U.S. Army forces. U.S. soldiers participated in training at Ghana’s Jungle Warfare School. U.S. personnel described the training as eye-opening, demanding, and grueling ... but also as important, memorable, and critical to our ability to work alongside the Ghana Armed Forces to counter global threats.

These are U.S. soldiers who are now better able to defend the United States and our allies because of training they received here. That’s the partnership we want with Ghana.

For our Ghanaian colleagues in the room, let me be explicit, and ask you to help counter misinformation in this regard: There is no U.S. military base in Ghana. We have not requested a U.S. military base. We are renewing our Defense Cooperation Agreement with Ghana because Ghana is a strong, sovereign nation. Because Ghana has shown that it has the capability to be an anchor of stability in the region and a significant contributor to global security. We want to work more closely with you, because together, we are stronger.

And that brings me to the final focus of our partnership with Ghana: good governance. I have not placed it last because it’s the least important. On the contrary: I’ve saved it for last because I am absolutely convinced that “Ghana Beyond Aid” cannot happen without good governance.
Now, part of good governance is ... just that:
- improving the ability of the government to provide services to citizens at the national and local level;
- strengthening institutions; and
- holding government accountable.

We’re partnering with the government on programs that help Municipal and District Assemblies better manage their budgets and keep citizens better informed. We’re encouraging Ghanaians to advocate for relevant policies and legislation, such as the Right to Information bill and the creation and implementation of a meaningful asset declaration system.

But true good governance goes beyond that.

“Ghana Beyond Aid” is a bold vision. To achieve it, Ghana must be equally bold about eliminating injustices that inhibit development: trafficking in persons, barriers to education for women and girls; and corruption, to name a few.

These are not Ghana-specific problems, of course. Injustice exists everywhere. That’s why it’s even more effective when we come together and demonstrate our shared responsibility for addressing the issues we face.

Pervasive corruption has a direct impact on some of the areas that are most critical to Ghana’s growth and development. Corruption is not a victimless crime. It steals directly from the pockets of citizens. When you have to pay a bribe for a doctor to check on your hospitalized relative, corruption threatens lives. Corruption stymies investment and inhibits free enterprise. I ask students: “Would you want to start a business or invest in a company if you knew you had to throw away your hard-earned money on bribes?” No one does.

Another injustice that will prevent Ghana from reaching its full potential is trafficking in persons. This is an issue that is close to my heart. Trafficking is modern-day slavery. Men, women and children are held against their will in humiliating, harmful, crushing slave labor. We were all outraged by the images of Africans being sold in Libya, but what about the children who are sold here in Ghana for 100 cedis and are now forced to work day and night in harsh — and even dangerous — conditions? What about the 11-year-old who is forced to cook, clean and serve, rather than read, learn and play? I have traveled to fishing villages in the Volta Region and have seen children working on boats — in the middle of the day, when they should be in school. I have seen how the illegal mining industry uses children. Children who should be in school — so they can grow up healthy and educated and integrated into the economy.

We have ongoing programs with local communities, law enforcement and the judiciary to help identify and rescue victims and capture and punish perpetrators.

Together, we must be relentless in our efforts to promote good governance and human rights for all citizens — not just some citizens. Every person deserves a chance to succeed in life.

So I’ve talked about what we do. Let’s end with “Why.” Why does the United States care about what happens in Ghana? It’s pretty simple, really.

Just decades ago, the distance between us seemed so much bigger. It took months to sail across the Atlantic. Then propeller aircraft brought us closer — but not close enough. You still had to connect
through Europe. Now, you can get on a plane in Accra and arrive in New York or Washington, D.C., 10 hours later — and vice versa.

People and goods travel back and forth daily. We communicate instantly via Skype or Facetime. We are all connected in ways that seemed unimaginable just 10 years ago.

When Ghana succeeds, it anchors stability throughout the region. That stability contributes to global security. When Ghana succeeds, Ghanaians can export high-quality products to the United States — and citizens have the disposable income to purchase American goods. When Ghana succeeds, Ghanaians can work with our citizens to tackle the global issues that threaten peace, health and prosperity. Success is not a zero-sum game. We can all win. I’m retiring this summer, after 36 years of service, and I can stand here and tell you that I truly believe this.

I have always believed that my purpose was to make people’s lives better. In my career, I have always believed that by channeling the resources of the U.S. government, I could help others be healthier, better educated, more prosperous and more secure. That is what motivated me to get up and go to work every morning, and it has been a privilege.

Thank you for your attention today.
REMARKS FROM PROFESSOR LOREN BLANCHARD, EXECUTIVE VICE-CHANCELLOR, CSU

Good morning.

Thank you to the University of Ghana and, Provost Samuel Adjei-Mensah, Dean Kodzo Gavua, Dean Ama de-Graft Aikins, Professor Tsikata ...for your hospitality and graciousness in co-hosting this conference with us.
Thank you to Ambassador Jackson for joining us here today.

Thank you to Dr. Rose Walls and her staff for their hard work and dedication in supporting the California State University international program in Ghana. Dr. Walls supports our students throughout the academic year and has done exceptional work in supporting this seminar.

And thank you to everyone who is joining us for this seminar... those who traveled with me from the California State University and those who have been so welcoming on behalf of the University of Ghana.

You do our two proud institutions a great honor by spending your time here... exploring how we can bring our universities... and our peoples... closer together.

This is not only my first visit to Ghana... but I am especially proud that the University of Ghana is the first of our California State University international partners that I have visited. I am honored to be here... and proud to represent the California State University.

While we have 23 campuses... with nearly a dozen major satellite campuses... I think of the California State University as one university...

One university that serves nearly half a million students, employing 50,000 faculty and staff.

This one university has a huge geographic reach... stretching more than 770 miles from Humboldt State University near the Oregon border to San Diego State University near the Mexican border.

In fact ...

If you were to place San Diego alongside Accra in the South... 
...then you would have to head North into Mali to reach Humboldt.

And the reach of the California State University extends far beyond our geographic footprint.

The California State University is the largest and most diverse university in the United States. We are proud to provide students – many of whom are the first in their families to attend university – the opportunity to earn a degree.

By providing access to a university degree to those students, the CSU has been the driver of socioeconomic advancement in California since our creation... and our graduates reach every industry that matters for today’s and tomorrow’s economy.
Consistent with our mission to prepare students for a global society and economy, the California State University has exceptional faculty engaged in research collaboration with international colleagues... enrolls students from around the world... and sends students to dozens of other countries to study.

For more than a decade... we have been proud to count the University of Ghana among our international partners. Interest in this program continues to grow... as more students seek out the educational and cultural opportunities unique to Ghana.

In fact, 65 California State University faculty members applied for the 22 spaces available to attend this seminar. This speaks to the growing interest in our partnership with the University of Ghana.

Indeed, partnerships... such as ours... are the gateway to a world of innovation and education. These programs teach students valuable life skills... and provide an international perspective that graduates need to live and thrive in the global economy.

Over the next week, we will build on our existing partnership... developing closer and stronger ties...

To create more opportunities to conduct research...fashion works of art... or explore the human condition... in multicultural, multidisciplinary teams.

And to create more opportunities to collaborate on shared global challenges such as famine, poverty, disease and climate change.

Without question... the problems the world faces are too great for any university, city, state or nation to overcome alone.

But together... with the brightest minds from the University of Ghana and the California State University... we will educate the next generation of students today... who will create a better tomorrow.

Thank you all. I look forward to connecting with each of you over the next week.
ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR SAMUEL ADJEI-MENSAH
FIRST PROVOST OF COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES, UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

The University of Ghana established the Office of International Programmes (IPO) in 1997 to coordinate the external relations of the university and act as a central point for all international students, faculty, researchers and partners. The office offers a variety of services to international students and scholars from reception through orientation to volunteer opportunities. It initiates, supports, facilitates academic and research partnerships between University of Ghana and other universities. We are proud that California State University (CSU) has been a partner with UG since 2006, and its local partner the University of California, since 1968.

Prior to the establishment of the Office of International Programmes, University of Ghana already had existing research partnerships with regional and international universities. It attracted capacity building funding from a host of international foundations, and hosted small groups of students from US and European universities. The International Programmes Office regularised and standardised these important initiatives on campus. It further built on tradition by introducing innovations to expand international collaborations and student recruitment. By the time the idea of a new building was proposed, the International Programmes Office had made important strides in promoting the University of Ghana as a key destination for international students, scholars and university partners. Undoubtedly, having a purpose built office has created an important welcoming space for students, faculty and partners, as well as a physical face for the university.

During the last 20 years, the University of Ghana through the International Programmes Office has engaged with thousands of students, faculty and partners from more than 70 countries in Africa, Asia, Europe, North America and Latin America. This year the university welcomed students from 39 countries\(^1\). During the last two decades it has facilitated more than 150 Memoranda of Understanding (MOUs) with universities from more than 60 countries. Currently University of Ghana has just over 60 active MOUs from universities in 25 countries\(^2\), including 10 new MOUs signed in the last year alone. The office collaborates with a group of international education programs on campus that recruit and support short-term visiting students, largely from the US – these include The California State University (CSU)/University of California Education Abroad Programme (UCEAP), Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE), University Studies Abroad Consortium (USAC) and International Student Exchange Programmes (ISEP). Like all good universities, the aim of the International Programmes Office and the University of Ghana is to develop a limited number of strategic partnerships that deepen research, scholarship, student and staff mobility and funding streams. This policy has yielded important results.

A clear example has been the role the International Programmes Office’s internationalization strategy and approach over the years, has played in strengthening University of Ghana’s standing in the world rankings. UG participates in university ranking exercises by a variety of global ranking agencies, including Times Higher Education (THE). The Times Higher Education (THE) World University Rankings are developed from five pillars of higher education excellence, including “teaching (the learning environment), research

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1 Angola, Belgium, Benin, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, China, Czech Republic, USA, France, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Guinea, United Kingdom, Iran, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Japan, Lebanon, Liberia, Mali, Nigeria, Norway, Rwanda, Finland, Indonesia, Sierra Leone, Spain, South Korea, Togo, Trinidad, Turkey, Uganda, Zimbabwe, South Sudan, Tanzania.

2 Austria, Benin, Brazil, Canada, Columbia, Cuba, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Lebanon, Lithuania, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, South Africa, South Korea, Switzerland, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom (UK), United States of America (US)
(volume, income and reputation), citations (research influence), industry income (knowledge transfer) and international outlook (staff, students and research)\(^3\).

In the latest, 2017, Times Higher Education (THE) rankings of African universities, ‘international outlook’ was University of Ghana’s strongest feature. This, I would argue, is testament to the commitment of the Dean and staff of the International Programmes office to implementing the official mandate of the office.

Today we recognise the importance of international relationships, partnerships, collaborations and research. We welcome our colleagues from California State University, USA.

The University of Ghana has a mandate to promote, facilitate and coordinate cutting edge research. We not only support groundbreaking research, but also seek to make these research and innovative technologies visible to the public through collaboration with the private sector for possible commercialisation and for public benefit.

Our research mandate is so important because:

**It contributes to student learning.** Research gives us answers, new perspectives, workable models, and more questions. Research can take up to seven to ten years before we see it in a textbook or the field, but it is in the classroom in “real time.”

**Research helps us to understand various issues.** Whether we interview, observe, immerse ourselves or build rapport – research is a process that helps us to understand others and our world.

**It fuels market economics and aids business.** Whether producing consumer goods or mass-market items, we use science and engineering processes to improve agriculture, healthcare, pharmaceuticals, computer software, communication, aviation and many other fields. Research and development is essential to supporting a country’s economy and other sectors.

**Research also helps us to prove lies and to support truth.** Scientists test the validity and reliability of their claims and those of other scientists.

**Research is nourishment and exercise for the mind.** It is the same curiosity that fuels the mind to seek for answers.\(^4\)

This week’s faculty seminar is providing a wonderful opportunity for scholars from Ghana and the USA (California) to share their work, ideas and questions. This gathering will fuel a synergy, new thoughts, new teams and new questions.

We welcome this experience and all the future collaborations that will stem from it. For we know from an old Akan saying that, “Two heads always yield more than one!” So let’s put our heads together and grow, for Africa, the USA and indeed our world need new answers to improve our world, environment, health, food sources, culture, language, transportation and everything else.
Thank you and welcome to our university and Ghana. Akwaaba and enjoy our country.

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Good morning/afternoon, everyone!

As the moderator previously stated, my name is Alesia Miles and I am a rising fifth year at California State University, Los Angeles.

I am quite certain that I will have forgotten at the end of my presentation, so please bear with me as I would like to share my thank you’s now.

Firstly, I would like to thank the Office of International Programs at California State University for hosting this conference. Secondly, I would like to thank Residence Director Rose Walls and her husband Albie Walls in addition to California State University Program Coordinator Elsie Gaisie-Ahiaibu for their continued support and believing in my ability to be before you. And lastly, but certainly not least, I want to thank you all. Our distinguished guests; faculty and staff from both California State University and the University of Ghana; and all other participants for taking the time to listen to me. It is truly an honor to have been able to call this place my home and be so privileged to be able to share my home with you.

As I have officially completed my year abroad, I have realized that it is extremely necessary for any student - whether they are thinking about studying abroad or currently abroad - to have a support system at their home university as well as their host university. I have learned that a strong support system is beneficial to the student because it consequentially makes the adjustment to living abroad a much smoother process if the student has the support they need from both ends. So, with that being said, I would like to thank my study abroad advisor, Sonja Lind, at CSU Los Angeles, for her endless support from so many miles away. In addition, I would also like to thank my adopted family at my host university in both the University of California and California State offices for their patience in guiding students through this journey. And while I do not wish to bore you with accolades of thank you’s, I truly believe that even this small recognition is no match for the tremendous work that they do for each and every student, year after year, faithfully.

Now that the formalities are finished, I am hoping that we can become slightly more straight-forward and personal as I get into the real reason why I am sitting before you this morning/afternoon. And that is, to share my experiences in Ghana with you all. While I am absolutely sure that I will not be able to sum up an entire ten months of experiences within ten to fifteen minutes, what I can do is share with you one of the experiences that affected me the most and, ultimately, changed my life. For each student, this experience is different, but for me, this was the experience of culture shock. I want to briefly take you through the four stages of culture shock and how I responded to them, then share with you seven lessons that studying abroad has taught me overall.

So, let’s talk about culture shock.

The first stage of culture shock is the *Honeymoon Stage*. As the name suggests, its the beginnings of a new journey. At this stage, I was excited by the idea of living abroad; fascinated by the newness of the country that I would be living in; marveled by the way that Ghanaians communicated with each other nonverbally using hand signals, gestures, and even hissing to get each other’s attention; and I was completely blown away at the fact that sellers were able to balance just about anything on their heads at the peak of rush hour.
Yet, before I knew it, I had moved into the *Frustration Stage*. I started to become less intrigued by the idea of everything being so new and, instead, the newness of it all became a source of frustration. It was difficult because when I tried to communicate with others it was hard for people to understand me because of my accent, but not only that, I was also unable to understand others because of their accents. I had realized that learning the language was a lot harder than what I had expected and even when I tried to speak it in public, most people laughed at my terrible pronunciation and delayed tempo. In addition, while the hand signals looked appealing, I hardly understood what any of them meant. But, to top everything off, it was around this time where I was also experiencing some traveler’s diarrhea which caused me to take a trip to the washroom every time that I wished to eat something.

Then, again, as if I had never seen it coming, I transitioned into the third stage: *Adjustment*. I only realized that I reached this stage after talking, laughing, and then reminiscing with some other international friends about our struggles that we encountered during our first few weeks in Ghana. Then it hit me: I was able to talk and laugh about these freely because I was, in fact, no longer experiencing them. A majority of us came across certain Ghanaian traditional dishes that we loved whether it be fufu in light soup for me and banku and tilapia for others. It was also during this time that I had made Ghanaian friends who taught me things that I would have never learned in any classroom or textbook. If I was sick or experiencing some pain, they knew exactly which medicine I should take; they shared with me which washing powder works better than the next; always informing me just how much I should be spending on meals; and virtually everything in between. Fortunately, at this point, the traveler’s diarrhea had subsided slightly so I was able to spend less time in the washroom and on the phone complaining to my family, and more time being present in the country that I was living in.

The fourth, and final, stage was unlike the others because I knew that I reached it. I realized that I reached the point where I could call Ghana my *Home*. I knew it because I was able to direct a taxi or uber driver to my destination if they did not know the place; I knew which routes were best to take in order to avoid traffic; I knew exactly which shop to buy from when I needed something specific; I let the words “I’m going home” slip from my mouth instead of “I’m going back to the hostel” and, yet, I was completely satisfied with it. I was able to take a step back from my surroundings and I realized that I did not know how I was going to live my life any other way.

And though each stage brings its own difficulties, its the totality of the experience of culture shock that brought me toward personal growth. Studying abroad is the perfect way for anyone to learn about themselves and, so, I would like to take the time to share you all about seven lessons that studying abroad has taught me.

**Life won’t stop for you!**

Unlike my UCEAP counterparts, California State University students are signing up for a year-long program when they apply through CSU-IP. So, I was destined to miss all the birthdays, anniversaries, weddings, engagements, family gatherings, and even funerals. As some of these events had passed it felt as though my family was completely fine with living without me. Yet, as time passed, I realized that it was the complete opposite. It wasn’t that they were fine with living without me, but it was because they had to. That’s because it’s how life works. It stops for no one. And the lesson in this for me had been understanding that since life doesn’t stop for anyone, I should continue to seek out opportunities that I’d never thought were for me, continue to take risks and ultimately, to live!
Courage isn’t just physical, but mental.
When I first started telling my family and friends that I would be studying abroad in Ghana, the first things that they said to me were: “Wow.” “You’re so brave.” “I’m too afraid to do something like that.” And at the time, I thought to myself: “Well, I’m afraid, too.” Because studying abroad is scary, and while my physical courage got me here, it was the mental courage that I had obtained that brought me through.

You’re allowed to see how others view you.
For the first time in my life, I had been so far removed from home. And so, I was able to get a chance to see how others viewed me. As an American, they expected me to be rich, snobby, lazy, a habitual complainer, yet, more importantly, they expected that the United States was a utopian society where everyone was happy. When I got the chance to explain to them that Black Americans were dying everyday at the hands of the police, most times for nothing at all, they were shocked at the fact that the U.S. being such a developed country could allow their citizens to be murdered everyday. They also were so unaware that the shootings were happening so regularly. I learned that while I may think certain aspects of my country are international news, the fact is that there are so many people who are unaware of the realities that go on in other countries. It only left me to wonder how unaware I am about the realities that other people are experiencing.

The idea of the unknown becomes more appealing than before.
When I came to Ghana there were a lot of things that I did not understand. As it relates to handling things with the right hand, giving and receiving money, greeting people, and etc. I understood the importance of the tradition, but I didn’t understand the relevance of it in today’s society, but now, after being in Ghana for so long, if someone did happen to use their left hand with me then I wouldn’t accept until they handed me their right. It had also become my tradition.

Another thing that I didn’t understand was why it was necessary to verbally greet people in every room that you entered even if you were just passing through, but now, after being in Ghana for so long and someone doesn’t verbally greet me as they walk into a room then automatically I start to question their manners and the lack thereof. I realized that although I did not fully understand, its ok to not completely understand everything and I actually became fond of the things that I did not understand.

Let go!
Whether it be material possessions and the need to acquire them, relationships whether romantic or platonic that aren’t consistently making me feel better about myself, unreasonably high expectations that others have of me or that I may have of myself, and the false ideology of perfection. It became apparent to me after I had been in Ghana for some time that, eventually, my journey would all come to an end. And while it is sad, it is, in fact, completely normal to come to that realization and be ok with letting go physically but holding on emotionally and mentally and letting it build me in the future.

Challenges pose no threat to the cool-headed nature that I’ve adopted.
When I was home in the states, I was used to the society being extremely fast-paced. Everyone everywhere needs to be doing something at every moment of the day and if someone isn’t doing just that then they’re failing. So to come to Ghana and have everything be the opposite was a challenge for me. There were all sorts of challenges in between at my home university, at my host university, with family, and other personal issues, but there’s no greater challenge than changing my entire lifestyle and forcing myself to transform my mindset in order to fully embrace the totality of the journey. Ultimately, because of this, other challenges are no match for the challenge I accepted in studying abroad.
You define yourself.
While studying abroad, I encountered so many different people from all over the world from Angola, Benin, Canada, Germany, Kenya, Nigeria, Norway, South Africa, Togo and so many more and by being exposed to all of these people, I was also exposed to a plethora of ideologies, religious beliefs and values and it was in those moments that I realized which ideologies and values I disagreed with and which ones I held dear and then it becomes clear who I am and how I wish to be defined.

Although these are just seven lessons that I’ve learned while studying abroad, I am absolutely sure that there are so many more that haven’t even completely comprehended just yet. I’m certain that while I am learning from these experiences now, I probably won’t understand how this experience of studying abroad has truly affected me until maybe ten, fifteen, twenty years down the line. As I previously stated, It is the totality of all of these experiences that has brought me toward personal growth, and while I am extremely saddened by the fact that I will have to leave my home from another home, I am ecstatic that I get to share my home with others back home.

Again, my name is Alesia Miles and thank you for allowing me this opportunity.
MS. ELORM PRISCA NUWORDU
STUDENT, UNIVERSITY OF GHANA – LEGON

The Resident Director, CSU-OIP Ghana Study Centre, Dr Rose Walls, The Programme Coordinator, Mrs Elsie Gaisie-Ahiabu

The US Ambassador to Ghana, Ambassador Robert P. Jackson,

The Assistant Vice-Chancellor and The Executive Vice-Chancellor of the California State University, Mr Leo Van Cleve and Prof. Loren Blanchard, respectively,

The Provost Samuel Adjei-Mensah, University of Ghana, Keynote speakers, discussants and presenters,

Faculty members of both the University of Ghana and California State University present, Distinguished Invited Guests, Colleague Student Assistants of the programme, All other protocols duly and respectfully observed.

Good afternoon.

It is with much elation that I stand on this podium before this august audience to deliver this speech. I am particularly excited because this day presents an opportunity and gives me the ambiance to recount a brief insight into my experiences and benefits that I gained from participating in the University of California Education Abroad Programme for the past 4 years. I will tackle this in three basic thematic areas: academic, socio-cultural and economic benefits.

Co-moderators, the basic aim of every determined student is to become very astute in whatever field of study he/she pursues. Before one can attain a certain academic height, there are structures and requirements that have been determined for all to follow. As a student of the University of Ghana, as well as, a Student Assistant of the Programme, it was demanded of me to enrol in courses with the California State University, although non-graded. This means that, per semester, I had to take more courses than the average University of Ghana student. It was indeed an interesting challenge I took on. These courses offered me the opportunity to learn new things and independently put across my thoughts and analysis on various subject-matters without fear or fervour. I have over the years, used such learning experience to enrich my studies in other courses I took here in Legon.

As it was required of me, I can state emphatically that the programme has enhanced my leadership and peer-mentorship credentials. As a Student Assistant, I was involved in running of the programme, by offering key supportive roles. Crucial among them was to serve as a role-model. This helped me built character-traits as a team leader and an endearing role-model for visiting students from the US. In effect, I have been able to peer-mentor other colleagues here at the University of Ghana and offered meaningful advices to their challenging issues. I have on a few occasions guided some adolescents in my neighbourhood who approached me with certain personal issues. Gradually, am able to take up new roles and apply my skills and knowledge I gained from UCEAP.

As Euripides puts it, “Experience, travel – these are as education in themselves”. The educational tours and excursions that were organized under the programme helped me explore certain parts of the country, which I may not have yet accessed. These tours exposed me to other people’s way of life and helped me learn about a number of historical sites in Ghana, to mention but not limited to Kakum and Mole National Parks, Manhyia Palace Museum, The Cape Coast and Elmina Castles and Wli Water Falls. These historic
sites made me appreciate the life experiences of the past through the explanations offered by the respective tour-guides. I have also been exposed to the ideals of Pan-Africanism through guided tours we had at The W.E.B. DuBois Memorial Centre for Pan African Culture, Accra. Through efforts, I believe all people of African descent can become unified. I came to realize that, learning about other people and cultures does not only make us know more about why they do certain things in a particular way. It also teaches us about ourselves. Indeed through traveling I discovered that we as humans have the tendency of sometimes making generalized comments about other cultures which can linger on as perceptions in the minds of others. It takes a real experience to have some of those erroneous impressions to change, and I am glad to have taken part in these educational tours. This has made me more meticulous in my pronouncements about other people.

Ladies and gentlemen, a major concern of most international organizations, local corporations and governments across the globe is to fight and eradicate the canker of racism and discrimination in all forms and shades. Under this programme, I have been personally inspired by the actions of the Director and Programme’s Coordinator as they do not in any way advance prejudicial and biased actions against any international student or a Ghanaian counterpart because of colour or educational background. Consequently, I made a personal pledge to treat all persons equally with respect and humility. And I can state unequivocally that I am attaining great gains in this regards. Practically, during the Summer Programme of my 3rd year under the Global Health Outreach, I trained on how to take people through the voluntary counselling and testing for HIV. I did this for a number of clients without passing judgements on the people either based on how they looked before the test or after their test results were ready.

Honourable Co-moderators, issues of finance and welfare are very important and fundamental for any serious and well-meaning programme, and the UCEAP is no exception. Financial supports play important roles in the lives of all of us. As a young lady with needs, the stipends that I received from the Programme went a long way to cushion the family budget. I was able to provide a host of necessary things for myself and those immediately and remotely related to me.

Ladies and gentlemen, while I finally thank the UCEAP for the opportunity and platform they offered which enriched me in various spheres, I will like to encourage all young ones and parents here to allow and embolden their wards take up leadership positions because it promises nothing than a total transformation. I am particularly grateful to Auntie Rose for her immeasurable and generous supports during my almost 4-year journey with the Programme.

The Co-moderators, The Resident Director, The US Ambassador to Ghana, Pro Vice-Chancellors of the two partner Universities, Faculty, Invited Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen, indeed the programme has been beneficial to me in the ways I have enumerated above. Sincerely, I believe this transformation has helped others over the past years and will help those who are yet to be enrolled. My biggest take-home lesson is that colour and race do not determine what a person can offer; thus harmonious living and peaceful co-existence will be better way to build a solid future for the generations unborn.

Thank you all for your kind attention.
SECTION B
ACADEMIC PRESENTATIONS AND CLOSING PANEL
EDUCATING AFRICANS: PERSPECTIVES OF GHANAIAN PHILOSOPHERS – MARTIN ODEI AJEI

This paper reflects on the foundational principles and strategies for tertiary education in Africa. Since the early 1940s, Ghanaian philosophers have advanced unambiguous perspectives on education policy in Africa. Although the integrity and cogency of these perspectives have remained intact for over sixty years, yet they have not found expression in public policy formulation. Strategies for education in Ghana since Nkrumah’s overthrow from the presidency, and evidence suggests all across the African continent, have remained impervious to these perspectives. Current African Union strategies on education, articulated in Agenda 2063, seem to validate the current resistance by national governments to these philosophical perspectives. This paper seeks to argue that what these philosophers espouse are excellent conceptual models worthy of development and implementation in Africa; and that in service of a sounder educational future for Ghana and Africa than currently prevails, a *sankofa*\(^5\) approach to the conceptualization of education that incorporates these Ghanaian philosophical perspectives is desirable.

**Genesis:**

It would be correct to place the genesis of Ghanaian philosophy of education in a couple of articles authored by Kwame Nkrumah between 1941-1943. Although his subsequent works develop the theses of these essays from the 1940s, these early works form the fulcrum of Nkrumah’s and Ghanaian philosophy of education. The first of these, “Primitive Education in West Africa”, was published in January 1941. In this paper Nkrumah argues for the strict relationship between education and the context in which it is meant to be applied. He defines education as exposure designed to prepare an individual for participating efficiently in the activities of life, and advances the thesis that education should therefore guide its recipients into the “fullest and most fruitful relationship with the culture and ideals of the society in which [they find] themselves, thereby fitting them for the struggle of life”\(^6\). The second work, “Education and Nationalism in Africa”, echoes the thesis of the first by affirming education as the most potent instrument for the preservation and progression of culture, and arguing that colonial education in West Africa subverts this aim of education\(^7\).

*Mind and Thought in Primitive Society: A Study in Ethno-Philosophy,* is the third work that, undoubtedly, constitutes the beginnings of Nkrumah’s and Ghanaian philosophy of education. *Mind and Thought* is a Thesis Nkrumah intended to submit to the University of Pennsylvania for partial fulfillment of the award of a Ph. D degree\(^8\). This thesis records a few remarkable achievements worth mentioning.

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\(^5\) *Sankofa* in the Twi languages of Ghana translates, literally, to “go back and get it”. The term refers to *adinkra* symbol of the Akans of Ghana and the Ivory Coast, represented by a bird with egg in its mouth with its head turned backwards while its feet face forward. *Adinkra* are used extensively in fabrics and pottery among the Akans. They have a decorative function but also represent objects that encapsulate evocative messages that convey traditional wisdom, on life and the environment. Further information on the symbols can be found at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adinkra_symbols


\(^8\) The most probable period for the composition of this work is between 1943 and 1945, at the earliest. From the details of his studies in the USA as narrated in his Autobiography, Nkrumah discloses that he earned a BA in Economics and Sociology at Lincoln University in 1939; a Bachelor of Theology at the same university in 1942; an MA in Education at the University of Pennsylvania in 1942; and an MA in Philosophy at the same university in 1943, after which he “began to prepare himself for the Doctorate of Philosophy examinations” (Nkrumah, K, 2002, *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*, London: Panaf Books, p. 31-33). We can suppose, from this, that work on the thesis commenced after the MA in Philosophy and is likely to have continued until 1945 when he departed the USA for England intending to study law and “completing his thesis for a doctorate in philosophy”. However, “as soon as he arrived in London [he]... abandoned the research
First, *Mind and Thought* shares with *Knowledge and Logical Positivism* and *Conscienctism* the distinction of being the only works that Nkrumah consciously meant to be works of philosophy. Secondly, it is worth observing it introduced the term “ethno-philosophy” into philosophical vocabulary. As is well known, this notion has been much debated in attempts to delineate the nature and ambit of African philosophical thought, and continues to be contested in African philosophy. The term has, since Paulin Hountondji’s critique of it in 1967, generated intense debate on instances of reflection that can appropriately denote African philosophy, and on the nature and possibility conditions of philosophy generally. Hountondji’s insistent opposition to the term has earned him the distinction of authoring “the bible of anti-ethno-philosophy”, an epitaph which he seems to accept. Specific objections raised against conceiving what the term denotes as a species of philosophy in the course of this debate vary, but its critics unequivocally conclude that ethno-philosophers engage in something other than the practice of ‘philosophy’. What is striking about these objections is that most of them have been advanced without reference to the origins of the word.

Another significant fact about the thesis is its endorsement of a philosophy of education that clearly suggests the need to counter undesirable effects of Western education on the colonial student. It restates, verbatim, the aim of education provided in *Primitive Education* (p. 168); and sought to show that such conceptualization of the ends of education is endemic to Akan cultures, and that the educational structures and practices of these cultures are capable of achieving that goal. Indigenous social structures are capable of achieving this goal because mind and its processes is “a socio-historical phenomenon existent in and subject to the influences of its epoch”.

What this means, in my view, is that culture determines the specific contents of human minds and consciousness, and that all human beings handle the same materials transmitted to them by culture.

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9. In his *Cultural Universals and Particulars* (1996, Bloomington and Indiana: Indiana University Press), Wiredu mentions that Nkrumah wrote this thesis in the mid-1940s under the supervision of A. Ayer, (p. 134) and was getting ready for its oral defense when he left Britain for Ghana to participate in the leadership of the independence struggle (p. 222 n 51).


12. Houndondji, P. J., 2002, *The Struggle for Meaning*, op. cit., p. xvii Here, Hounondji accepts that “for many readers, my name, with that of a few others, remains linked to the critique of ethno-philosophy”. He does not reject this attribute but rather proceeds to explain why the critique of the term and the practice identified with it.


14. This is so whether ‘culture’ is understood in the wide sense to describe all aspects characteristic of a particular form of human life, or in a narrow sense to denote only the system of values implicit in it. Nkrumah’s Dissertation insists that ‘ethno-philosophy’ is a philosophical approach to the presuppositions and conclusions of ethnology and anthropology. If we adopt the basic meaning of anthropologies the study of humanity, and of ‘ethnology’ as the concern with a comparative study of different human cultures, then this conclusion can be drawn.
Nkrumah asserts the parity of human cultures on the basis of the shared psychic structure of human beings the world over. Hence “primitive” mind and “civilized” mind are “but two ways of viewing the same thing – the objective world”.

**Consciencism**

Nkrumah’s book, *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonization and Development*, occupies a paramount place on the continuum of ideas that expound the role of culture in determining, maintaining and advancing strategies for education and development. In spite of the two decades that separate the *Mind and Thought* and *Consciencism*, the two works belong firmly together in many respects. Principal among their affinity is their consistent conclusions on the question of the value of the intellectual output of traditional African societies and its relevance to the fashioning of a self-conscious and confident African person and societies. The idea that ideals of traditional African cultures are good for grounding contemporary social institutions resonates throughout both works.

At the onset of *Consciencism*, Nkrumah relates how his ten-year stint as a student in the United States played a decisive role in the development of his “philosophical conscience”. We are told that this development originates in his concern for the “defective approach to scholarship [that] was suffered by different categories of colonial students” and its likely negative effect of disengaging them from their relationship with their native cultures. In the study of philosophy, especially, this disengagement risked inclining the colonial student to surrendering “his whole personality” to the teachings of the Western tradition, thus rendering him or her vulnerable to accepting “theories of universalism expressed in vague, mellifluous terms”, and therewith losing sight of fundamental social facts that “conditions the immediate life of every colonized African.” By contrast, an awakened philosophical conscience dictates sensitivity to one’s cultural traditions and social milieu and seeks knowledge as an instrument of national emancipation and integrity. Such a philosophical conscience is needed to underlie an African renaissance in which human welfare and social, economic, scientific and technological progress will be managed under a socialist political system with its roots in the egalitarian structures of pre-colonial African societies. Clearly, the role of the African philosopher in the conception and elaboration of this renaissance involves one acting as a ‘spokesman’ for one’s culture.

But what is “conscience”, and in what sense does Nkrumah use it in the cited segments of *Consciencism*? It is difficult to find a universally agreed account of “conscience”. But a reasonable account of it can be found by proceeding from its roots in the Latin *conscientia*, which means “knowledge within oneself” and from the Akan translation of it as “*titob*”, which means “the animal in one’s head”. From these two words, it would not be unreasonable to suppose that conscience implies: (1) An awareness of a conflict within one’s principles, or within these and some external imperative such as a moral or legal norm, and (2) A disposition to resolve such a conflict by means of one’s perception of what is right or wrong.

As a philosopher, Nkrumah must be taken to have been cognizant of the well-established connection between belief and action: that no rational agent acts on the basis of beliefs he or she does not hold.

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15 Pp. 5-6
16 P. vi
18 Ibid. p. 3
19 Ibid. p. 3
20 Ibid. p. 2
21 Ibid. p. 4
22 Ibid. p. 73. Here, Nkrumah conceives of socialism as an intellectual descendant of communalism, a method of social organization which he saw as one of the most prominent common features of the African past.
Premised on this assurance, it is easy to agree with Ackah’s claims that “the conscience of Consciencism is Nkrumah’s personal conscience, constructed out of his life experiences”\textsuperscript{23}, and that ethics is at the center of Consciencism, and egalitarianism is the central ethical focus of Nkrumah’s conscience\textsuperscript{24}.

Nkrumah asserts, indeed, that contemporary African societies suffer a crisis of conscience emanating from conflicting ideologies and philosophies that animate ordinary life and the activities of social institutions:

African society has one segment which comprises our traditional way of life; it has a second segment which is filled by the presence of the Islamic tradition in Africa; it has a final segment which represents the infiltration of the Christian tradition and culture of Western Europe into Africa, using colonialism and neocolonialism as its primary vehicles. These different segments are animated by competing ideologies\textsuperscript{25}. And he estimates that should these conflicting ideologies be allowed to persist without a cogent strategy for harmonizing them in a conceptual framework that gears toward development of African societies for Africans, these societies “will be racked by the most malignant schizophrenia”\textsuperscript{26}. Nkrumah argues that such harmony must be forged into an ideology that remains in tune with cardinal principles underlying African traditional ways of life, and that this ideology must employ as its instrument a solidified philosophical statement, which he dubbed philosophical consciencism and characterized as “the map in intellectual terms of the disposition of forces which will enable African society to digest the Western and the Islamic and the Euro-Christian elements in Africa, and develop them in such a way that they fit into the African personality”\textsuperscript{27}.

It can be supposed with some confidence that ideas in Mind and Thought seeded the said awakening of the philosophical conscience of Consciencism, since the philosophy of education espoused by the earlier work is fully compatible with the conscience of Consciencism. In view of these considerations, it is reasonable to suppose that the energy deployed by Nkrumah in critically deconstructing the prejudices of Western philosophy and anthropology was expended also for the benefit of post-colonial African scholars and teachers grappling with a conceptual guide for instilling in their students the value of their indigenous cultural products, and reclaiming their misplaced cultural identity.

The African Genius:

It can be asserted with confidence that Nkrumah’s philosophy of education ripens in The African Genius, a speech delivered at the University of Ghana on October 25 1963, at the instance of the inauguration of the University’s Institute of African Studies. This speech distills all the works discussed in the previous sections of this essay, and focuses them for actual educational policy and practice. In the speech Nkrumah asks: “What sort of Institute of African Studies does Ghana want and have need of? In what way can it make its own specific contribution to the advancement of knowledge about the peoples and cultures of Africa through past history and through contemporary problems? To what extent are our universities identified with the aspirations of Ghana and Africa?”\textsuperscript{28}. It is not difficult to deduce from these questions a general concern for the conceptual direction of education in Ghana.


\textsuperscript{24} ibid. pp. 27, 33

\textsuperscript{25} Consciencism, 1970, p. 68.

\textsuperscript{26} ibid. p. 78

\textsuperscript{27} ibid. p. 79

And he answers these questions by elaborating two “guiding principles”, which in his mind educators in Ghana must constantly bear in mind. “First and foremost, I would emphasize the need for a re-interpretation and a new assessment of factors which make up our past”  

and “the second guiding principle which I would emphasize is the urgent need to search for, edit, publish and make available [African intellectual] sources of all kinds” appropriate and publicize indigenously developed intellectual resources”  

By “reinterpretation and new assessment”, Nkrumah meant that academicians must “endeavor to adjust and re-orientate their attitudes and thought to our African conditions and aspirations. They must embrace and develop those aspirations and responsibilities which are clearly essential for maintaining a progressive and dynamic African society”.

Undoubtedly, these prescriptions are premised on Nkrumah’s concern that the content of contemporary education in Africa remain under the influence of colonial education and mentality. Colonial education was conceived and constructed as an instrument for maintaining the practical objectives of the apparatus of colonial power, largely through the secularization of the activity of European missionaries. This served to denigrate and suppress the intellectual products of the cultures of Africa. Nevertheless, Nkrumah perceived ingenuity in African thought, exemplified by traditional Africa’s socialist organization of society, its elaborate political theories and efficient political institutions, and its highly developed code of morals, among others. In these are embedded principles of education worth from the pejorative ruins of Western-constructed and intellectual history of humanity, and which can provide impetus for the needed pace of African social re-construction. Thus, a central tenet of Nkrumah’s philosophy of education is to harness time-tested principles in indigenous cultures for contemporary educational practice; and to measure a person’s education “in terms of the soundness of his or her power to understand and appreciate the needs of fellow human beings, and to be of service to them. The educated man should be so sensitive to the conditions around him that, he makes it his chief endeavour to improve these conditions for the good of all”.

Ghanaian Philosophy of Education post-Nkrumah

The themes of Nkrumah’s philosophy of education have been rehashed and developed in various ways by subsequent Ghanaian academic philosophers who occupied chairs in the department of philosophy of the University of Ghana. I will briefly expound three of these. Although they did not author paradigmatic philosophies of education, their concern for the role of philosophy in relation to the problem of the teaching and learning in Africa, and their predilection for grounding the African future in useful values of the past, qualify these later philosophers in this essay. Abraham insists that the guiding principles for building institutions and formulating solutions to problems in the future of the continent ought to be those authenticated in African experience and culture. It is worth noting, that tenor of Abraham’s utterances in the context of this insistence suggests that institutions and solutions are not “authenticated” if they are rooted in theoretical resources that ignore and perhaps even degrade African thought.

Also, Kwame Gyekye makes pronouncements that lead one to believe he would have no beef with grounding educational philosophy and policy in the normative resources of traditional African life. In a textbook authored for Secondary School students, he asserts that African socio-cultural practices can promote development, by which he meant “the welfare or the general well-being of the members of a community” and that the emphasis placed on communal values and the “politics of consensus,

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28 ibid. p. 273
30 p. 275
31 ibid. p. 274
32 ibid. p. 278
33 Abraham, W. E. (2015), The Mind of Africa p. 31
participation and inclusion” practiced by traditional political structures are part of these practices³⁵. In a more philosophical context, Gyekye writes that political corruption, defined as the illegal, unethical and unauthorized exploitation of one’s political or official position for personal gain or advantage, is rife in current African societies. In his view, mechanisms of the current social and political system, including legal and regulatory frameworks are inadequate to abate this because political corruption is essentially a moral problem. Resolving this problem does not require reconstructing, or even supplementing substantive moral beliefs, values and ideals. What is needed rather is to revolutionize the commitment of official Africa to existing moral rules and principles. Several of these values and beliefs can be found in cultural traditions as they are replete with normative resources that engenders ‘modernity’, defined as “innovation aimed at bringing about the kinds of progressive changes in the entire aspects of human culture necessary for the enhancement and fulfillment of human life” (Gyekye, 1997, 280)

Perhaps the most explicit statement of the centrality of appropriating cultural values for contemporary philosophical practice can be found in Kwasi Wiredu’s prescription for the conceptual decolonization of African philosophy. This involves two complementary approaches. Firstly, it involves avoiding or reversing the unexamined assimilation of foreign philosophical conceptual frameworks in the thinking of the African philosopher, through critical self-awareness; and secondly, a conscious and dedicated effort to exploit the resources of indigenous conceptual schemes in the work of the African philosopher³⁶. Such decolonization is an imperative brought upon the African philosopher by “the superimposition of foreign categories of thought on African thought systems through colonialism”, through three principal avenues: language, politics and religion³⁷.

Let me illustrate Wiredu’s point with the problem of a superimposed language for philosophical practice, as language is the most potent tool for education. In his view, as is mine, fundamental philosophical concepts are the most fundamental categories of human thought. Therefore, unavoidably, modes of philosophical thought would reflect the peculiarities of the culture and environment in which they emanate. However, the education of most African philosophers is conducted through the medium of foreign languages. This raises an elemental problem, for being trained in a language brings with it conceptual baggage. For, “thinking about [any philosophical concept, say ‘love’] in English almost inevitably becomes thinking in English about them”³⁸. But the conceptual framework, which sustains the meaning of ‘love’ in English, may be radically different from those embedded in our indigenous languages. This renders the African philosopher “constantly in danger of involuntary mental de-Africanization”³⁹, hence the necessity for conceptual decolonization.

Wiredu illustrates this with the justification condition of knowledge in Western epistemology, which has been unduly obsessed with overcoming skepticism since the Enlightenment. The Cartesian solution to these skeptical doubts has become the standard test in epistemological inquiry: the hyperbolic doubt, which founded the discovery of the cogito⁴⁰. On the Cartesian scheme, which is well entrenched in

³⁵ ibid. p. 146
³⁷ Ibid.
³⁸ Ibid. p. 137
³⁹ Ibid.
⁴⁰ The 16th Century produced two events that had decisive effect on what reliable knowledge is, and how it can be dependably production and disseminated without, or with minimum, contamination. The first of these is the publication of Martin Luther’s Ninety-five Theses or Disputation on the Power of Indulgences, which legend has it was nailed on the door of the church of Wittenberg Castle, Germany, in October 1517. This had the effect of contesting the near monopoly of the Catholic Church as the producer and disseminator of knowledge. The second involves the chain of events that has come to be characterized as the Copernican Revolution, which arguably began with
Western epistemology, certainty means the impossibility of error. What this means is that Western epistemology identifies certainty with infallibility. On this account, to say that “I know X with certainty” means “I know that the proposition X is infallible”. In Wiredu’s view, this confusing two things, and the English language is a medium well suited to disguise this confusion\(^{41}\). But such disguise is easily revealed in the Akan language, which conceives of certainty in ways that do not exempt the possibility of error. In this language, to say “me nim pefe” (I know very clearly) doesn’t invoke any intimations of infallibility. For, the conception of the nature of knowledge in this language implies that just because it is possible for me to go wrong, it does not follow that I can never go right\(^{42}\). Put differently, just because it is possible for me to err does not follow that I can never be absolutely right. Thus, when one considers the questions of knowledge and certainty in Twi, one is unlikely to confuse certainty with infallibility. Certain knowledge does not imply perpetual exemption from error.

At this point, it would perhaps to profit the reader to re-observe that all of these philosophers converge on Nkrumah’s reflections on the usefulness of indigenous concepts for modern education. It is also worth drawing attention to the fact that Wiredu’s conceptual decolonization is but an extension of Nkrumah’s two guiding principles, especially the first principle that advocates a reinterpretation and reassessment of African history. Such reassessment, and elevation of African thought and culture as worthy channels of conceptuallycolonizing education in Africa, is enormously important for educating Africans at the tertiary level.

It would be difficult for a present-day teacher and researcher in an African tertiary institution - the final instance of formal education - to deny the pervasive infiltration and entrenchment in our institutions of sediments of the stock strategies of colonial education described by Nkrumah in “The African Genius”. It becomes nothing less than an obligation, therefore, for teachers in such institutions to seek to dislodge the conceptual baggage that has been loaded onto the minds of African students since commencement of their formal education; or failing in this, to bring them awareness of the presence and pernicious effect of such baggage on their perception of the value of their indigenous cultures to human civilization.

The entreaties of the Ghanaian philosophers for habitual implementation of conceptual decolonization in our institutions tally with the meaning of education as I understand it. The word ‘education’ is derived from the Latin ‘educere’, which means to draw out, much like carving a statue out of wood! In my opinion, what this means is that education is meant to coax the best out of the educated person, not only as an individual, but as a member of community. When successful, such coaxing will invest the educated person with character traits, beliefs, dispositions and behavioral patterns that do not exclusively direct themselves to the self-interest of the person. Put differently, the educated person, through their or socialization, acknowledges the exposure by their communities that provide them with the consciousness and conscience needed to enable them to tease out what is hidden in them and in their contexts, and to make these shine. Such a conception of education is more nuanced than the conception of it as the implantation of technē – the skill of doing things; and it seems to me that the nuanced meaning of it is easily inferred from the writings of the Ghanaian philosophers.

Nicolas Copernicus’s publication of his treatise De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium, in 1543, and which culminated in the paradigm shift from the Ptolemaic cosmological model that described the cosmos as having Earth stationary at the center of the universe, to the current heliocentric model with the Sun at the center of the Solar System. The effect of these two events was scathing skepticism, which Cartesian philosophy endeavored to overcome with the discovery of a foundation of knowledge so certain that doubting its validity ends the doubter in contradiction.

\(^{41}\) Cultural Universals and Particulars, p. 138-139.

\(^{42}\) Ibid. p. 140
Neoliberal Pedagogy as Current African Philosophy of Education:

Let us now look at how this nuanced conception of education compares with current practice on the continent. I would like to use a particular policy – the Strategic Plan of the University of Ghana, and a Continental framework, to illuminate the issues at stake. Since the supposed shift to a unipolar global order, which Francis Fukuyama characterizes as ‘the end of history’\(^{43}\), it is not fanciful to construe the current aims and approaches of education in Africa as largely focused on furthering the agenda of neoliberal globalization, that promotes a neoliberal pedagogy, which has necessitated “an increasing commodification and privatization of higher education”\(^{44}\).

Talk of neoliberal pedagogy invites an understanding of what neoliberalism is, and for this I resort to Harvey’s definition of it as “a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade”\(^{45}\). And by ‘neoliberal globalization’, I refer to the use of globalization as an instrument for institutionalizing the neoliberal agenda, a phenomenon which Sniegocki, (2008) describes as “the worldwide spread of an economic model emphasizing ‘free markets’ and ‘free trade’”\(^{46}\). Thus, the role of the state in the framework of neoliberal globalization is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices and the proper functioning of markets. Such a conception of the organization of social institutions and the role of the state has engendered the perspective that the goals of education, like those of all social institutions, must be made subservient to the dictates of market principles. Henry Giroux characterizes the pedagogical model emanating from this as neoliberal pedagogy, points to its global diffusion and adoption and its ultimate aim as the “commercialization, commodification, privatization and militarization of education”\(^{47}\).

The commercialization and commodification of education in Africa has resulted in the marginalization of Sub-Saharan African institutions in the global intellectual arena, and the dismal indignity of their having become a footnote on academic pages. For, according to Luis, “Africa features less and less and has become a footnote on academic pages. Mainstream journals and conferences in economics seldom feature papers on African issues”\(^{48}\). Yes, such commercialization and commodification seems to have been endorsed by African institutions and the African Union.

The Strategic Plan (2014-2024) of the University of Ghana may be said to endorse commodification. Although the Vision of Strategy is to make the University a “World Class Research-Intensive University

\(^{43}\) Francis Fukuyama, advanced the thesis that the advent of liberal democracy signals the end of the evolution of human culture and the final form of human government (Fukuyama F. (1989) “The End of History?” In The National Interest, 3-18, p.304.) What this means, particular reference to Africa, is that liberal democratic thought provides the necessary and sufficient conditions for satisfying the political ends of all people everywhere; hence universalizing it is morally defensible.

\(^{44}\) Luescher, T. M. (2016) “Student Representation in a Context of Democratization And Massification” in Africa: Analytical Approaches, Theoretical Perspectives And Rhodesmustal”, pp. 27-60, p. 27


\(^{48}\) Luis, J., (2006), The Wealth of Some and the poverty of Sub-Saharan Africa

over the next decade\textsuperscript{49}, and the Mission is “to create an environment that makes University of Ghana increasingly relevant to national and global development”\textsuperscript{50}. Yet the strategic objectives fashioned to guide the achievement of this vision and mission focuses on expanding the number of students, increasing teacher/student ratio, and expanding physical infrastructure for lecture delivery\textsuperscript{51}.

It seems to me that there several points of palpable inconsistency between (1) the vision and Mission and the strategic objectives of the Plan and (1) the strategic objectives and the nuanced understanding of education that I have just discussed. Increasing the number of students, unless matched with a corresponding recruitment of Lecturers, worsens the teacher/student ratio. And it is difficult to see how the increase in physical infrastructure in itself will meet the goals of the nuanced understanding of education.

One would legitimately expect the African Union (AU), as the pan-African body that seeks to own and lead development strategies for the continent, to assign a vital role to the knowledge and values of indigenous African cultures in designing their visions. Indeed, African thought is mentioned in the AU’s Agenda 2063\textsuperscript{52}, which lists seven “aspirations for the Africa we want”. These are:

1. A prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth and sustainable development

2. An integrated continent, politically united based on the ideals of Pan Africanism and the vision of Africa’s Renaissance

3. An Africa of good governance, democracy, respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law

4. A peaceful and secure Africa

5. An Africa with a strong cultural identity, common heritage, values and ethics

6. An Africa, whose development is people-driven, relying on the potential of African people, especially its women and youth, and caring for children

7. Africa as a strong, united, resilient and influential global player and partner\textsuperscript{53}.

Three of these aspirations deserve commentary in this paper. These are aspirations 2, 5 and 6. Aspiration 2, elaborated on page 5 of the document, makes no mention of African culture, let alone what role it would play in realizing the aspiration of a renaissance.

In the elaboration of Aspiration 5, the document, at Section 42 claims: “Pan-African cultural assets (heritage, folklore, languages, film, music, theatre, literature, festivals, religions and spirituality) will be enhanced. The African creative arts and industries will be celebrated throughout the continent, as well as, in the diaspora and contribute significantly to self-awareness, well-being and prosperity, and to world culture and heritage. African languages will be the basis for administration and integration. African values

\textsuperscript{49} University of Ghana, \textit{Strategic Plan 2014-2024}, p.7

\textsuperscript{50} ibid. p. 9

\textsuperscript{51} ibid. p. 12

\textsuperscript{52} Agenda 2063 was authored in 2013 by the African Union Commission as a roadmap for implementing the collective vision and aspiration for Africa’s development in the next 50 years.

\textsuperscript{53} Africa Union Commission, (2015), Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want, Popular Version, p. 2
of family, community, hard work, merit, mutual respect and social cohesion will be firmly entrenched\textsuperscript{54}; and at Section 44, that “Culture, heritage and a common identity and destiny will be the centre of all our strategies so as to facilitate a Pan-African approach and the African Renaissance\textsuperscript{55}. And in elaborating Aspiration 6, Section 47 of the document avers: “All the citizens of Africa will be actively involved in decision making in all aspects”\textsuperscript{56}.

On the basis of these declarations, one would have expected the Agenda to say more about the strategies it would employ to plough indigenous intellectual resources into implementation. But the document is ominously silent on this. Not a single thought can be found in it in this respect. The intellectual resources of African cultures are not mentioned once as of any use in achieving these aspirations. In these ways, the document woefully fails to meet the expectation that it incorporates Africa’s indigenous intellectual resources into strategies for actualizing the visions of the African renaissance. Accordingly, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the African Union accords trivial significance to Africa’s intellectual heritage. With its refusal to effectively utilize Africa’s knowledge and value traditions, it would seem the Union is more interested in benignly showcasing them, in fine words, in the museum of global knowledge production and application.

\textbf{African Education in Need of Sankofaism}\textsuperscript{97}

The foregoing considerations make necessary a reassessment of the conceptualization and practice of education in Africa to align them with the nuanced meaning of education espoused by the Ghanaian philosophers. There is great need, in the continent to move away from commoditized education that trains students to fit the job market of neoliberal economies.

Let us recall that from Nkrumah, Ghanaian philosophy of education has emphasized the necessary connection between education and cultural context, and the need for an educated person to have a fruitful relationship with the ideals of the society in which they live and have their being, and with the welfare of their co-citizens. Neoliberal pedagogy and its underlying philosophy at variance with this nuanced conception of education.

For this reason, it is reasonable to revert to the philosophy of education espoused by these philosophers in shaping the structures of educating the African. It is reasonable, because this is a humane vision of education, espoused by philosophers who are not on the margins of philosophical recognition. Nkrumah’s thought towers over the continent and has worldwide recognition, as does Wiredu, Abraham and Gyekye. We can be confident therefore, in resorting to them rather than mimic universalist prescriptions.

\textit{Sankofa} is an appropriate metaphor to employ in this task of reclamation for, as a symbol that advocates the retrieval of ancient models of excellence that may me of present relevance, it underscores a view of life in which the present is in constant and active interface with the past for the purpose of constructing the future.

\textsuperscript{54} page 7
\textsuperscript{55} page 8
\textsuperscript{56} page 8
\textsuperscript{97} \textit{Sankofa} in the Twi languages of Ghana translates, literally, to “go back and get it”. The word also refers to \textit{adinkra} symbol of the Akan’s of Ghana, represented by a bird with egg in its mouth with its head turned backwards while its feet face forward.
ENRICHING COURSES WITH AFRICAN EXAMPLES AND CONTEXT – DAVID M. BOWEN

Abstract—In the course of teaching it is common practice to assess student progress through exams and projects. However, in addition to assessment, exams and projects present an opportunity to capture and direct student imagination and creativity to apply analytical tools to contemporary problems in international settings. By utilizing such opportunities, educators can introduce or reinforce global issues and perspectives critical to professional development, institutional and program learning outcomes, and accreditation requirements, concurrent with assessing mastery of course content. This is accomplished without consuming extra time or sacrificing necessary topical rigor. In this paper we present examples of projects, exams and case studies that utilize this concept of concurrent learning.

Keywords—institutional learning outcomes, professional development, ethics, accreditation, ABET.

I. Introduction

The third of three goals of the US Peace Corps is: “To help promote a better understanding of other peoples on the part of Americans.” [1] As a former Peace Corps volunteer I began incorporating my experiences as a volunteer into courses whenever possible. As my international experiences grew beyond my volunteer service and my classes included greater proportions of international students, my teaching philosophy has evolved to include the goal of “Educating students in ways that promote better understanding among peoples from diverse backgrounds, circumstances and cultures.”

Reflection on the potential outcomes of such an approach reveal benefits not only of producing more globally aware graduates, but also to programs searching for ways to address accreditation and institutional learning outcomes.

While it is of course not fair or advisable to include materials not relevant to a course subject area, or to utilize an exam to introduce and assess students on topics not germane to the class, it is still possible to create exam questions and case studies that will expose students to contemporary global issues in addition to conducting student assessments. Similarly, student project topics can be selected to introduce and expose students to critical issues that may not be the direct focus of the class, but are recognized by accreditation authorities and practitioners as essential for professional development and maturity, as well as exposing learners to material relevant to institutional and programmatic learning outcomes.

In addition to applying and assessing course topic related skills, carefully crafted assignments can achieve the following:

- Provide students a deeper understanding of a contemporary problem or situation of significance
- Increase global perspectives through analysis of humanitarian, political or environmental issues;
- Develop skills in identifying salient features of unstructured problems;
- Require students to identify, acquire and filter data relevant to the problem (instead of always providing all data that is necessary and sufficient);
- Demonstrate the power of appropriate application of critical thinking and analytical problem solving tools for positive impact in important areas.
II. Examples

Following are examples of projects, exam questions, anecdotes and case studies used by the author in teaching a variety of analytical and qualitative courses at CSU East Bay.

- Refugee Relief Project
- Mozambican Crops and Infrastructure themed exam
- Poacher Problem
- Rural Bus Ticket Dispensing Machine Interface problem
- Kenya Door anecdote
- Nigerian Magazine case
- Chinese shoe factory in Ethiopia case

The first (See appendix Fig. 1) is from a project assignment that concerned the relief efforts for refugees and internally displaced persons. At the time of the project assignment there were a number of specific and globally important political and humanitarian situations caused by ethnic hostilities, war and political strife, publicized by daily news reports and also depicted in the movie ‘Darfur Now.’ The trailer for that movie was used to introduce the project to the students, which immediately captured the students’ attention and empathy.

The second example (appendix Fig. 2) encompassed multiple problems when an entire midterm exam was constructed on Mozambican nation building themes. These include farmer land/crop allocation, agricultural goods supplier strategies, and infrastructure capabilities and priorities. This is followed by a problem focused on the battle against elephant poaching (appendix Fig. 3). The fourth example focuses on interface design for a rural bus line ticket dispensing machine (appendix Fig. 4).

In addition to projects and exam questions, I look for opportunities to incorporate global and especially African contexts to introduce or discuss course concepts. These opportunities are plentiful and result in use of personal anecdotes and published case studies. Examples of these include: the ‘Kenyan doorway’ anecdote from my Peace Corps service experience to practice human factors anthropometric analysis; and the Cases, “A New Magazine in Nigeria” [2] and, “Ethiopia Becomes China’s China in Global Search for Cheap Labour” [3], which both allow for rich discussion of classic organizational behavior topics and the role of culture in organizations.

Structuring course assignments and exams around events that are current, dramatic, engaging and urgent, provide a sense of purpose beyond getting a grade in a course assignment. Rather than ignoring current events or feeling disassociated from them as they focus on learning somewhat abstract concepts and sometimes challenging material, students are exploring the relevancy of their new found knowledge and analytic skills for problem resolution and resource allocation to provide maximum benefit. It is important that we emphasize that such benefits do not need to be solely measured on minimizing cost or maximizing profit, but can include benefits of improving quality of life for a vulnerable population.
III. Discussion

The environment that today’s graduates encounter is characterized by increasingly complex systems, an accelerating rate of technological change and global collaboration and competition. To thrive in this changing environment, graduates need to acquire an appropriate set of skills and global understanding to complement disciplinary knowledge. For example, industry has increasingly been demanding that graduating engineers come equipped with important non-technical skills. This demand is recognized by engineering deans [4], [5] and is reflected by the Accreditation Board for Engineering and Technology (ABET) accreditation criteria [6].

ABET, the accrediting body for engineering programs in the USA, includes in its set of accreditation criteria a number of skills beyond the typical technical skills. These include skills such as, “A knowledge of contemporary issues,” “An understanding of professional and ethical responsibility,” and the ability to “Understand the impact of engineering solutions in a global economic, environmental and societal context” [6].

Similarly, the Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business (AACSB International), the accrediting body for business programs, states that topics typically found in management programs should include global, environmental, political, economic, legal and regulatory contexts, as well as “Ethical behavior and community responsibilities in organizations and society” [7].

Most higher education institutions also have ‘institutional learning outcomes’ commonly referred to as ILO’s. At CSU East Bay these ILOs define the broad areas of knowledge, skills, abilities and values that graduates of CSUEB are expected to develop as a result of their general education, major studies and co-curricular activities [8].

These ILO’s include the ability to: -apply knowledge of diversity and multicultural competencies to promote equity and social justice in our communities; work collaboratively and respectfully as members and leaders of diverse teams and communities; and act responsibly and sustainably at local, national, and global levels;

Pursuit of such outcomes is not traditionally emphasized in scientific or analytical courses. However, such courses can provide an excellent opportunity to introduce and or reinforce topics related to these outcomes through targeted construction of exam questions and projects.

The following are some of the features of the example assignments and discussions that make them relevant for pursuit of accreditation requirements and institutional learning outcomes.

The Refugee Relief problem (appendix Fig. 1) leads naturally to discussions of what constitutes a fair and ethical policy. If certain refugee populations are extremely expensive to support, is it ethical to spend scarce resources supporting them when the same resources could support twice as many refugees at a different location? How costly is a political decision to utilize all donated grain even though mathematical analysis shows it is better to purchase and transport from a closer source than to transport free grain over a much longer distance?

Some key features in the Refugee Relief Project that address ABET and Institutional ILO’s are:

- The situation, optimizing relief efforts for supplying refugees with food, affords students the opportunity to become knowledgeable about very real and contemporary issue

- Policy issues are very important; what is the relative cost of supplying relief in different locales? How should limited resources be allocated when supplying individuals in one location costs twice as much as
in another location? Is it ethical to exclude regions due to expense? Is it ethical not to if such exclusion saves more lives overall? The project highlights the impact of engineering solutions and of policy decisions in a global societal context.

In the optimal solution, some donated grain is not utilized, as the transport cost is more than the combined purchase and transport cost from another donor country. This can trigger conversations about equity and social justice and about professional and ethical responsibilities.

In 2012, the author spent 6 weeks in Africa as an ‘Encore Volunteer’ performing pro bono consulting work under sponsorship of the National Peace Corps Association with funding from USAID and International Fertilizer Development Center. The trip included visits to The Netherlands, Kenya, Burundi, Nigeria and Mozambique. The focus was primarily on investigating feasibility of mechanization for small-holder farmers growing cassava in Mozambique. These experiences were related to the students to convey the importance of being able to apply analytical decision making tools in this context, which were reflected in the context of midterm exam questions.

Some key features in the Mozambique Nation Building themed exam problems (Fig. 2) that address ABET and Institutional ILO’s are:

- The exam questions reflect a focus on promoting equity and sustainability at local and regional levels
- Students got exposure to contemporary issues that most were unaware of prior to the course
- Students were able to clearly understand the impact of engineering solutions in the Mozambican economic and environmental contexts
- Students were able to gain an understanding of how professionally and ethically responsible application of analytical skills can impact and better the lives of subsistence farmers

The Anti-Poaching Problem (appendix Fig. 3), in addition to assessing students’ grasp of ‘game theory’ analytical modelling methods, also served to make them aware of a global contemporary issue related to a very real and direct struggle/conflict involving environmental and economic sustainability.

The ‘Interface Design for Bus Ticket Machine’ problem (appendix Fig. 4) explores the ergonomic design of a human-machine interface in a human factors engineering course. Designing an interface for a user population that includes native speakers of many languages and a significant proportion that are illiterate is intended to lead the student to realize that use of appropriately constructed icons is the practical design choice.

This problem highlights what is required to act responsibly at a local level for a locality dissimilar from what most students are accustomed to. It serves to highlight both the problem of illiteracy and the multi-cultural / multi-lingual reality of many African contexts. The problem can be used as a starting point to generate discussion of what is ‘appropriate technology’ design, and to consider what segments of a population are served by a particular design and what segments are left unserved by that same design.

In terms of accreditation criteria and institutional ILO’s, the ticket dispensing interface problem served to strengthen student’s ability to promote equity in communities, to act responsibly at a local level, and provided increased knowledge of contemporary issues. Additionally, impact of engineering solutions in global contexts was strengthened.

Another practice for ‘Teaching Africa’ is the use of anecdotes for examples when introducing new concepts. This practice can serve to bring alive concepts that might otherwise seem less compelling. One
example of this is what I refer to as my ‘Kenyan Door’ story. The gist of this story is that, while living in Kenya in a primarily Kamba community, I had a doorway that was not as tall as I was, so I had to duck my head when passing through the doorway.

Why was the doorway not tall enough? What are the design considerations for how tall a door should be? This is the essence of anthropometric design - the design of objects guided by the measurement of a human population along relevant characteristics. In this case, my height of 186.7 cm compared to the local adult male population [9], which was 167.9 cm with a standard deviation of 6.7 cm, put my height at 2.8 standard deviations above the mean height of the local population which equates to the 99.75th percentile. This means that the short door height was in fact a very reasonable design choice as the design accommodated all but 3 out of a 1000 users. Though reasonable, it still meant that I had to be very careful going in and out, which I was - except for one time.

One night the wind was very very strong. I lay awake in bed due to the loud noises. Due to the generally hot environment, houses were constructed with a gap between roof and supporting wall to allow air flow. All of the sudden there was an even louder crack and what sounded like a car crash. I was now staring up at the moon and stars instead of my roof, as the wind had curled my mabati (corrugated iron) roof off like it was a tin of sardines. I bolted out of bed and ran outside as I feared the whole house would collapse. In my panic I was not careful enough and hit my head on the door frame on the way out.

It turns out that ‘white ants’ (termites) had constructed mud tunnels from the ground up to the wood rafters and been munching away for some time before the wind took over and completed the destruction.

So what could have been a dry introduction to a statistical procedure for determining the % of population accommodated by a particular design is instead presented as an out-of-the-ordinary personal experience, one that is in some ways comical and very entertaining to students. But more importantly, the narrative serves to educate and generate discussion about: physical differences between ethnicities and what factors might drive those differences; different construction methods; contemporary issues faced in a developing world context; what constitutes reasonable/ethical design and; some of the challenges associated with locally sourced sustainable design choices.

In addition to primarily quantitative courses I also teach primarily qualitative courses where I often look for interesting case studies to incorporate in class exercises and as the focal point for exam questions. Examples of this include the 'Nigerian Magazine' case [2] and the 'Chinese Factory in Ethiopia' [3] case. The first is a case written as a text while the latter is an online article originally appearing in Bloomberg and Fashion.

The cases serve to provide exposure to diverse communities, to generate discussion about gender and culture, to enhance understanding of professional and ethical responsibilities as well as exploring what acting sustainably entails. They also serve to enhance knowledge of diversity and multicultural competencies and in the Ethiopian-based case, serves to generate discussion of equity and social justice in the context of economic development involving international partners.

A summary of the examples and their relevance to accreditation criteria and institutional learning outcomes is shown in Table 1.
Table 1. Summary of Example Projects, Problems, Anecdotes and Cases, and Related Accreditation Criteria and Institutional Learning Outcomes.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Applicable Accreditation Criteria and Institutional Learning Outcomes</th>
<th>Example Projects, Problems, Anecdotes &amp; Cases</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A knowledge of contemporary issues</td>
<td>Refugee Relief Project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Understanding of ethical responsibilities</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Understanding the impact of engineering solutions in global contexts</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promoting equity &amp; social justice via diversity &amp; multicultural competencies</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ability to collaborate in diverse teams and communities</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Act responsibly and sustainably locally, nationally and globally</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IV. Further Benefits of Utilizing ‘Real World’ Contexts for Student Learning

As a consultant applying analytical tools and as a faculty supervisor of our capstone course, I have found that the main challenge in solving ‘real world’ problems as opposed to ‘text book’ problems, is not the mechanics of solving a well structured problem which is typically over-emphasized in engineering text books, but rather the challenge of transforming an unstructured problem into a representative structured problem, including specifying appropriate variables, identifying data requirements and performing data acquisition tasks.

Real world problems do not come labelled as linear programming or max flow problems; it is up to the solver to identify the characteristics of the problem and determine the possible solution techniques and then select from them the most suitable solution strategy. A careful reading of the Refugee Relief supply problem reveals that students are not instructed to use linear programming, network flow analysis or decision analysis to solve the problems, they are just asked a question and directed to supply an answer. When asked to apply analytical tools in their professional life, the identification of relevant variables and data and incorporating them into a viable formulation will be their true ‘value add.’

Since deciding which tool is most appropriate for which particular set of circumstances is probably the most important skill that a student can acquire from an analytical course, time and effort devoted to pursue that skill is warranted. Providing a stream of unconventional themes and settings and not specifying which tool must be used forces students to use creativity in the application of their new set of analytical tools.

V. Conclusions

Recent years have seen a recognition of the importance of broadening the skills of graduates to meet institutional learning outcomes that emphasize global society, diversity and multiculturalism, local, national and international community service and ethics. Within my discipline of engineering, program accreditation depends in large part of graduates ability to meet such criterion. Of course, in engineering this broadening is expected to occur without the reduction or dilution of any of the traditional core skills, or adding to unit requirements that are already higher than most non-engineering majors. One way to facilitate accomplishment of these competing requirements is to utilize exam and project questions as learning tools in addition to their use as assessment tools.

A traditional practice in the teaching of analytical decision tools in engineering is often to set problems and assignments in terms of generic production of, for example, ‘widgets.’ The idea was that the tools can be applied to many products, systems or contexts, so rather than have students apply their tools to a specific product and possibly miss its relevancy for all products, the application was devoted to such mythical products and students were left to make the intellectual leap to determine the applicability in a specific context.

Unfortunately, for many students this application of sometimes abstract techniques and rules to an abstraction of a product, served to further separate their academic experience from real world problems and settings. We argue that such ‘abstraction’ practices lead to missed opportunities to infuse courses with important social, environmental and ethical themes that are important for professional development and competency.
Through careful construction of questions, practical and professionally important skills and perspectives can be introduced or reinforced. These include provision of global, environmental, political, regulatory and ethical contexts; Application of course concepts to contemporary societal problems, and; An appreciation for the impact of analytical based solutions in those contexts.

In analytical courses, sensitivity analysis can be used to provoke consideration of policy and regulatory questions, and to focus attention beyond efficient allocation of current resources to consider strategic acquisition of further resources. These aspects are demonstrated in, for example, the Mozambique water transport problem when students are asked which pipe to expand.

Together, these concurrent learning features serve to broaden student perspectives. Analytical tools are not just used for maximizing profit, minimizing cost or saving time, they can also be applied towards contemporary societal issues such as minimizing environmental impact, and maximizing life sustaining efforts for society’s most vulnerable communities. Inclusion of current news items in exams and assignments helps to instil a sense of power and relevancy for the analytical tools that students are being asked to master and can help them see beyond the intellectual challenges associated with gaining competency.

The project assignments, exam questions, anecdotes and cases presented are but a few examples of such assignments can utilize topics to provide meaningful contexts for the application of analytical methods and qualitative discussions. Through these, concurrent learning is promoted in areas such as data acquisition, filtering and reporting, environmental and regulatory policies, social responsibility, and ethics.

Will exposure to such topics motivate students to devote their time and resources to noble causes such as environmental rehabilitation or refugee relief? Possibly a few will, but the immediate benefit of such a practice is that all students will gain a greater appreciation for the many significant dimensions relevant to decisions made by designers, analysts, governments and corporations, and will also gain exposure to the potential power of analytical decision-making tools and techniques to positively influence those decisions and improve the impact of such decisions.

VI. References

United States Peace Corps, (https://www.peacecorps.gov/about/)


The author gratefully acknowledges and thanks the following for financial support: US State Department – J. William Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board; CSU East Bay & CSU System-wide; USAID/National Peace Corps


June 20th marked World Refugee Day. A series of concerts worldwide took place to raise awareness and to raise money. Through these efforts the total amount of money raised in millions of dollars is equal to your NetID. In addition, the governments of the United States, China and Australia have each agreed to donate food staples in the amounts shown in the table below. These foods are located in the capital cities of each country.

You have been identified as ‘the’ efficiency expert, and the over 15 million donors, as well as the people receiving aid, are all counting on you. You need to design the optimal resource allocation strategy for maximizing food relief efforts to the top 6 refugee sites and top 5 IDP sites as identified here: http://africanaffairs.suite101.com/blog.cfm/world_refugee_statistics.

The donor agency has decided, as a matter of policy, that they will use all the resources at their disposal to feed all the refugees and IDP’s at these sites for as long as they can, i.e., all will receive aid for the same number of days until the resources are used up.

How should resources be used to maximize the number of days that the refugee populations can be supplied?

Nutrition
Minimum caloric requirements are 1,200 per person per day. Conduct research to determine the calories supplied by rice, wheat and barley. Extra grains can be purchased only at the locations and prices shown in the table below.

Transportation
Transporting these food items from the donor capital cities to the recipient capital cities costs $0.09 per ton per km. [The final transport and delivery from recipient capitals to refugee/IDP camps will be performed and funded by the UN.] You may find the following helpful in determining necessary distances: http://www.elbruz.org/the-world/capital-to-capital-distance/

Questions
How much food should be shipped from each donor capital city to each recipient capital city?
How long can the targeted refugee & IDP populations be supported by the combination of food donations and concert funds?
How much money is spent on transport, and how much in purchasing food?
How much grain is purchased at each donor capital?
How much grain is shipped from each donor capital to each recipient capital?
Are there any capitals where you are not purchasing grain, and if so, how much would the price need to be reduced for you to start buying grain there?
How expensive would USA Wheat need to become for you to not purchase any?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Donor</th>
<th>Grain</th>
<th>Donated Amount (Tons)</th>
<th>$/lb to purchase more</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>Barley</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
You are engaged in a battle of wits against elephant poachers. You are deciding how to deploy your anti-poaching wardens and the poachers are deciding where to poach: 

- Down by the river
- Base of the mountain
- Middle of forest
- Dispersed throughout

This is a serious endeavor, and the numbers in the table below are the number of elephants killed (negative #'s) and number of poachers captured (positive #'s) for each strategy combination. Both wardens and poachers have this same information.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Down by the river</th>
<th>Base of the mountain</th>
<th>Middle of forest</th>
<th>Dispersed throughout</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wardens</td>
<td>Poachers</td>
<td>Wardens</td>
<td>Poachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a) Identify and explain any dominated strategies for either side.
b) What are the minimax and maximin strategies in this problem?
c) What strategy would you recommend for the wardens and why would you choose this strategy?

2) Firm A and B are both developing new markets for their crop intensification goods. Each firm will enter Market 1 and Market 2 in the near future, and they are deciding whether to initially concentrate on 1 or 2 or both equally. This decision to start will have important implications for future market share. The following table shows the market share that is earned by Firm A at the expense of Firm B in the two markets.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Firm A</th>
<th>Firm B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What is the optimal strategy for Firm A? Be specific and discuss the expected result for Firm A and B of this decision.

3) An irrigation project is underway, with the goal of flowing water from Nampula Springs (1) to Pemba (10), given the existing infrastructure piping as shown. a) What is the maximum flow that can occur (liters per minute)? Note that it is possible for water to flow through a pipe in either direction BUT it can only flow in a single direction at a time. b) If you could add capacity of 100,000 liters per minute to the system, where would you add it and why?

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Fig. 2 Mozambique Nation Building Themed Exam
GOLD COAST/GHANA IN CONTINENTAL AFRICAN AND WORLD HISTORY: POINTS OF THEMATIC CONTACT - KENNETH R. CURTIS

In considering possible strands for presentation at the California State University’s “Ghana Calls” program, “Teaching Africa” was the obvious option. After training as an African historian, I have been teaching modern African history for thirty years, and Ghana (prior to independence in 1957, the Gold Coast) has always figured prominently in my narrative of the continental African past. Indeed, Ghanaian authors have frequently found their way onto my students’ required reading lists.58

The complication, however, is that I can by no means present myself as an authority on Ghanaian history. My research language is the East African lingua franca of Swahili; my country of focus is Tanzania (before 1964, Tanganyika); I have never worked in Ghana’s archives; in fact, I had never set foot in the country before the summer of 2018.

Yet the opportunity to present on the history of Gold Coast / Ghana made me realize just how far this small country “punches above its weight” in African and World History. In both teaching and publication, where I often strive for high altitude thematic analysis of continental African and comparative world histories, the Gold Coast and Ghana play a persistent role, providing concrete examples of larger continental and global historical themes.

In the analysis that follows I will give some examples from my own publications. For World History59 I will draw on my co-authored world history textbook for university undergraduate students, Voyages in World History.60 I will also reference a chapter from the world history primary source reader I put together as part of Discovering the Global Past: A Look at the Evidence.61

58 For example, A. Adu Boahen, African Perspectives on Colonialism, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1987. Boahen was also the general editor of the UNESCO General History of Africa Volume VIII, Africa since 1935, Paris, UNESCO, 1993. (Ghanaians remember the late Professor Boahen as an unsuccessful presidential candidate in 1992.) Many works of Ghanaian fiction can also be successfully used in the classroom. I have had particular success with works by Ayi Kwei Armah. The Healers (1979) offers a deep contemplation of the African responses to the colonial imposition; The Beautiful Ones are Not Yet Born is a despairing, yet beautifully rendered portrait of the corruption which undermined Ghanaians great hopes for independence.

59 Since at least the 1980s, the “new World History” (sometimes called Global History) has offered scholars a variety of paths to transcend traditional nationally-organized (or civilisationally-organized) historical narratives to explore trans-regional and global themes deep into the human past. Eurocentric perspectives are offset as a wider variety of human experiences and human voices are brought into view. The challenges and achievements of world historical scholarship are considered in a volume I co-edited with the late Jerry Bentley, Architects of World History: Researching the Global Past (Boston: Wiley, 2012). Bentley was the long-time editor of the Journal of World History and a major figure in the World History Association; consult their website for further background, and also Ross Dunn, Laura Mitchell and Kerry Ward editors, The New World History: A Field Guide for Teachers and Researchers (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016.) For a broad application of World History approaches to Africa, see Erik Gilbert and Jonathan Reynolds, Africa in World History, 3rd edition, New York: Pearson, 2011.

60 Valerie Hansen and Kenneth R. Curtis, Voyages in World History, 3rd edition, Boston: Wadsworth, 2016. I was primarily responsible for the modern half of the book, which is also frequently used in Advanced Placement World courses by high school students following a college-level curriculum.

For continental African history, I draw on my teaching as well as the table of contents for my current project, *The Genesis of Modern Africa, 1800-2010*. Here we find relevant material in discussions of the organization and legacies of the Atlantic Slave Trade; for the rise of new African social and commercial elites in response to global industrial modernity prior to colonial conquest; for the unexpected and rapid onslaught of European conquest and of the choices faced by Africans in response; for the incorporation of Africans into the contemporary global economic system as producers of export commodities and consumers of imported manufactures; and for causes and consequences of Britain’s colonial administrative framework of Indirect Rule.

This survey of the country’s outsized historical role could easily extend beyond the second World War to encompass the second half of the twentieth century, when Ghana served first as a beacon of liberation to people of African descent around the world under its charismatic founding leader Kwame Nkrumah, then as an awful example of the disappointments that came with cycles of military coups and the entrenchment of corruption, and finally as once again as a potential role model, this time for the neo-liberal model of free markets, foreign investment, and competitive multi-party elections. That more recent history will be summarized in bullet points at the end to make that point that Ghana continues to make an impact on African and world affairs belying its small size.

I. **The Transformation of Slavery in Africa**

Sugar from the West Indies was the economic enterprise which drove the Atlantic Slave; tragically, Africans were the ones who suffered to sweeten British tea and enrich European planters and merchants.\(^{62}\)

Since Europeans themselves could hardly survive the disease environment of the seventeenth century Caribbean, where malaria and yellow fever had become endemic, and since indigenous Americans in the region were largely wiped out by imported diseases, only Africans could tolerate the harsh conditions of plantations labor and (through prior exposure) the West Indian disease environment.\(^{63}\) From that calculus came the tragic trade commemorated at Ghana’s Elmina and Cape Coast castles.

To bring the story closer to students, in *Voyages in World History* we use individual travelers and their experiences to open windows on such central themes of world history. For the chapter “The Atlantic System: Africa, the Americas, and Europe, 1550-1807” I chose the Anglo-African abolitionist Olaudah Equiano as our guide, focusing on *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African* (1789).\(^{64}\) As a primary source Equiano’s account of African origins and the Atlantic slave trade is not unimpeachable, but his status as a man who won his own freedom and became a major British abolitionist (most notably with the publication of his book, the first such account by an African to be widely available) make him a unique guide.\(^{65}\) Students who have already absorbed the idea of Africans as victims will be inspired by Equiano’s account, not only of the horrors of slavery but also of his own liberation and the role he played in the fight for abolition.

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\(^{65}\) There is some dispute as to whether Equiano was actually born in Africa, and therefore whether he personally experienced the Middle Passage as narrated in his memoir. There is no conclusive evidence either way, and the early sections of the book are certainly “authentic” in conveying specifically Igbo memories. See Vincent Carretta, *Equiano, the African: Biography of a Self-Made Man*, New York, Penguin, 2007.
Equiano was not from the Gold Coast, rather from the Igbo language area of what is now southeastern Nigeria. But his story serves to introduce the theme of “transformations in African slavery,” one for which I use an exemplar from the Asante Empire of the Gold Coast.66

Amongst the most controversial topics in modern African History is the role played by indigenous societies in supplying European ships with their awful cargo. That African political and commercial leaders played such role is incontrovertible, however a nuanced focus on historical dynamics is necessary to avoid a simplistic “who sold who” narrative.

In case after case, we see how indigenous forms of social dependency were transformed under the influence of the Atlantic trade into harsher conditions approaching European commercial models. Equiano insists, for example, that the “slaves” of his natal village were really no more than servants, people whose social inferiority was noted, but with no residential segregation and without social exclusion. In fact, in many African societies the tendency over time was to incorporate marginalized outsiders as full community members.

Upon arrival, however, a war captive or refugee was entirely marginalized. Without clan or lineage, entirely deracinated, such strangers experienced what Orlando Patterson calls “social death,” that is, while physically alive they had none of the social bonds which grant social rights and structure social responsibilities.67 As Akosua Perbi argues for pre-colonial Ghana, the disabilities that came with slave status were stark: toiling at the most difficult work, even the possible fate of dying in ritual sacrifice. Though slaves could accumulate modest property, it reverted to their masters upon death.68 Even today, she argues, the stigma of subordinate status sometimes remains in rural Ghana.

Though Perbi makes a case for the endurance of slavery and slave status over the four centuries of her study, the anthropological literature can be used to make the case that in at least some cases African societies tended to integrate marginalized outsiders over time by restoring their “social life.” In such cases “fictive kinship,” through the assertion of imagined common ancestors, could facilitate the transition.69 The question is whether in any given case we should judge pre-colonial African societies as “societies with slaves,” where slavery was incidental to social and economic life, as distinct from full-fledged “slave societies” in which the master/slave relationship was fundamental.

Equiano himself tells us that after being kidnapped as a young boy and sold to a wealthy woman merchant he experienced something like this restoration of “social life”: “When mealtime came I was led into the presence of my mistress, and drank with her with her son... Indeed everything here, and their treatment of me, made me forget that I was a slave.”70 In a previous age Equiano, perhaps through marriage and “fictive kinship,” might have been incorporated into his master’s lineage. Alas, the lure of the new monetary commerce emanating from the Atlantic was too strong, and he reported being sold onward to face the Middle Passage.


68 However Dr. Perbi also stresses that unlike chattel slaves in the Americas, in pre-colonial Ghana slaves had assured rights as well as responsibilities, including the right to marry. Akosua A. Perbi, A History of Indigenous Slavery in Ghana From the 19th to the 19th Century, Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2004.


70 Cited in Voyages in World History, p. 575.
Traditional inequalities had, by the eighteenth century, been transformed, hardened in the direction of chattel slavery.

The powerful Asante Empire could not have been more different from Equiano’s politically decentralized homeland, yet here also established norms were transformed in the wake of the Atlantic trade. Asante participation in the Atlantic slave trade was vigorous, and still fuels resentment descendants of people (for example, some Northern Ghanaians) whose families suffered as a result.\(^{\text{71}}\)

Still, it is important not to exaggerate the role of slavery and the slave trade in Asante society, as we see through a comparison with a neighboring West African state. The kings of Dahomey, after they conquered the slave transit port of Whydah in 1727, assiduously pursued slave trading to get the guns and luxury goods they needed to break from their subservience to the Oyo Empire and assert regional predominance. Here is a nearby example of African rulers focusing almost exclusively on the slave trade as a means toward wealth and power.

The contrast with Asante is subtle, but instructive. For a century following the creation of the Asante Confederation in 1701, its rulers had no real competitors, only resistance from smaller chiefdoms resisting incorporation. The resulting wars, planned to force the submission of minor powers to the Asantehene in the capital of Kumasi, inevitably produced war captives. As Voyages in World History explains: “Before the rise of the Atlantic trade, these war captives would have been sent home through prisoner exchanges, redeemed for ransom, or kept as household servants and farm workers.” Then the process of incorporating outsiders into local lineages would have begun. However, the situation had now changed: “where war captives had once been a mere byproduct of wars fought for other purposes, now some African leaders, as in Asante, had an added motive for military expansion, including access to valuable imported goods.”\(^{\text{72}}\)

The transformation in treatment of marginalized outsiders in West African societies is perhaps an underappreciated consequence of the Atlantic slave trade. Even as a small number of Africans benefitted richly from the slave trade, for the vast majority life became less secure and more violent. Populations stagnated (while in eighteenth century Europe, Asia and the Americas there was strong population growth.)

And the tragic implications of the slave trade for West Africans did not end with Britain’s abolition of the slave trade in 1808, or with the subsequent use of the Royal Navy to stop what the British now defined as contraband trade. Ironically, even after 1834, when slavery ceased to have legal status within the empire, the use of slaves within West Africa to produce commodities for British markets actually increased.

The new British emphasis on “legitimate trade” resulted from specifically industrial needs, from the quest for tropical commodities grown by African (and Asian as well as Latin American) peasants, and was guided by emerging ideology of liberal free trade. Palm oil was West Africans’ main contribution to the early industrial economy. Useful not only for the manufacture of soap (“Palmolive”), vegetable oils were in increasing demand for industrial lubrication: British imports of West African palm oil surged from 223 tons in 1800 to over 21,000 tons in 1850.

At the same time the price of manufactures was declining due to the efficiencies of factory production. West Africans therefore had excellent market incentives to dedicate land and labor to palm oil cultivation

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\(^{\text{72}}\) Hansen and Curtis, Voyages in World History, p. 573
during a period (1800-1850) when rising demand for their products and decreasing costs of imports meant that the terms of trade were actually moving their favor.\textsuperscript{23}

Of course, new inequalities accompanied this growth in commodity exports. From a geographic standpoint, and building on a trend dating to the heyday of the Atlantic slave trade, centers of population and productivity in West Africa shifted from the savanna lands of the Sahel toward the coasts. Even today, parts of northern Ghana and Burkina Faso function as poverty-stricken zones of labor emigration serving wealthier southern regions.

Most notably, the boom in palm-oil exports in the mid-nineteenth century sustained and even expanded conditions of unfree labor. The irony that British abolition efforts went along with stepped up use of non-wage labor to provide commodities for its industrial economy is beautifully humanized in the graphic history Abina and the Important Men by historian Trevor Getz and artist Liz Clarke.

Working from a single historical document, Getz and Clarke plausibly reconstruct the 1876 case brought before a British magistrate by a woman named Abina Mensah. Claiming to have been illegally enslaved, Abina pleads to have herself declared “free,” in keeping with British claims to have abolished slave status in their new coastal protectorate. Students vigorously debate whether Abina was a “slave,” and just what various actors might have meant by that terms in these historical and cultural circumstances.

In the end Abina lost her case, but thanks to Getz and Clarke her voice has not been lost. And one lesson is abundantly clear: palm oil production in the late nineteenth century Gold Coast was one of the many places where forced labor was associated with the rise of “free markets” in commodity exports. Furthermore, the text verifies the gender implications of the entanglement of African producers in global markets, for it was women and girls (valued for their reproductive as well as productive capacity) who were the most commonly exploited. Here was another even more recent example of how “transformations in slavery” undercut traditional social protections for the weak and marginalized. It may even be admissible to make a general claim that global market intrusions have worked to the advantage of African men over African women.

II. Modernities: Enlargements of Scale in African Politics, 1808-1875

The decades just before and after 1800 were a critical juncture, the starting point for what I call the genesis of modern Africa. Across the continent we find transformations deepening trans-regional and international economic connections as well as widespread enlargements of political scale. The ramifications reaching down into more intimate spheres such as social organization and religious life (where it has been argued that broader spatial and cultural interactions spurred conversions to monotheistic faiths\textsuperscript{24})

In spite of the expected cultural continuities, this was an age of experimentation, of adaptation to new circumstances. The rise of jihad-driven Sokoto Caliphate in the West African Sahel under Usman dan Fodio (r. 1809-1817) and of the Zulu Empire under Shaka (r. 1818-1828), are but two of the more dramatic cases of political revolution in this period; the rise of the ivory and slave frontier in early 19th century East


Africa offers a tragic example of violence and exploitation accompanying the more forceful intrusion of profit-seeking outsiders (both Arab and European.)

The dominant world history narrative, its Africa coverage jumping from the 1808 British abolition of the slave trade to the Berlin Conference of 1884, ignores Africa in this critical period. A more balanced world history analysis of the nineteenth century, by contrast, includes a greater diversity of global perspectives, including African ones, in considering the enormous challenges of the period. Specifically, across the world societies (including European and North American ones) faced often harsh adjustments to industrial modernity. Expanding commodity markets, faster means of transportation and communication, urbanization, and powerful new military technologies— the forces of industrialism unleashed in the early 1800s generated dialogues everywhere about how to take advantage of new possibilities without abandoning ideas and institutions that had long supported social, political, intellectual, and ethical stability.  

Still, as much as societies across the continent were facing increasing pressures from a more integrated world, the actual unleashing of European territorial ambitions in the later 19th century often came as a surprise. One African who expressed this sense of shock was King Khama III (c. 1837-1923) of the Bangwato, our guide through the Voyages in World History chapter “The New Imperialism in Africa and Southeast Asia, 1830-1914.” When Khama was a boy growing up in what is now Botswana, he witnessed white men passing through the country “going to hunt for elephant tusks and ostrich feathers.” The missionary David Livingstone made a deeper impression, but in the 1850s it would have seemed absurd to regard his small mission station as a vanguard of empire.

By the 1890s, however, Khama saw “white people like rain, for they come down as a flood.” He and his fellow Tswana kings were caught between the hammer of Cecil Rhodes’ British South African Company and the anvil of the Afrikaner quest for land. He traveled to the United Kingdom in 1895 to appeal to public opinion, and to the colonial secretary, for protection from settlers and corporate mining interests. Given the options at the time, his success in securing protectorate status for “Bechuanaland” was a diplomatic victory: Khama’s people were saved incorporation into the settler-dominated Rhodesia and South Africa, and never experienced apartheid. But protectorate status (ultimately, as we will see, to be rejected by Asante leaders) can be taken as a positive outcome only by the harsh standards of 1900. Of all the African states, only Ethiopia mustered the wherewithal to maintain its sovereignty.

Along the Gold Coast the situation was different in that the societies of the coastal zone had been in direct and intensive contact with Europeans for centuries. It was similar, however, in that the full-frontal assault on their sovereignty during the scramble for Africa was equally unexpected, as an examination of the three Anglo-Asante wars fought between 1823 and 1875 will show.

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75 A key example from Southern African history is the tragedy of the Xhosa Cattle Killing movement of the 1850s. As with the contemporary Taiping Rebellion in the Qing Empire, millenarian leaders invoked spiritual forces, in this case the rising of dead warriors, offering slaughtered cattle as atonement to cleanse the land of evil. J.B. Peires, The Dead Will Arise: Nongawuswe and the Great Xhosa Cattle Killing Movement of 1856-57, James Curry. Also, Zakes Mda, The Heart of Redness, Picador, 2000. Mda tells a fictional account of the Xhosa tragedy emphasizing parallel debates of political morality in post-apartheid South Africa.


77 Parallels between Ethiopia and Siam (Thailand) are explored in the comparative African/Southeast Asian section of Chapter 26 of Voyages in World History.

Even prior to the outbreak of the first Anglo-Asante War in 1823, tensions had developed between the two powers. The Asante claimed suzerainty over the coast: securing the most direct access to European trading forts (English, Portuguese, and Dutch) was central to its commercial strategy. However the Akan chiefdoms intermediate between the coast and the Asante confederacy in the forest to the north were anxious to avoid absorption into the great forest state to their north. Here we find the origins of a diplomatic triangle in which Fante leaders sought a British alliance to protect them from Asante imperialism.

Officially, the British station at Cape Coast was there only to facilitate trade. As elsewhere in the British Empire, however, “men on the spot” were apt to become entangled in local affairs without approval from distant London. Hence governors at the Cape Coast became involved in local diplomacy, shielding Fante chiefdoms from Asante imperialism and even acting as independent arbiters when called upon to help settle disputes between local chieftaincies.

Thus it was that without orders from Britain the Governor of the Cape Coast, Sir Charles MacCarthy, launched an invasion into the forest, an initiative that proved disastrous to MacCarthy’s 3000 men, almost all of whom were killed, and to the Governor himself (whose skull served as a ceremonial drinking vessel for many years.) However, an Asante counter-attacked was repelled by the British and their Fante allies. By 1831 peace had been restored, though the underlying tensions that had caused it remained.

The Second Anglo-Asante War was much less dramatic. After three decades of relative peace war broke out again in 1863 when Asante columns pursued a renegade across the Pra River, leading to a British offensive. In spite of improvements in British armaments by this time, the disease factor still worked against them, with disease killing some and weakening many. And since Britain’s Liberal government had little interest in expensive foreign adventures no financial support for reinforcements was forthcoming from London. The result was an impasse, and in 1864 diplomats from Kumasi and Cape Coast negotiated a ceasefire.

Meanwhile, Fante leaders were alarmed by what they saw as the lukewarm British defense of their interests. Rather than upping the imperial ante, it seemed the British were hesitating to maintain even their existing coastal footprint, shown by the planned exchange of British forts for Dutch ones (the Dutch were traditional allies of Asante), and the publication in 1865 of a Parliamentary White Paper envisioning the ultimate withdrawal of British forces from West Africa (apart from Freetown in Sierra Leone.)

It was in this context that a Fante Confederation was created through an alliance of Fante chiefs and British-educated local men (most of whom were graduates of Methodist mission schools). The Confederation (1868-1872) was a prime example of Africans’ creative responses to new circumstances, an attempt to lessen Fante dependence on the British. The main initiative was the adoption of a written constitution that would balance local traditions with imported ideas to bring both progress and stability to Fante society.

79 Memory of the unfortunate Governor in recorded in the geography of Accra, where the residential area of MacCarthy Hill is signposted on the road to Cape Coast.
80 Fante military capacities were augmented by the Asafo companies, groupings of young men based on male solidarity that complemented the hierarchies of matrilineal chiefdoms. The flags of the Asafo, symbols of group identity incorporating Akan parables and aphorisms, are well-known to art historians: see, for example, Corey Ross Doran and Silvia Forni, Art, Honor, and Ridicule: Asafo Flags from Southern Ghana, Royal Ontario Museum, 2016.
In envisioning a reformed Fante polity the Confederation exemplified the approach advocated by the British-educated Sierra Leonean medical doctor Africanus Horton who, in his *West African Countries and Peoples* (1868) envisioned that based on their traditional forms of governance West Africans could and should formalize their constitutions, incorporating and adapting the concept of popular sovereignty.\(^{81}\) Though the Fante constitution retained some ambiguity in this regard (unclear as it was about the exact relation between inherited chiefly authority and elected office holders) it stands as a remarkable document, anticipating many later conversations about to reconcile traditional statecraft and the modern nation-state.

The framers of the Fante Constitution were very clear in their desire for continued British aid and support: “In the first place, for the Fanti Confederation to be of real practical use in the amelioration of development, and civilization of the country, it must have the recognition, countenance and support of Her Majesty’s Government, and its friendly aid and advice.”\(^{82}\) That support was not forthcoming: the Gold Coast commander regarded the educated Fante leaders as rabblerousers aspiring above their station and threw them in jail.

From the perspective of modern African history, the Fante Confederation can be seen as an example of an aborted exercise in political modernization taken on African initiative, as a Gold Coast example of a broader pattern whereby emerging African elites – entrepreneurs, religious authorities, doctors and lawyers with European-style education – were creatively responding to new global circumstances.\(^{83}\) Such new elites assumed that they would be the principle actors in connecting Africa to the world, only to have that dream after long-time coastal residents turned into aggressive imperialists after the 1870s.

From a comparative world history standpoint, the aspirations of the Fante leaders in 1868 to safeguard their sovereignty were not qualitatively different from those of many other African, Asian and Pacific polities. In the Hawaiian Islands, for example, the mid-nineteenth century also witnessed an attempt, in this case by the monarchy, to safeguard its sovereignty through a written constitution which blended older institutions with innovations such legal checks on monarchical power. Indeed, on a grander scale, and with the notable difference of its success, Japan’s Meiji Restoration (1868) can be taken as a paradigmatic example: the reordering of an old society to meet the mandates of industrial modernity. We cannot know how well the Fante Confederation may have functioned, but we *do* know that events would very soon overtake all such attempts at African-driven reform.

A quantum shift was about to take place. By the 1870s agents of Leopold I of Belgium were staking claim to large swaths of the Congo. France, its new Third Republic seeking legitimacy in the wake of the France-Prussian War (1871), abandoned its longstanding policy of remaining on the coast, driving into the West African Sahel. The completion of the Suez Canal in 1869 had already given the British even greater strategic interest in the Nile Valley, while a newly unified Germany upset the imperial status quo and cast doubt on Britain’s future as a global hegemon. Even then, however, many Africans, including the Asante, did not realize the full extent of change until the very end of the century.

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When the Asante attacked Cape Coast in 1873 (angered that the Dutch, their traditional allies, had sold the British strategic Elmina Castle) they did not account for the transformative effect that science and industry had brought to their rival’s ability to wage tropical warfare. The British did not suffer nearly as much sickness and mortality as in previous campaigns: quinine had been discovered as a prophylactic against malaria, and the “British” forces now had a larger percentage of West African and West Indian troops with resistance to malaria and other tropical diseases. Steamships had shrunk the world since 1823, allowing greater coordination between imperial planners in London and British commanders “on the spot.” And while Asante warriors were well equipped with rifles, those were of an earlier vintage, slow to load and fire. Not only were the modern British rifles of 1874 more accurate, but they also brought with them Maxim guns and field artillery of devastating power.64

In fact, the succession of Anglo-Asante Wars can also be used to illuminate another important theme of modern world history: when, how and why the “tools of empire” developed in the wake of the industrial revolution gave Europeans the means (and perhaps the motives) to secure territorial control across the tropical world.65

The balance of power had changed, and the outcome of the third Anglo-Asante War was never in doubt. As the royal family abandoned Kumasi, he British occupied the capital and used their field artillery to demolish the Asantehene’s palace. Then the British withdrew, back to their coastal enclave. It would be another twenty years before they returned to strike the final blow to Asante sovereignty.

The Asante Confederation was left twisting in the wind; even as late as 1875 the British had not yet fully committed themselves to a forward imperial strategy. To call the events at the end of the 19th century a “new” imperialism thus seems apt.

III.  Conquest and Partition, 1875-1900

From a global standpoint, the “scramble for Africa” in the last three decades of the nineteenth century was but one theater of a New Imperialism that sealed the fate of the last of the world’s peoples to be fully incorporated into the hierarchically organized racial order of global power emanating from Europe and, increasingly, the United States. Amongst those many societies who fought for but lost their sovereignty we might cite the Lakota Sioux, Zulu, Egyptians, Filipinos, and, of course, the Asante.

African historians have noted that a military response to European incursions, where it occurred, was often markedly delayed. The societies of German East Africa who fought in the Maji-Maji uprising of 1905-1907, for example, suffered a long series of provocations, including the forced planting of cotton and the threat of famine, before their took up arms. Many African kingdoms, like the Ndebele under Lobengula, pursued diplomacy and negotiation for as long as possible, even as the invaders’ territorial ambitions became clear. Of course, caution was a natural reaction to demonstrations of the power of machine guns and field artillery.

Yet it may have been that many Africans misunderstood what was at stake in their attempts to negotiate, with Europeans and Africans having such different cultural starting points that they often talked right past each other. The European assumption, based on the concept of nation-states with well-defined territorial borders and a monopoly of armed force, was incomprehensible to Africans for whom networks of social groups were at the core of politics, with the potential for multiple and negotiable sovereignties.

64 The satirist Hilaire Belloc commented: “Whatever else happens / We have got / The Maxim Gun / And they have not.”
65 David Headrick, Tools of Empire: Technology and European Empire in the Nineteenth Century, Oxford University Press, 1981.
In Akan societies, including both the Asante and Fante, the core social group is the Abusua, the matrilineage. Lineage elders are core to local decision making, and in form the nucleus of the council of paramount chiefs. Women are well represented in all deliberations through the institution of the Queen Mother. Paramount chiefs acted through discussion and consensus, and even the Asantehene himself made decisions through consultation rather than executive order. In these societies layered sovereignties could be negotiated across lines of lineage, chiefdom, and paramountcy or kingdom.

Such nuance was lost on the new imperialists of the 1890s. By now the Tory party, once the bastion of rural elites but now seeking votes from a broader electorate, had cast itself as the “party of Empire,” countering Liberal Party worries about large expenses and ethical scruples. For the first time, domestic British politics added fuel to imperial fires, even as the French were driving across the Sahel toward the Nile Valley and the Germans were contesting British industrial supremacy, seeking markets and colonial territory across the world (including tiny Togo, neighboring Gold Coast to the east.) Only secure territorial control, undivided sovereignty, could now secure imperial interests.

In Asante, after the confusion and uncertainty that followed the destruction of Kumasi in 1875, effective leadership was restored in 1888 with the enstoolment of Otumfuo Nana Prempeh I. A teenager upon his succession, Prempeh and his councilors clearly wished to avoid conflict with the British, and extended an invitation to the Governor of Cape Coast to attend his enstoolment. But when core issues On the other hand, the basic issue of Asante sovereignty was non-negotiable.

The British offer of a protectorate (the answer to King Khama’s dilemma in a different territorial context) was unacceptable to Prempeh, as the appointment of a British “resident” in Kumasi would be an unacceptable intrusion. Though the Asante had sent a delegation to London to negotiate trade and mineral concession, invasion and conquest were now inevitable. In early 1896 the British invaded, and took Kumasi peacefully after the Asantehene ordered his forces not to resist. After Prempeh was arrested and deported to the Seychelles it seemed that the long legacy of Asante pride and glory would end not with a bang, but a whimper. (The same could be said about the house imprisonment of Queen Liliuokalani in Honolulu, or the murder of Sitting Bull at Standing Rock.)

The resignation of the Asante to conquest was not yet complete, however. Yaa Asantewa’s War, or the War of the Golden Stool (1900) brought to the fore those very core issues of sovereignty when the British overseers of the new Asante protectorate demanded t’shat the Golden Stool be brought before him. Associated with the mythic origins of the Asante state, the Golden Stool was an artefact dating from the late 17th century when, legend has it, that the great priest Okomfo Anokye caused the Golden Stool to descend from the sky to affirm the paramountcy of the first Asantehene, Opoku Kofi Ware. It was the inviolable symbol of Asante nationhood.

The British request was met first with silent outrage, and then by military action. The Asante’s standing army having been dissolved, it was a guerilla force that attacked British positions, led by Yaa Asantewa, the Queen Mother of a smaller chieftaincy with the confederation, whose son had been exiled along with Prempeh to the Seychelles.\(^{86}\) The siege of the British fort at Kumasi lasted for months before an escape column broke through, made its way to Cape Coast (facing no Asante opposition), and waited for reinforcements to be gathered from across British West Africa. Ghanaians remember Yaa Asantewa’s War with pride, even though it was in vain. Similar last stands against European encroachment in the late 19th century (Greasy Grass, 1876; Isandhlwana, 1879; Ahmed ‘Urabi’s Revolt, 1882) are commemorated across the world.

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From a world-historical perspective, Yaa Asantewaa’s War and other examples of delayed military responses to European imperialism help us reconsider traditional chronological assumptions about European global dominance. Rather than a steady rise from the so-called “Age of Exploration,” world historians are increasingly likely to locate Europe’s ascendency (in places other than the coastal Americas and Australia) in the 19th century. Even then, as evidence from the Gold Coast and many other global locations indicates, creative local adaptations to industrial modernity were well under way before the hammer of the New Imperialism fell in the last three-quarters of the century.

IV. Colonialism, 1900-1940

In 1924 Asantehene Prempeh returned from his long exile to take up once again his authority in Kumasi, and therein lies another lesson about colonial rule in Africa. For the former pariah returned with the fullest possible support and encouragement of the colonial authorities. To explain their turnaround between 1896 and 1924 we must remember the British colonial policy of Indirect Rule in Africa, and, from a world history perspective, of the global framework of British imperial policy driven most especially by developments in the British Raj in India.

The Indian Revolt of 1857 was of particular significance. The massive, spontaneous explosion in North India revealed to the British how think their forces were scattered on the ground. While taking advantage of the rebels’ disunity and lack of effective communications to suppress the rebellion, the British took the opportunity to put the Raj on a new footing. In particular, earlier antagonistic policies toward provincial Indian rulers were reconsidered. (The revolt had begun in Lucknow, where the British had used legal chicanery to displace the traditional ruling family of Oudh.)

Instead, after 1857 local maharajas, nawabs and sultans who met the test of legitimacy (by descent) and showed a compliable attitude (by accepting British “Residents” to “advise” them) were confirmed in their local authority. In fact, the British often even extended their own formidable theatrics of “pomp and circumstance” to elevate the social position of indigenous rulers, though in fact they now served as relatively minor functionaries in the colonial administrative apparatus.

It was in this environment that many future Colonial Office policy makers and “Africa hands” were educated in “native policy;” for example, Indian experiences were formative for Boy Scout founder Robert Baden-Powell (who fought in Southern Africa before participating in the British assault on Kumasi in 1896) and, most notably, Frederick Lugard, founding Governor of Nigeria and author of The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa (1922).87

Lugard’s “dual mandate” staked an ethical claim that British and African interests in colonies like Nigeria and Gold Coast were perfectly compatible. Britain would provide both financial inputs and cultural models for progress. They would protect what was best of the continent’s “tribal traditions,” including “chiefly authority,” but would purge them of primitive residues (such as slavery). (It should be noted that Lugard and other officials took a pragmatic view, however, and were careful not to disrupt local societies by over-pursuit of abolition or by allowing Christian missionaries into Muslim-majority regions. Here again the lessons learned from India post-1857 were instructive.)

One problem in executing Lugard’s paradigm for Indirect Rule was the highly diverse range of pre-existing African polities, from centralized kingdoms like Asante and Buganda to “acephalous” societies, like the Igbo in Nigeria, with very flat hierarchies of authority. The British needed “chiefs” whose authority was sufficient to manage local affairs (such as adjudicating land disputes in colonially-sanctioned “native

courts") and to implement colonial directives (especially with regard to tax collection). If traditional lines of authority were insufficient, the powers of the "chiefs" would necessarily be augmented. If traditional chiefly power were too concentrated, on the other hand, kings would need to have their wings clipped, to be refashioned into "chiefs."

A prime example was Prempeh himself. Having stood on principle in 1896 in resisting a protectorate, he accepted the inevitable with his return in 1924, abandoning any pretext of control over key policies like taxation and military planning. The gold and glitter of his office remained, and his importance as a cultural icon endured. But at the end of the day he was now a relatively low-level colonial functionary.

A variation on the Indirect Rule theme in relation to once-powerful African rulers come from Uganda. Here, after earlier conflict with the British, the kabakas of the Baganda learned to play successfully by the new rules. Under the Buganda Agreement of 1900 they accepted the same type of protectorate status that Prempeh had refused, and used it to pursue a form of sub-imperialism that concentrated economic and educational opportunities in their own kingdom. The result was preferential access to education and robust representation of Baganda personnel in the lower levels of the colonial administration. Still, the independent decision-making power of the Kabaka and the other "chiefs" of Buganda was extremely circumcised.

There were structural tensions in the system, as "native authorities" simultaneously served as transmission belts of colonial policies, minded their own (personal, family, ethnic) interests, and at least potentially defended the interests of their "tribe" to the colonial state. These inherent contradictions were exacerbated during times of economic crisis, especially the Great Depression.

For a balanced global approach it is necessary to expand the narrative of economic suffering the decade of the 1930s to include the world’s agricultural majority, since virtually all the world’s farmers were now structurally integrated into world commodity markets. Across colonial Africa local political crises were engendered by the swift drop in export prices following 1929, and the difficulties of tax collection that resulted. As the world’s leading producer of cocoa, the Gold Coast was no exception.

The connection between economic depression and political crisis is clear in the Gold Coast’s “Cocoa Hold Up” of 1937-1938. British-controlled export houses, facing diminished markets, tried to keep up their profits by colluding to fix the prices they would pay to peasant producers. To the merchants’ chagrin, and to the embarrassment of the colonial state, Gold Coast producers found out about the conspiracy and reacted by withholding their crop from the market. Akin to an agricultural “strike,” it was an effort that required remarkable discipline, especially as unsold cocoa stocks began to spoil. But the farmers held out until the British investigated and offered a compromise reform (though the Second World War soon changed both the market dynamics and the political calculus.)

Such tensions with colonial states in the 1930s could put "native authorities" in an uncomfortable situation. In my own field site of Bukoba in northwestern Tanzania, for example, chiefs found themselves bitterly denounced in 1937 for their complicity in enforcing wildly unpopular new regulations governing the cultivation of coffee. In the Gold Coast, on the other hand, it seems that because the Akan chiefs were themselves among the entrepreneurs involved in cocoa there natural position was one of solidarity with the producers against the British merchant houses. The strength-in-numbers felt by cocoa farmers in the late 1930s would play a major role a decade later in the success of the new nationalist generation led by Kwame Nkrumah in gathering rural support for self-government.

Here as in India, the British hoped that the social conservatism represented by “legitimate native authorities” adjudicating “native law and custom” would stabilize the colonial system into the far distant
future.88 “Even if the British Empire should last a thousand years” Churchill had proclaimed in 1940: its demise began just seven years later with Indian independence, and a decade after that the new nation of Ghana had been born on the foundations of the British Gold Coast. Yet the persistent need in Ghana and elsewhere to strike a balance between chiefly authority and state power reminds us of the enduring legacy of Britain’s colonial practices.

V. Conclusion

The independence of Ghana in 1957, and the exciting rise and tragic fall of Kwame Nkrumah as the most visible spokesman for African freedom, dignity and independence, secured the country’s place in modern history. That story is perhaps known well enough not to require emphasis here. Suffice to say that in the second half of the twentieth century the Gold Coast, transformed after 1957, continued to have notable influence in African and World History, tracking closely with both the achievements and disappoints of the age. With an emphasis on the role of Kwame Nkrumah89, we conclude with some latter day examples of world historical themes:

1. The theme: The role of African and other colonial soldiers in the World Wars. In 1946, Gold Coast soldiers returning home from tough battles with the Japanese in Burma were angry when they did not receive the pensions they expected. Marching on the governor’s office, they were fired upon by colonial police: several were killed. The incident serves as a necessary reminder of the role African soldiers played in the fight against fascism, and of the important role that such ex-servicemen would play in the anti-colonial movements in both the French and British empires.

2. The theme: The British quickly lost control of the political agenda in Africa after the independence of India. In 1951, Kwame Nkrumah having been imprisoned by the British for his call for “Self-Government Now” was released when his Convention People’s Party won elections. His trip directly from prison to government office followed a trail already set by Indian leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru, and later to be followed by other Africans such as Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya.

3. The theme: The mixed record of Pan-Africanism as an ideological and organizational strategy during decolonization. Nkrumah played a paramount role in the promotion of Pan-Africanism, welcoming W.E.B. DuBois as a citizen of Ghana and hosting the influential All-African Peoples Conference in Accra in 1958. The conference followed in the tradition of Pan-African Conferences first organized by DuBois in Paris 1919, and was attended by future heads of independent African states, including Patrice Lumumba (Congo), Kenneth Kaunda (Northern Rhodesia / Zambia); Hastings Banda (Nyasaland / Malawi) and inspiring Robert Sobukwe and the Pan-Africanist Congress in South Africa. Solidarity with the cause of Algerian independence was a main thrust. However, the Organization of African Unity (1963) was but a weak institutional outcome of great promises made.

4. The theme: The importance of the Non-Aligned Movement as an alternative to superpower bipolarity during the Cold War. Nkrumah’s rejected any important role for the British

88 Táiwò, How Colonialism Preempted Modernity in Africa.
90 Though he is not particularly focused on Gold Coast / Ghana, Vijay Prashad provides useful context in The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World, New Press, 2007.
Commonwealth in preference for status as a republic and membership in the Non-Aligned Movement. He thus joined a “Bandung Generation” (Sukharno; Nehru; Nasser) whose role in the global politics of the 1950s and 1960s has sometimes been unjustly neglected.

5. The theme: Centralization vs. Federalism in post-colonial African constitutional development, with preference for the former expressed as socialist development rhetoric and the latter as ethnic nationalism as codified by British colonial rule. Nkrumah’s suppression of Asante nationalism in banning the National Liberation Movement and reordering Ghana as a one-party state launched a trend toward authoritarianism that would have dire consequences for Africans across the continent in the 1970s and 1980s.

6. The theme: The persistence of structural economic inequalities after decolonization. There was great irony in Nkrumah’s failure, in spite of his clear understanding of the nature of “neo-colonialism,” to effectively negotiate the Akosombo Dam project, leaving the country even more dependent on foreign capital than before.

7. The theme: The seemingly endless cycles of military coups which plagued much of Africa after independence. After the overthrow of Nkrumah in 1966, Ghana became a negative example of the militarization of politics in the 1970s. Ghana was also an example of charismatic leaders (i.e. Jerry Rawlings, but also Thomas Sankara of Burkina Faso) who later used authoritarian means to try and break the cycle of corruption and even manage a transition back to multi-party democracy.

8. The theme: The emergence of a post-Cold War neo-liberal order as part of the globalization of the 1990s. Ghana can potentially be used as a “best example” of the merits of the neo-liberal regime of competitive multi-party elections and free market economics.91

The obvious conclusion is that there is much in Ghana’s past, and its present, that should interest those interested in modern Africa and its place in the contemporary world. From a continental standpoint the Republic of South African plays an outsize economic role; the Nigerian Republic is impressive in population, energy production, and cultural influence; the Sudan and the Democratic Republic of the Congo continue to fester as the largest unresolved conflicts of the post-colonial era. Yet the small Republic of Ghana continues to punch above its weight in African and world historical narratives.

91 At the opening session of the California State University / University of Ghana seminar “Africa Calls,” United States Ambassador Robert P. Jackson made just such a claim, extolling the virtues of foreign investment in collaboration with Ghanaian entrepreneurs and hailing the country’s stable democracy in which power was, in 2016, successfully handed over from a president to the candidate from the opposition party. It might be noted that not all the academics in attendance were in accord with the Ambassador’s rosy portrayal.
TEACHING HISTORY IN AFRICA: THE QUESTION OF SOURCES – SAMUEL ANIEGYE NTEWUSU

Introduction

In 1963, Hugh Trevor a historian in Cambridge University delivered a series of lectures in England. In one of those lectures that dealt with the rise of Christian Europe, Trevor stated: ‘it is fashionable to speak today as if European history were devalued, as if historians in the past have paid too much attention to it; and as if nowadays we should pay less. Undergraduates seduced as always by the changing breath of journalistic fashion demand that they should be taught the history of black Africa. Perhaps in the future there will be some history to teach. But at present there is none or very little. There is only the history of the European in Africa. The rest is largely darkness like the history of pre-European, pre-Columbian America and darkness is not a subject of history’⁹²

It is evident that Trevor Ropper’s statement boarders on the question of sources for writing and teaching African history. Over the years history has suffered an unfair treatment from historians themselves regarding the proper way to generate historical knowledge. My argument is that how easy or difficult the teaching of African history is, or could be is largely dependent on the historians’ sources. In this paper I discuss two key methodological tools for researching and teaching history in Africa. These are archival sources and oral interviews. I will discuss some of the problems associated with the use of such methodologies and propose some possible solutions.

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

An archive is a collection of historical documents or records providing information about a place, institution, or group of people. For several decades historians have often relied on the archive to generate information and to impart knowledge. The reliance on the archival sources is borne out of several reasons. The first has to do with the issue of objectivity in history. It is generally assumed by historians that what is documented or written down is likely to be objective and closer to the truth. As it is usually said in Ghanaian pidgin English ‘book no lie’- meaning what is written down in the book is the truth. Because most African societies do not have a written culture, archival documents soon became the most viable source of information to several historians including people from the respective communities where the documents were produced.

As earlier on stated, it was the period of European colonization up to the time of independence that a lot of archival information was generated. Information from the archives has enabled the writing of several historical narratives about Africa. A careful evaluation of such sources also reveals several problems that affect the writing and teaching of history in Africa.

For example archival sources seem to overemphasize on the political aspects of society especially high profile personalities which fences such personalities from and excludes views and expressions of so called ordinary people. It is evident that over reliance on archival sources has the potential to reject issues and

⁹² https://davidderrick.wordpress.com/2010/06/09/there-is-no-african-history/
problems of current relevance. It also privileges the literate culture over the oral. Such practice seriously handicaps methodological advances in history.\textsuperscript{23}

There is also the problem or difficulty in locating all the information that one needs in one archive. A full historical narrative of an event or events will demand visiting one or more archives. The difficulty of obtaining all the information could be due to a number of factors. It could genuinely be due to lack of files on such subjects or there is the tendency of transferring files wrongly from one place to another. For example, in Ghana the northern part of the country is known for its over dependence on non-motorized transport- head porterage, horse drawn transport and bicycling. Incidentally one would have expected that any research into none motorized transport can successfully be done in Tamale archive. But it is instead the Accra archive that houses more files on this system of transport. In the same way files related to the production and distribution of sheabutter are in the Kumasi and Accra archive instead of the northern region archive since sheabutter is entirely produced from the northern part of Ghana. These occurrences make it difficult for one to properly research for information to write or teach history.

Still on the question of limitations, in Ghana, as one progresses into the 1930s, the Secretary for Native Affairs (SNA) files begin to dwindle with an emergence of the Colonial Secretary’s Office (CSO) files. One could understand the shift in light of the colony’s political history. By the 1930s, colonialism was firmly grounded and the governor and other regional commissioners became more important. The policies governing the colony were modified to incorporate other outlying areas in the interior of Ghana. Even though such a shift is of much importance the information seem to privilege the history of administrators and chiefs as opposed to other aspects of native life that one might consider very important.\textsuperscript{24}

Relying on the archives as a source also demands that the historian and students understand or learn colonial codes in order to enable them understand the historical research they are conducting. Codes such as yours of the 4\textsuperscript{th} or 5\textsuperscript{th} instant simply refers to an earlier correspondence within that same month. The problem with this is that one needs a previous correspondence in order to be able to make meaning of current correspondence or documents. It is also becoming obvious that there were secret codes adopted by the administrators that may be misleading to historians and other researchers. For example one could come across situations where pencils or pens were used to cancel documents. Globally, pedagogical training wires people’s minds into thinking that anything cancelled is of no communicative essence. One may be compelled to ignore such documents and dispense them off as unnecessary in their research. Ironically, these cancellations rather was a way of taking the attention of other staff, especially lower and middle level class within the bureaucracy from issues discussed in those documents. Instead these cancelled documents are rather very useful historical information as they address very important issues that are of relevance to historians.

Other issues include wrong dating on files. As we are all aware dating of information is key or central to every historical research. Indeed without correct dates it might be very difficult to be able to provide any coherent historical narrative. Incidentally some of the files in the archives have wrong dates that do not match the contents within specific folders. In such cases one is left with a dilemma whether or not to use the date provided on the folder or dates provided on the papers within the folder. Correcting the date will demand understanding the general issues of the time. But since the users- both teachers and students


may not have been witnesses to the occurrence of such an event they may be forced to hazard some guess in an attempt to understand the issues being discussed. But guessing itself is something that is not encouraged in history, it is a dangerous path to thread but with no definite date, historians from time to time are forced to go that line which then affects the quality of information that one uses to write or to teach.

The intent of colonial administrators in relation to policy may also compel them to provide narratives that are incorrect and thus mislead historians into writing or teaching what really is the policy objective of administrators rather than what really is the historical fact on the ground. European administrators provided narratives in the archive that created and continue to create problems for historians. For example in 1906 the German map “Karte von Togo. C1. Bismarckburg” was produced.

Reference


The map above had on it clearly demarcated boundaries between ethnicities within their spheres of influence. Seven years later that is in 1913 a year to the First World War the same Germans had given
documents to other ethnic groups that gave them the right to rule others. One clear case in these two instances is that of the Nawuris and Gonja’s. Whereas the German map of 1906 recognised the independence of Nawuris and their land the 1913 document rather put the Nawuris under the Gonja chief Mahama-Karatu, as the contents of the document reveal in the German language:


Certainly a historian confronted with these two archival documents may have to resort to other means to be able to provide an objective discussion on issues related to the two ethnic groups. Similarly, in the 1920s, the British in their desperate attempt to introduce Indirect Rule in some parts of Ghana produced histories of particular traditional areas. These documents contain deliberate omissions of facts, the intent of which was to ensure the success of certain policies.

Indeed Governor Guggisberg one of the respected Governors that Ghana ever had was himself party to these manipulations as one of his dispatches revealed:

“Our policy must be to maintain any paramount chiefs that exist and gradually absorb under these any communities scattered about. What we should aim at is that someday the Dagomba, Gonja and Mamprusi should become strong native states. Each will have its own ‘public works department’ and carry on its own business under the political officer as a resident advisor. Each state be more or less self-contained. I would like the chief commissioner to draw up a policy for the Northern Territories showing a definite scheme for fostering the formation of these big states by compulsion.”

Certainly the attempt to please the governor made many provincial and district commissioners commit several mistakes in the implementation of policies. But the attempt at ratification of such mistakes usually turned out to be too late since officers where sometimes transferred from one province or district to another. A clear case in point is found in file number ARG 1/1/106 which involved one Mr. Branch a district commissioner in Salaga who was transferred to Yendi. He states in one of his correspondences:

Some time ago Mr. Branch, Acting Commissioner Salaga advised Chief Commissioner Northern Territories that the Nawuri tribe should be taken from the jurisdiction of D.C. Krachi and placed under Salaga. Mr. Branch was under the impression at that time that because MAMA Wurupon of Kpandai (Nawuri) was a Gonja that all his people were Gonjas whereas in effect the Nawuri people speak a dialect of Guan and have nothing in common with their paramount chief. They are however closely akin to the Chumburu and Krachi both as regarding language and custom and they take most violent exception to the idea of being placed under Salaga…… So strong is the wish of Nawuri people to remain under the wings of the District Commissioner Krachi that their elders have twice been down here and prayed for a definite assertion that they would at no time have to deal with the District Commissioner of Salaga but always remain with Krachis whom they regard as their brothers.

The question of policy objectives is further compounded by the destruction of documents in the archives by military regimes and some researchers or academics of fortune who pay off researchers to search the

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96 PRAAD, Kumasi, ARG 1/1/106, Transfer of Kratchi, Mandated area to the Northern Territories Administration, 1922-28
97 PRAAD, Kumasi, ARG 1/1/106, Transfer of Kratchi, Mandated area to the Northern Territories Administration, 1922-28
archives to pick out or destroy land and chieftaincy documents that do not contain information that are favorable to their cause especially during litigations over land, chieftaincy and other forms of property. The lack of full files in relation to a particular issue or issues makes it difficult for one to research, write, and teach about events without running into problems. It is also a fact that some of the documents have succumbed to nature, especially as the buildings and containers where the files are stored are not of the best standards for storing such documents.

It is clear from the discussions so far, that the nature of documents available to historians to write and teach are subject to a number of problems among which include wrong dates, decayed papers, lack of disclosure of real policy intent of documents, contradictory rules of engagement among others.

**ORAL SOURCES**

The historian interested in objective historical issues for purposes of teaching history would have to supplement the documentary sources with oral sources because any detailed study of a historic nature is more or less an investigation into society and change which requires a balance between archival and oral sources. The concern of historians has been to capture what actually took place and what people expressed as their opinions about what happened. In order to fulfil this ambition the qualitative method of oral interviewing is appropriate because it provided a richness of detail of the most relevant issues.

As a methodological and teaching tool oral interviews has the advantage of correcting some major misapprehensions that are contained in the archival and published material by historians. For example over the years most of the documents seem to suggest that Ashanti has not been defeated by any ethnic group in Ghana but oral sources prove otherwise. There is oral evidence to the effect that the Akyem, Dormaa and Ga have at various times in their encounter with Ashanti defeated Ashanti. The Kple and Klama songs of the Ga-Dangbe for example talk about the defeat of Ashanti at the battle of Katamanso in the early part of the 1800s. On the issue of the history of settlements and the origin of names of communities, it is often the oral source that provides detailed explanations more than the archive. For example for several years the popular academic opinion was that the name Adabraka in Accra originated as a result of trade. But through oral interviews this assertion has been dismissed and an alternative meaning of Adabraka offered. Oral sources point to the fact that there was a Muslim cleric by name Mallam Abdul-Mumin who established his Arabic school in the present day Adabraka community. He named the school Allah Barika meaning ‘God’s Blessing’ with time the name got corrupted to Adabraka. The initial explanation was that the name came about as a result of trade where Allabrak, a popular phrase for seeking a reduction of price during negotiations was constantly used which got corrupted to Adabraka. Clearly the name Adabraka according to oral sources was already in use in the 1910s years before trade picked up in Adabraka in the 1940s.

It is important to point out that it is not in all instances that oral interviews counter the records in the archives there are instances where oral interviews corroborate information in the archives. For example in the North-Eastern part of Ghana oral information supports the records in the archives. Of particular mention or interest is the oral testimonies that were given by Nana J.K. Mbimadong to me in the 2000s regarding the re-alignments of ethnicities and groups at the time of German and British rule in the area. The oral interviews were to enable me understand the ethnic conflict between the Nawuri and Gonja

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98 Interview with Dr. Moses Nii Dotei, 7th October, 2018. Nii Dotei is an ethnomusicologist at the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana.

which occurred in the early 1990s. Much of the oral information I obtained on the two ethnic groups and the rationale for their clashes correspond with information in the following files in the Public Records and Archives Administration Department (hereafter PRAAD) in Tamale: PRAAD, Tamale, NRG, 8/1/2, Boundary Disputes, Togoland, 1921; PRAAD, Tamale, NRG, 8/3/36, General Report, 1933-1947; PRAAD, Tamale, NRG 8/3/125, Gonja District Report, 1944-1945; PRAAD, NRG 8/2/210, Nawuri and Nanjuro (NTs) Under United Nations Trusteeship. 1951-1954.

Essentially the advantage of oral interviews is the fact that apart from providing alternative insights or corroborating information in the archives it provides ways for researchers, teachers and students to link up disparate life histories and to trace patterns of collective memory between people with different but shared experiences.

It is important to point out however that just as the archives; oral interview also has some challenges which researchers, teachers and students need to be careful about. Oral history methods are often accused of not being reliable because of the discursive nature of human memory and subjective activity. Also, interviews are labour intensive and requires researchers to be more skilled at an inter-personal level.\(^{100}\)

Finally there is the problem of ‘memory loss’. Interviewees may not be able to provide a detailed chronology of events due to the lapse of time. Such a situation could lead to exaggerations or lies to make up for what has been forgotten.

Despite the disadvantages oral interviews is still highly relevant for research and teaching since it gives individuals or groups of people the opportunity to contribute to knowledge. This is particularly relevant for marginalised groups.

Historians are reminded that in the field certain key guiding principles should be followed when collecting this qualitative data such as the need to be close to informants, the need to get facts and the need to capture precisely what the informants’ say or have said. In addition researchers are encouraged to ask for family albums and old pictures since the use of pictures in the field facilitate a more detailed narration of events. Photographs enable informants to discuss the physical space and to provide a critical analysis of what changes have taken place since the photographs were taken. I have noted in several of my researches that informants were more open to questions when they became aware of the existence of historical documents especially photographs. The presence of photographs validate their understandings of historical processes and events which further anchors historical knowledge in local communities and the use of that knowledge to make claims in the present.

**Conclusion**

While there may be different or unique methodological challenges in researching and teaching history in Africa, the experience narrated above could be useful to history researchers and teachers on Africa particularly those concerned about society and change in Africa.

References


PURSUITING NATION BUILDING WITHIN MULTI-PARTISAN FRAGMENTATION: THE CASE OF GHANA - CAESAR ALIMSIKYA ATUIRE

Abstract

Ghana has earned many accolades for multi-partisan democracy in sub Saharan Africa. This political system has also produced many social and economic benefits for the citizenry. However, political parties are also a vehicle for the promotion of ethnic fragmentation that perils nation building. This article explores how partisan politics in Ghana is undermining nation building. I propose a three-pronged approach to working towards nation building amidst the fragmentation of adversarial multi-partysm.

Introduction

Can an African country, Ghana, pursue nation building with a context of social and cultural fragmentation exacerbated by multi-partisan politics? The question is loaded with presuppositions that require factual justification before any normative reasoning can be applied. These assumptions can be formulated as further questions: can a nation be built? Is it true that there is social and cultural fragmentation? If so, is it true that multi-partysm contributes to this fragmentation? In the first part of this paper, I shall try to answer these questions. The second part will offer a three-pronged solution to the main question.

Terminology

There are common terms employed in political discourse whose connotations are often vague if not decidedly ambiguous, at least for philosophical purposes. The essentially contestable character of these terms calls for an initial clarification. Since we shall be employing a number of these, I will begin with some stipulative definitions. The terms are: country; state; nation; ethnicity; tribe. Each of these, aside the meanings that can be pinned down in a definition, are nuanced with ideologies which I shall try to point out especially with reference to the African context.

State and country

A state is a legal entity which, according to the Montevideo convention of 1933, should possess: a permanent population; a defined territory; a government; and the capacity to enter into relations with other states. The key element in the definition of a state is sovereignty: “complete self-sufficiency in the frames of a certain territory, that is its supremacy in the domestic policy and independence in the foreign one.” As Cudworth puts it, a state: “is a compulsory political organization with a centralized government that maintains a monopoly of the legitimate use of force within a certain geographical territory.” The word ‘country’ on the other hand, derives from the vulgar Latin, contrata, referring to a (land) lying opposite. In common usage it is synonymous to a state even though there are some smaller political units that are also referred to as country. Somaliland, for example, can be called a country but not a state. Or, the UK is often said to make up of four countries: England; Scotland; Wales; and Northern Ireland. A country is a region of land defined by geographical features or political boundaries that can be occupied by a nation or a group of nations. For our purposes we shall use the word country interchangeably with state even though country does not require sovereignty as a state does.
**Ethnicity**

The term ethnic group or ethnicity is rooted in the Greek *ethnos*. According to Liddle and Scott, the Greek connotation of the word would be “a number of people living together, company, body of men; nation, people; class of men, caste, tribe.” The Encyclopaedia Britannica defines an ethnicity as “a social group or category of the population that, in a larger society, is set apart and bound together by common ties of race, language, nationality, or culture.” Others insist that ethnicity requires a belief in a common descent, leading to historically given identity. Max Weber also makes similar claims. In essence, an ethnic group is a named social category of people based on perceptions of shared social experience or one’s ancestors’ experiences. Members of the ethnic group see themselves as sharing cultural traditions and history that distinguish them from other groups. Ethnic group identity has a strong psychological or emotional component that divides the people of the world into opposing categories of “us” and “them.” In contrast to social stratification, which divides and unifies people along a series of horizontal axes on the basis of socioeconomic factors, ethnic identities divide and unify people along a series of vertical axes. Thus, ethnic groups, at least theoretically, cut across socioeconomic class differences, drawing members from all strata of the population.

The challenge with that perception of ethnicity which underlines common ancestry is that, due to historical intermingling of peoples, the claim by members of an ethnic group to a common ancestry is more often based on myth rather than fact. In recent times, DNA studies have revealed shocking information to many people about what they believed was their ancestral heritage. Nevertheless, even though ethnicity can sometimes be grounded on weak biological and historical foundations, it is upheld by myths, traditions, language, culture, and beliefs that create a feeling of belonging to an exclusive group, a sense of identity, and a solidarity within the group that is not shared in the same way with others who do not belong to the same group.

Tribes are often considered to be sub-set of ethnic groups. For example, the Akan ethnic group of Ghana is made up of various tribes such as the Fanti, Ashanti, Akyem among others. In African political discourse, the term tribe is also often loaded with negative connotations and tribalism is perceived as a negative value.

**Nationhood**

According to Black’s Law dictionary, a nation is “A people, or aggregation of men, existing in the form of an organized jural society, usually inhabiting a distinct portion of the earth, speaking the same language, using the same customs, possessing historic continuity, and distinguished from other like groups by their racial origin and characteristics, and generally, but not necessarily, living under the same government and sovereignty.” Nationhood requires a common culture, but does not necessarily entail neither sovereignty nor a central government as a state does. Nations can exist within states. For example, the second article of the Spanish Constitution of 1978 recognizes Spain as a nation of nationalities. Broadly speaking, a nation is a group of people who share the same culture or, an ethnocultural community of people who have a sense of belonging together. A nation is ethnocultural when ethnicity and nationhood coincide, in that case we have a “group or community of people who not only share a common culture, language, history and possibly a territory but believe they hail from a common ancestral background and are therefore closely related by kinship ties.”

Some nations are not ethnocultural. The people of Mexico, for example, do not have a common ancestral background. Nationhood can coincide with ethnicity, but not necessarily. The Mole-Dagbani nation of Northern Ghana is made up various ethnic groups that include Mamprusi, Dagomba, Nanumba, Kusasi, among others.
Neither do all nations correspond to sovereign states. The Kurdish nation has no corresponding state since Kurds are divided between Turkey, Iraq and Syria. The same could be said of the Jewish people before the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. The Ewe people have all the characteristics of a nation, yet there is no Ewe State. In fact, the Ewes belong to at least two different states: Ghana and Togo.

**Statehood and Nationhood**

In everyday language, the words ‘state’ and ‘nation’ are often used interchangeably. The UN is the ‘United Nations’ yet its members are sovereign states. As we have seen, the two terms are however not coterminous. Statehood is an abstract construct of law and politics.\(^{13}\) With the exception of a few *sui generis*\(^ {14}\) states, all others have the four characteristics mentioned above: population; territory; government; and sovereignty.

Many modern post-colonial African states are multinational: multilingual, multicultural, and multiethnic. They are, in the words of Gyekye, “a heterogenous ethnic and cultural conglomerate with a concentration of sovereign power at the centre.”\(^ {15}\) Yet most of these call themselves or are referred to as nations. It is often assumed that gaining independence from colonial rule and becoming a sovereign state automatically confers the status of nation-state. The Ghanaian Anthem, for example, begins with: “God bless our homeland Ghana, and make our *nation* great and strong.”

If we apply Black’s definition of a nation to Ghana, we will see that there is room to question whether she is indeed a nation. As can be seen from the table below, by this definition Ghana would fully fulfill only 2 of the 6 characteristics of a nation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Ghana</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>A jural society, that is, one governed by the rule of law</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>A Constitutional Republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Inhabiting a distinct portion of the earth</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>A defined territory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Speaking the same language</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Ghanaians speak different ethnic languages. The <em>lingua franca</em>, English, is the colonizer’s and not everyone speaks it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Using the same customs</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>The customs of Ghanaians vary quite a lot according to the ethnic origins. For example, Akan communal customs and marriage laws are quite different from Frafra matrimonial practices.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Possessing historic continuity</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Historical continuity can be traced back to independence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and just before. Hence, less than 100 years. Ethnic identities are much older.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Distinguished from other groups by their racial origin</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>In fact, some Ghanaians are more racially related to Togolese and Burkinabés than to other Ghanaians, as is the case of the Ewes and the Kassenas.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

It is no wonder, therefore, that Peter Skalník of the University of Prague, even though with contestable analysis, came to the conclusion that: “A well-functioning and stable nation state in Africa and elsewhere in non-Western conditions may, as the Ghanaian case clearly illustrates, remain to a large extent the wishful thinking of local politicians and some Western “well-wishers” for a long time yet.”

**Nation Building**

The historical fact undergirding the existence of many African states in their demographic, geographical and ethnic composition is colonization and the interests of colonial powers. Without the intervention of British and French colonizers, it is unlikely that the Sisala people of Ghana’s Upper West Region and the Adangbe of the Greater Accra Region, whose historical cultural leanings are far apart, would ever have come together in a single state. African states are by and large colonial impositions. The effect of this was an alienation of the citizenry towards the colonial state in which persons were subjects and not citizens. A strong nationalistic spirit initially accompanied the emergence of the independent Ghanaian state. However this drive lost momentum as described by Kwame Nkrumah: "From the mid-1970s, when the crisis of the state and economy gathered momentum and the nation’s relevance became increasingly dubious, millions of Ghanaian citizens responded by withdrawing from the formal authority of the state and from the formal economy into a myriad of informal and other survival activities." The alienation and disaffection towards the nation probably also explains the frequency and ease with which public resources are diverted towards personal, tribal, religious interests revealing a hierarchy of values in which the nation does not feature high.

Furthermore, the alienation is an impediment to good governance understood as a sharing of power in the building of a national community. In times of elections, citizens misuse the power given to them to choose the better persons as leaders of state affairs by selecting candidates, not mainly on political competence, but often on the basis of gifts received in money and in kind, family relations, ethnic and tribal allegiance, religious affiliation. The influence of these factors reduces the possibility of ensuring that the most capable persons are installed in leadership positions.

Kwame Nkrumah was keenly aware of the need to build a nation, Ghana, out of the various ethnicities of the Gold Coast. In trying to build a national communal culture and polity out of the different ethnic groups, he opted for a one-party national political system believing this to be closer to the traditional African models of governance. In *Consciencism*, Nkrumah writes: “It is necessary for positive action to be backed by a mass party, and qualitatively to improve this mass (comprised of different lineages/clans, etc) so that by education and an increase in its degree of consciousness, its aptitude for positive action can be heightened.” Nkrumah’s choice of a one-party political system has come under heavy criticism by many, especially Kwasi Wiredu because it silences diversity of opinions and justifies forms of dictatorship.
The underlying point, however, is that the need to build a nation of the peoples of Ghana was perceived from the early days after independence. It may even be asserted that efforts put into this task in those early years contributed to the fact that Ghana has so far not yet experienced the type of violent ethnic conflicts that have become part of the history and actuality of many African nations. Nevertheless, the task of welding the various ethnocultural realities into a people who share a value system, a culture, and show solidarity towards each other irrespective of their ethnic origins is still far from complete in Ghana.

The goal of nation building is neither a sum of ethnicities nor a suppression of ethnicities. The nation state is other than the simple sum of the parts. It is a Gestaltic reality.²⁹ It is a reality of its own that has an existence that is independent of its constituent nationalities. From this viewpoint, it is not just a normative reality that is devoid of an empirical content, it is not state concentration of power at the centre. The nation state at any historic moment is also a descriptive concept. But it is not a static concept. It is a reality in constant evolution that is able to harness energies of its members towards shared goals and capable of motivating and prescribing normative standards for right and wrong behaviour in the public sphere. The idea of nation building I am proposing here is not ‘nationalism’ as an ideological movement that pivots its members against all others who do not belong to the nation. This would be a dangerous deviation of nation building that can lead to conflicts as witnessed in the Balkans or in South Sudan.

**Multi-Partysm in Ghana**

Ghana, since gaining independence in 1957 and becoming a republic in 1960, has experienced various systems of political rule: one party state; military rule; multi-partisan politics. With the establishment of the fourth republic in January 1993, Ghana adopted partisan democracy and is often hailed as a model for Africa: peaceful elections and transition of power from one ruling party to the other. Even when election results are contested, as was the case in 2012-2013, the rule of law prevailed, and the country did not descend into widespread violence as has been witnessed in other SSA countries like Kenya or Cote D’Ivoire.

This apparent political stability has won Ghana a place in the international community and has attracted foreign investments needed to booster economic growth. Indeed, in 2011, Ghana’s economy was the fastest growing in the world, arriving at well over 14%.³¹ The number of people in Ghana living below the poverty line diminished from over 40% to the mid-20s during the fourth republic. Life expectancy increased during this period from 58 to over 62 years²²

Notwithstanding the many achievements of multi-partysm in Ghana, I would like to highlight how this political system is and can be a source of fragmentation that hinders the process of national cohesion that is a requisite to Ghana becoming a nation. I am of the opinion that a good number of the enduring challenges facing the country will be better tackled if there were a greater identification with a national cause capable of bridging the partisan, ethnic and religious divisions in the country. The absence of a firm commitment towards nation building, in my opinion, is one of the reasons why there is a great deal of tolerance towards non-performing public institutions, widespread corruption, waste of limited national resources and ethnic and political favouritism in the distribution of resources.

The very composition of the country, as was pointed out, is based on a colonial imposed unity. The movement towards independence, with its goal to free the people from a common adversary, that is British Colonial rule, served to forge a solidarity among the various peoples of the then colony. This national spirit was further consolidated by the Pan-African ideals of Kwame Nkrumah who worked tirelessly towards creating a greater unity among the various peoples of Africa. Even though he did not succeed in transforming these ideals into the creation of the OAU in 1964, the vision of Africa as the united continent of black peoples remained. Nevertheless, the theoretical basis of this union of the ‘negro’ peoples is not in itself without difficulties.
In brief, the project created with enthusiasm by Nkrumah to build a united people of Africa remained uncompleted, if not abandoned, in Ghana for a long period after the 1966 coup d’état in which he was overthrown.²³ At the same time, it must be pointed out that Ghana, unlike Nigeria, Cote D’Ivoire, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and many other African countries, has never disintegrated into civil wars. The various ethnic and religious groups have been able to co-exist peacefully. Yet the non-belligerent co-existence cannot be assumed to be a strong cohesion towards a common national project. In fact, prejudices and discrimination are still perceived in the running of affairs in Ghana. A 2007 Afrobarometer survey on ethnic identity and national citizenship revealed that 37% of Ghanaians preferred their ethnic identity as compared to 25% who valued more their national identity. The study also revealed that, “There is a strong perception in Ghana that public institutions are dominated by persons from the ethnic group of the President. During the Jerry Rawlings era (1983-2000), there were accusations that the strategic positions in the state were held by the Ewe in the Volta Region. Since the 2000 presidential election and the 2004 re-election of John Kufuor, an Akan, there have been allegations about the ‘Akanization’ of Ghanaian politics.”²⁴

Multi-party politics, as Wiredu points out, is by nature adversarial as opposed to the Akan consensual form of governance.²⁵ In the consensual form of governance, decision making is a process of deliberation where convergence is the ideal. In an adversarial form, it is the majority that counts, even though minorities have rights, their views are at best tolerated. The adversarial nature of partisan politics becomes even more acute when it is practiced under strong majoritarian bi-partisanship.²⁶

One result of this, in the case of Ghana, is the impoverishment of moral discourse. Discourse on key issues that require a united stance as a people easily gets dragged into bipartisan political confrontations. A few examples will suffice to illustrate this point. In a recent uproar and indignation of citizens regarding the large number of persons serving the presidency of the republic, 998 presidential staff to be precise, the reply of the ruling party was to demonstrate that previous presidents belonging to the opposition party also had large numbers of presidential staffers. The accusation of the minority was to assert that they had a slightly inferior number (over 600) when they were running the presidential house. However, the real question regarding a just number of people needed to assist the president in running his offices, irrespective of his party origins, has yet to be answered. Even more recently, in an exposé by investigative journalists Anas A. Aremeyaw of Tiger Eye, the principal accused, the president of the Ghana Football Association, in a statement offered to the Criminal Investigations Department of the Ghana Police Forces, asserted that the persons from who he was demanding a dubious sponsorship of 8 million US dollars claimed to have given a similar amount to the opposition which was incumbent in the 2016 national elections. Some members of the ruling party have gone a long way to prove that the journalist in question, Anas Aremeyaw, is also corrupt and has received bribes from the opposition. In this way, the moral debate regarding corruption, fell into the domain of fallacious arguments of changing the subject: argumenta ad hominem and genetic fallacies. As a result, precious occasions for addressing national issues in a more constructive climate descend into litigations without being tackled at root level.

Apart from the adversarialism that impoverishes the quality of political debate, multi-partysm in Ghana and in some African countries, -Kenya, South Sudan, and Nigeria- relies on ethnic divisions. The political scene of Ghana today is such that the two leading political parties have their core supporters divided along ethnocultural lines, with few exceptions: Eastern and Ashanti regions, Akans, are dominantly NPP (New Patriotic Party); Volta and the Northern Regions are dominantly NDC (National Democratic Congress).

This may seem normal for every multi-partisan disposition. The main difference, however, is that whereas in older democracies the divisions tend to be along class and ideology, which are socially mobile categories,
where ethnicity plays an important role, the divisions are static. Political parties play into the ethnic divisions to canvass for votes. Even though parties are quick to point out that they stand against ethnocentrism, there are statements from their leaders that show the contrary. John Dramani Mahama (NDC), Laura, Upper West, November 2016: “I pity Northerners who are calling for change”, adding that he felt sad for the New Patriotic Party’s vice-presidential candidate, Dr Mahamudu Bawumia – a fellow northerner – because the NPP will only “use you and dump you.”

In 2011, there was a by-election in Atiwa in the Eastern Region, which turned violent. At a gathering with supporters of the party later, the then NPP’s flag bearer, Nana Addo-Dankwa Akufo Addo, now president of the Republic, said that the violence that had occurred in Atiwa was a precursor to what would happen in the 2012 elections. When addressing the party supporters, he said, “they [the NDC] think we Akans [with reference to the NPP] are cowards…” These manifestations of tribal and ethnocentric sentiments are not just limited to party leaders. Traditional leaders and chiefs also come out to endorse political parties and their leaders even though they are prohibited from doing so by the Constitution of the Republic.27

The major monotheistic religions offer another avenue for multi-partisan politics to feed into those factors that impede social cohesion in the country. Ghana, like many other SSA countries, records over 90% of the population who hold religious beliefs.28 Ghana enjoys a relatively calm relationship between the faithful of the various religions. Nevertheless, it is also true that religious leaders influence the opinions of the faithful on matters not only spiritual, but also on earthly choices. The endorsement of any political party or politician by a religious group sways the votes of members of that faith. Hence, it is no wonder that political parties bend over their backs to curry the favour of religious leaders and groups. The political candidates of the various parties use church pulpits as platforms; they recur to pastors to give them special blessings to win their political campaigns; they use religious symbols like white doves landing on the heads of presidential candidates to signify divine choices; and, pastors offer prophecies regarding who will win the next elections. Innocuous as these events might seem, they are also sources of alienation towards other citizens who do not share the religious beliefs of the endorsing faith group. What is more, politicians are morally obliged to grant favours to those religious leaders whose support enabled them to get elected into office. This in turn leads to a lack of transparency and favouritisms.

Nation building

The question I would like to address in the second part of this paper is how Ghana can embark on a project of nation building within the current system of bi-partisanship. My approach is not that of a political scientist, hence I will not offer a detailed prescriptive exercise. Nation building is a slow and complex process that requires a conscious multileveled approach. It is not a one-time project that can be completed, attained and concluded. Like many human and social relationships, it needs to be cultivated to grow. Any achievements made in nation building can retrocede in time if divisive elements, albeit latent, are allowed to thrive. In the case of Ghana, Kwame Ninsin, warns: “At the rate at which tribal entities are being strengthened and public processes area being tribalized, the country may get to a point where conflicting loyalties based on tribes will emerge.”29

5.1 Political hamartia

Before presenting my views on nation building, it is worth pointing out what nation building is not. Economic concerns have become the dominant topic in political discourse in many parts of the world. In Ghana, this is often translated as national development or modernization. This discourse, however, is not coterminous with nation building: the provision of roads, health care, education, electricity, water and other services is only an aspect of nation building. As Kwame Gyeke puts it: “national development is
clearly a dimension or an aspect of nation building or, perhaps better, a step towards nation building, but only a step, because it is possible for a nation-state to be developed and yet fall short of the ideals of nationhood. Indeed, there are countries that are economically better positioned than Ghana and yet are still struggling with the task of building a nation. An example is Italy, which became a state in 1870 and belongs to the G7 community of rich nations. Despite this economic condition, there are still strong divisions between the North and the South of the country, and the idea of secession has not disappeared altogether from the minds of many supporters of the Lega Nord party.

In this light, some projects Ghanaian initiatives that have been called nation building projects can at best be described as cases of political harmatia. An example is the current project launched by the Government of Ghana called the Nation Builders Corps (NABCO). The goals of the project as stated on the official website are: “The Nation Builders Corps (NABCO) programme is a government initiative to address graduate unemployment to solve social problems. The focus of the initiative will be solving public service delivery in health, education, agriculture, technology, governance and drive revenue mobilization and collection.”

**The objectives of the programme are to:**

Provide temporary employment to unemployed graduates

Improve skills and employability for transition from programme to permanent employment

Improve public service delivery

Improve on government revenue mobilization

To provide needed infrastructure to improve access to basic public services

Under the programme, graduates will be trained, equipped with the necessary work tools and deployed around the country to engage in the following programmes:

Educate Ghana

Heal Ghana

Feed Ghana

Revenue Ghana

Digitize Ghana

Civic Ghana

Enterprise Ghana

The project, as presented, is an attempt to provide temporary opportunities for the high number of unemployed and unemployable youth in the country by training, engaging, and deploying young persons in areas that will contribute to national development. Laudable as this may seem, there is no indication of exactly how persons and communities benefiting from this initiative will become more nation conscious. There is no indication of a basic training programme common to all the seven areas that will promote national values, a sense of national identity, a knowledge of the history, experience, achievements, and challenges in building a nation. It is either assumed that university graduates already possess this knowledge and share these values, which is debatable, or that the experience of working in the fields identified will become an automatic training ground for national cohesion.
Compare this to the corps created by Kwame Nkrumah called the Young Pioneer Movement officially launched in 1961. The 12-point code of discipline of the Young Pioneers was:

1. Love of country
2. Discipline and obedience
3. Honesty and morality
4. Punctuality
5. Protection of state property
6. Reliability and secrecy
7. Comradeship and forbearance
8. Love of work
9. Field craft
10. Unaffectedness
11. Selflessness
12. Striving to faultlessness

Even though the Young Pioneers Movement grew into becoming an instrument of partisan propaganda and it was alleged that children were being taught by the Movement to eavesdrop on their parent’s conversations to see whether or not they were criticizing the President, and some Church leaders described the movement as a group of ‘godless youth’, it is fair to say that as far as nation building is concerned the Young Pioneers Movement, on paper, was better aimed than the current NABCO. Perhaps, if the Young Pioneers movement were less partisan, and less centred on the personality cult of Nkrumah, it would have achieved even more.

Not only Logos but also Mythos

The first of the three-pronged principles towards nation building that I would like to put forward is called promoting the mythos. At the root of many cultural and national identities, we find a myth, a story, whose scientific or historical truth is often unprecise. The ancient Roman nation and empire was built around the story of two brothers Remus and Romulus, the Israeli nation was built around the story of the Exodus. Closer to home, the Ashanti nation’s identity is built around the story of Osei Tutu, Okomfo Anokye, the Golden stool and the sword. All these stories point to some common origin and foundational experience. These various civilizations and nations thrived for centuries, cultivated, interpreted and re-interpreted these myths. Yet the very truth, rational logos, of these stories cannot be proven.

Among the ancient Greeks, logos was considered as the rational, pragmatic and scientific thought that enabled men and women to function in this world. Unlike mythos, logos must relate exactly to facts and correspond to external reality. Logos is practical and logical. However, logos cannot answer questions about the ultimate value of human life. Mythos was not concerned with practical matters, but with meaning. The mitos of a society provided people with a context that made sense of their day to day lives. It was also rooted in what we would call the ‘unconscious’ mind.

The modern era, driven by rationalism and positivism, has relegated mythos to the sphere of the primitive and unscientific. Rationalism is exemplified in Hegel’s “What is rational is real; And what is real is rational.”
Therefore anything which cannot be rationally explained away is not real. Positivism combined with evolutionism according to Comte’s ‘law of three stages’, sees theological and supernatural explanations of phenomena as a primitive stage in human development. Comte argued that the human mind, individual human beings, all knowledge, and world history develop through three successive stages. The theological stage is dominated by a search for the essential nature of things, and people come to believe that all phenomena are created and influenced by gods and supernatural forces. Monotheism is the ultimate belief of the theological stage. The metaphysical stage is a transitional stage in which mysterious, abstract forces replace supernatural forces as the powers that explain the workings of the world. The positivist stage is the last and highest stage in Comte’s work. In this stage, people search for invariant laws that govern all of the phenomena of the world.

This vision has led mythos into disrepute by subjecting it to the severe analysis of logos. However, as Karen Armstrong states: "A myth was never intended as an accurate account of a historical event; it was something that had in some sense happened once but that also happens all the time. But a myth would not be effective if people simply “believed” in it. It was essentially a programme of action."  

Modern Ghana, born out of British colonization could benefit from a mitos. The Gold Coast was not intended to be a nation as such. The very name Gold Coast is evident. Gold is a metal and Coast is a geographical location. The people seem to be missing. And perhaps they were not a priority to the colonizers, except perhaps as slaves. The new name Ghana seems to come from a historical misunderstanding. However, the name Ghana evokes the ancient medieval sahel empire that is believed to have been destroyed by the Almoravids in 1076. What is known about the ancient empire of Ghana, its rulers, capitals, political systems, dominant culture, is not enough to build a new myth. Aware of this, Nkrumah tried to build other symbols into the identity of the new Ghana, such as the Blackstar of Africa, the land of freedom that was conquered by the bloodshed of our fathers. Nkrumah also championed the ideal of Pan-Africanism. Even though the theoretical foundations of his pan-Africanism closely linked to the idea of the black race have been challenged, the combination of these ideals of Africanism of a successful ancient kingdom, of independence, freedom, and justice, provide a good enough foundation for a mythos of Ghana as a bright star of leadership, peace, unity, and success on the African continent.

Ironically, Nkrumah’s legacy and Ghana’s leadership are still better perceived in neighbouring sub Saharan African countries than it is within the country. Many young Ghanaians are not even familiar with these stories and myths and few initiatives are in place to bolster this awareness. If Ghana is to become a nation-state, it will be necessary not only to retell these stories, but to transform them into symbols, motivations and even rituals on national occasions to keep them alive in the ‘unconscious’ mind of each citizen. Ghana could consider the possibility of having institutions that embody and promote national identity such as an independent ceremonial presidency that is outside and above partisan divisions.

5.3 Principle of subsidiarity

If the first principle seems to be a top to bottom approach, or seems to favour totalitarianism or collectivism, the principle of subsidiarity is to some extent bottom to top approach. The principle states that matters ought to be handled by the smallest, lowest or least centralized competent authority. It means reinforcing intermediate bodies within the political setting: these bodies are families, ethnic groups, associations of civil society.

Successive governments in Ghana have pledged to implement policies of decentralization. In practice, however, the central government still maintains a great deal of control especially through economic and budgetary strings. The President of the Republic names local government administrators hence, they feel
more accountable to him and to their partisan political affiliation than to their communities. The members of the governing boards of State agencies and government owned corporations are named by the president. Traditional leaders have no official place in the organization of government even though they wield a lot of power. There is an overbearing presence of central government in all aspects of governance and since governments are elected according to bi-partisan politics, many aspects of public life are influenced by partisan divisions.38

The principle of subsidiarity involves devolving decision making to the local communities in specific areas. The central government becomes as *subsidiarum* that comes in only when the local or intermediate bodies are not able to perform the required tasks. In multi-ethnic nation state, this principle would create room for co-responsibility and allow for the practice of other forms of decision making such as the consensual democratic model proposed by Kwasi Wiredu which is more akin to traditional modes of thinking. These intermediate bodies do not and will not necessarily run along national partisan lines and hence will create a space whereby public activities can be carried out without partisanship. Indeed, the minority ethnic groups that occupy different geographical locations in the country will have the opportunity to express themselves according to their traditions without the risk of being overrun by larger ethnic groups. A key area in this sense is the reinforcement of local government to take charge of sanitation, healthcare, primary education, cultural and heritage promotion. It would also require central government to embark upon a more intense dialogue with local stakeholders before embarking upon nationwide projects that are often ill-adapted to specific localities. For example, the recent NDC government built modern school buildings in areas where they are not needed and where there is no adequate accommodation for teachers. The current NPP government has promised to build a dam for every village when dams are already present in almost every village in the driest region, the Upper East. If central government had applied the principle of subsidiarity, the local communities would have been in a position to choose how best to use the allocated resources. In the application of the principle of subsidiarity, “a community of a higher order should not interfere in the internal life of a community of a lower order, depriving the latter of its functions, but rather should support it in case of need and help to coordinate its activity with the activities of the rest of society, always with a view to the common good.”99

The application of the principle of subsidiarity if coupled with the promotion of national identity and cohesion as described in the promotion of *mythos*, would go a long way to allow the various ethnic identities to thrive within a larger framework of national unity. This is different to other proposals of nation building that aim at suppressing ethnicities.

5.4 Promotion of soft values

Last but not the least, Ghana’s nation building requires a soft power approach. The sense of belonging to and being proud of a national identity is developed through the ability to attract and to *co-opt rather than coercion* (hard power) or the use of force or giving money as a way of persuasion. A powerful instrument in this area is the promotion of the humanities and the arts. In a society that is oriented towards technological and economic achievements, the intangible value of the arts is often overlooked. However, it is the study of these disciplines that fosters the background for building a culture and promoting shared values. Music, drama, art, philosophy, archeology, linguistics all contribute to building a thriving cultural environment. Nkrumah was aware of this and perhaps his was the only and the last government to invest heavily in promoting the arts. Later governments have tended to promote the arts with a commercial view, hence the promotion of heritage and culture is skewed towards tourism.

Values such as integrity, solidarity, fraternity, charity, cooperation that contribute to building a warm and open community are necessary for nation building. They are a strong counter balance to the alienation and social fragmentation that arise from the adversarial nature and ethnic tendencies of partisan politics.
The promotion of these values will require revisiting the educational curricula of schools and greater investment in the arts.

**Notes**


8. Famous Ivorian Reggae Musician, Alpha Blondy, deciress tribalism in his song Wari Banan saying "Multipartisme c'est pas tribalisme".


10. Artículo 2: La Constitución se fundamenta en la indisoluble unidad de la Nación española, patria común e indivisible de todos los españoles, y reconoce y garantiza el derecho a la autonomía de las nacionalidades y regiones que la integran y la solidaridad entre todas ellas.


12. Ibid p. 79

13. Encyclopedia Princetonienses

14. For example: The Sovereign Order of the Knights of Malta or the Vatican State.


20. "The whole is greater than the sum of its parts," The whole has an independent existence.


23. An exception was the 7 principle National Redemption Charter promulgated attempt by Head of 
State Ignatius Kuti Acheampong in the 1970s.


25. Kwasi Wiredu, Cultural Universals and Particulars: An African perspective (Indiana University Press, 
1996) 183-190.


27. Article 276 (1) states: “A chief shall not take part in active party politics; and any chief wishing to do so 
and seeking election to parliament shall abdicate his stool or skin.”

(accessed July 10, 2018).

29. Kwame Ninsin, “Tribe or Nation,” Reclaiming the Human Sciences and Humanities Through African 


31. The Greek word, loosely translated into English as sin, refers to an archer missing the target when 
shooting an arrow.


(Accra: Ghana Publicity Ltd, 1999).

34. Mjiba Frehiwot, “Pan-African-Education: A Case Study of the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, 
Print Media and the Young Pioneer Movement,” Pursuing Nkrumah’s Vision of Pan-Africanism in an Era of 
Chapter 15.

35. Georg Wilhelm Fredrich Hegel, Elements of the Philosophy of Right (Vorrede: Was vernünftig ist, das ist 
Wirklich; und was wirklich ist, das ist vernünftig, 1821).


38. Cf. Richard Asante and Emmanuel Debrah, The Legislature and the Executive in Ghana’s Fourth 
Republic: A Marriage of Convenience, CODESRIA, 2015, file:///C:/Users/catui/Downloads/90-richard_asante-
emmanuel_debrah_the_legislature_and_the_executive_in_ghana_s_fourth_republic_a_marriage_of_convenience.pdf 
(accessed June 10, 2018).

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ENCOUNTERING AFRICA: PRACTICAL AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN A RESEARCH-CENTERED SOUTH AFRICAN STUDY ABROAD PROGRAM - KELLY CAMPBELL AND TIFFANY F. JONES

A Version of this Paper is Forthcoming in Perspectives on Undergraduate Research and Mentoring (2018) with the title, “Mentoring Undergraduate Research through a South Africa Study Abroad Program”

Introduction

In 2015-2016, over 325,000 U.S. students participated in study abroad programs, of which over 50% were short-term (NAFSA, 2016). Short-term refers to a program lasting 8 weeks or less. Study abroad programs have increasingly become recognized as vital college education experiences that address numerous High Impact Practices (HIPs) including fostering learning communities, engaging in collaborative assignments and projects, participating in diversity/global learning and service/community-based learning, and albeit more rarely, engaging in undergraduate research (Kuh, 2008; National Survey of Student Engagement, 2017). We argue that this latter HIP is vital to incorporate into study abroad because of its immense benefits for short and long-term student outcomes—particularly for undergraduate and underrepresented college students (Giedt, Gokcek, & Ghosh, 2015).

The benefits of research participation for undergraduate students are well documented (Komarraj, Musulkin, Bhattachary, 2010; Kuh, 2008; Lopatto, 2010; Streitwieser, 2009). Research participation facilitates academic and social integration, allows for experiential, active learning, augments cognitive and personal skill development, develops self-awareness, encourages active civil engagement, prepares students for graduate school, and helps students identify and solidify career paths (Bauer & Bennett, 2003; Lopatto, 2009; 2010; Streitwieser, 2009). Some of the specific skills gained through research include critical thinking, study design/methodology, data management, computer literacy, communication, and interpersonal relationships (Lopatto, 2009; Grossman, Patel, & Drinkwater, 2010). Students who participate in study abroad programs containing research rate those components higher than any other program elements (Solis et al., 2015).

The gains associated with research are especially pronounced for students from racial/ethnic groups that are underrepresented in university settings, including African American/Black and Hispanic/Latin students (Castillo & Estudillo, 2015; Hurtado, Eagan, Tran, Newman, Chang, & Velasco, 2011; John & Stage, 2014). Facilitating research experiences among underrepresented students is important because compared to European/white students, they are at greater risk for stressors that can lead to dropout and adverse academic outcomes. The four-year graduation rates for bachelor’s degrees are approximately 45% for European/white, 30% for Hispanic/Latin, and 20% for African-American students (NCES, 2017). Common issues facing underrepresented students include lack of supportive student-faculty relationships, low self-esteem, and low integration in campus life (Fischer, 2007; Rice, Lopez, Richardson & Stinson, 2013). Participation in research helps combat the issues that can adversely impact retention rates for these students (Summers & Hrabowski, 2006).

In this paper, we discuss our experience implementing an interdisciplinary, research-based, short-term study abroad program in South Africa. A majority of the program participants are first-generation, underrepresented college students who have never traveled outside the country or state. The benefits students ascertained from undergraduate research and study abroad programs are plentiful yet the specific challenges and opportunities that result from merging these two domains are not well documented (Shanahan, Ackley-Holbrook, Hall, Stewart & Walkington, 2015). In the sections that follow,
we review recruitment and program implementation, and address challenges associated with funding, background knowledge, and constraints and expectations. We then discuss opportunities related to cultural competencies, professional growth, and identity development. We incorporate student perspectives throughout, including quotes from first-generation, underrepresented and/or ethnically diverse students, which make up the majority of our program participants. Scholars have noted a particular dearth of research representing the voices of ethnic minority study abroad participants (Lee & Green, 2016), which we attempt to address as much as possible. We begin with an overview of our program.

**Program Overview**

This program was founded by Drs. Kelly Campbell (Department of Psychology) and Tiffany F. Jones (Department of History) at California State University, San Bernardino (CSUSB). The interdisciplinary collaboration between professors was formed as a result of their mutual participation in an African Task Force Initiative on campus and with the intent to promote high impact teaching practices, interdisciplinary research, and global awareness among students. South Africa was selected as the location because Dr. Jones is originally from the country and her program of research is focused on its history. Dr. Campbell teaches a large, general education racism course and South Africa’s legacy of apartheid made the location an ideal instructional setting. Despite the popularity of study abroad programs for U.S. students, fewer than 5% of students travel to African countries and less than 2% visit South Africa (Institute of International Education, 2017; National Association of International Educators, 2016), reinforcing the program’s importance.

South Africa has a history that offers opportunity for intense engagement with issues of race, class, and identity. It is a multicultural country with a population of over 56 million, has eleven official languages, and has one of the continent’s strongest economies (Statistics South Africa, 2018). The wealth of the country, however, is intensely divided and there is a palpable division between the rich and the poor. The racial segregationist system that was initiated during the colonial years and reinforced in 1948 by the apartheid government, ensured that the majority black population and their Asian (including Indian) and coloured (indigenous and “mixed race”) counterparts, were relegated to the highly physical and low wage employment sectors. Despite the end of apartheid and the election of the African National Congress in 1994, inequality has yet to be fully redressed. The country is also ecologically diverse, with Cape Town being a Mediterranean and cosmopolitan city, whereas Johannesburg and surrounding areas are more populated and industrially focused.

While in the program, approximately 10-20 students study during the first part of the summer break at the University of Cape Town, which is the leading university on the African continent. In order to effectively facilitate the program, the ratio of students for a research-intensive program should be kept as low as possible, with a maximum of 10 students to 1 faculty member. The more students involved in the program, however, the lower the cost overall and the more financial benefit for the South African partners. Thus, having less than 10 students per faculty member is usually not feasible. Classes are held by the professors in university classrooms, and research is usually conducted by students on the university campus, in libraries or archives, or during excursions, depending on the course for which they signed up. In order to maximize the time in South Africa, part of the students’ curriculum is offered online (e.g., lectures, videos) and research is evaluated upon return to the U.S. The students spend a total of 2.5 weeks in Cape Town and then travel to Johannesburg for the final week. Throughout this time, they are enrolled in any combination of three courses: 1) Rise, Decline and Legacy of Apartheid South Africa, a course that examines South Africa’s history from 1948 to the present; 2) Race and Racism, an interdisciplinary and cross-cultural course that examines the concepts and theories of race, ethnicity, prejudice, and racism;
and 3) Independent Study in History or Psychology, a course in which students conduct research under the supervision of one of the two faculty members. Although the courses are housed in two social science departments, students from all majors are eligible for and enroll in the program; faculty work with Chairs from all departments to ensure the work completed in the courses count towards the student’s major or as electives, and Race and Racism fulfills a general education requirement. The program is open to graduate students as well. In addition to completing coursework and research projects on the trip, students visit important historical sites that complement the course material including Robben Island, the Victor Verster prison where Nelson Mandela lived prior to release, the Cradle of Humankind (birth of humanity), the District Six Museum (site of forcible removal during apartheid), The Slave Lodge, Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum, Constitution Hill (and former prison complex), Apartheid Museum, and SOWETO (township).

Research is an important component in each of the courses. The research included in our program involves participation in existing faculty-led projects or individualized student research based on their interests and career goals. It does not include work-study, internship opportunities, or volunteer work, all of which require much more preparation and practicum training. Research projects, on the other hand can be more clearly mitigated and reviewed through close supervision by professors, and students can begin the process of self-analysis and ethical reflection. As one student (Alexis) on our study abroad program noted, “The research component of the trip was very useful as being an exercise to choose a research topic and write a long form paper. The paper was the first, I think, long form paper that I wrote with full control over the subject and timeline. Having this amount of control was a good experience to really get immersed into a topic of my own choosing.”

Other vital parts of the program that assist with the research component, are the requirements that students attend classes, keep a journal, and attend group debriefing or decompression sessions. As Tiessen and Kumar (2013) note, “a journal forms an important document through which students grapple with their own positionality and identity, and where their own preconceived notions about the ‘other’ emerge unfiltered” (p. 427). Class lectures and debriefing sessions also serve as vital components in which outings, readings, experiences, and research findings can be discussed. Students are encouraged to analyze and reflect on their positionality and these become important avenues through which professors can help students deconstruct their views and fully understand the impact of their experiences and research.

**Recruitment and Implementation**

Students are recruited into the program using a variety of methods. The entire student body is emailed with information about the trip, information sessions are regularly offered, posters are placed around the campus and a YouTube video https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f2PcD5GUVFk is used for promotion. One of the most persuasive factors attracting students, beyond the common stereotypical notions associated with Africa, are the opportunities for research built into the trip. Not only is student research actively integrated into the program in course assignments, but some students are offered extracurricular paid archival research opportunities using faculty grants and/or professional development funds, which eases their financial concerns.

A pre-departure orientation session is offered wherein students obtain an overview of the trip and safety concerns. While an important component for the university risk assessment office, the orientation does not fully prepare students for understanding the country or their complex standing as a western traveler in an inequitable world. Students also come from different backgrounds and life experiences and it is difficult to address all that they may encounter in a group orientation session. It is in the pre-trip interactions with professors, research project discussions, and online homework required of students in
the weeks before the trip where they begin the process of self-reflection and academic analysis. Students start learning ethical behavior by earning their Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative (CITI) certificates and secure, or at least participate, in the Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval process at CSUSB for their research.

Once in South Africa, students who enroll in Dr. Campbell’s courses begin collecting survey and interview data from South African citizens. The professor works one-on-one with students to develop projects based on their unique research interests and graduate school or career goals. Students approach people in public settings (e.g., shopping areas, cafes) to request their participation. After collecting data, they enter their responses into an online survey that is stored on Qualtrics.com. Because most survey items remain the same each year, students have access to a dataset with hundreds of participants, should they wish to complete quantitative analyses. At the end of their study abroad trip, students submit a culminating research paper. Upon returning to the U.S., most present the results of their projects at professional conferences and several have earned awards for their work including First Place, Third Place, and Honorable Mention in the International Psychology (Division 52) Student Poster Competitions of the Western Psychological Association.

Students who enroll in Dr. Jones’ courses, conduct qualitative library or archival research with the aim to either contribute to an existing faculty-led research project, or conduct their own unique research project aimed for professional conference presentations and/or publication in undergraduate journals. Upon completion, many of the students present their works at undergraduate or graduate student conferences or have their papers published in student journals, such as the CSUSB history department’s undergraduate journal, History in the Making (Castro & Tate, 2017; Butts, 2015; Garcia-Barron 2015a; Garcia-Barron 2015b). Some have used their research in their future graduate studies.

The program is administratively supported by the campus’ Center for International Studies & Programs which focuses on internationalization and the Office of Student Research that actively works to encourage faculty and student research in a collaborative manner. Moreover, the administration of the CSUSB campus, including the President and Dean’s offices, offer grants to every student participating in study abroad programs. An institutional culture that supports research and study abroad has been a vital component in the success of our program.

Challenges

Despite having strong institutional support, we encounter significant challenges, including funding, inadequate background knowledge, and students’ perceived constraints and expectations. Arguably, our biggest challenge for program recruitment is lack of funding so we begin with this point.

Funding

California State University at San Bernardino (CSUSB) is located in one of the most economically depressed regions of the U.S. The city of San Bernardino has a poverty rate of approximately 32% and a high school graduation rate of 68% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016; 2017). In 2012, the city filed for bankruptcy. Despite these challenges, the university has thrived. The university services over 20,000 students each year and the research conducted at CSUSB greatly impacts their academic trajectory, especially because the university is a Hispanic Serving Institution with a majority of first generation college students (80% of first time freshmen), women (62%), and ethnic minorities (70%) who are reliant on financial aid (78%) (IPEDS, 2017). However, most students find it very difficult to afford the South Africa program. As one of our participants Tanisha noted, “Barriers I experienced were finances and time; it was a major concern. In leaving to go on a month-long trip, I would have had to take time off from work, and I didn’t have vacation time.”
One of the ways we overcome this barrier is to begin recruiting students early in the academic year. As such, they can apply for the myriad of scholarships available to fund study abroad students. Because our program includes a research component, they qualify for additional awards. It is possible, with enough advance planning and effort, to have the entire trip funded through internal awards. Students are also advised to use InfoEd’s SPIN database to locate thousands of external award opportunities that exist for study abroad trips. We have been very successful with these strategies. Nearly all the students who have participated in our study abroad program have secured at least one award. Nonetheless, the grants available do not take into account the potential loss of income during the weeks abroad and the program can still be expensive for students. Some of the awards are given only once the student concludes the trip. Thus, it is often difficult for them to afford the airfare up front or have enough spending money throughout the program.

Inadequate Background Knowledge

Only 5-10% of the students who have participated in our program have taken courses or read peer-reviewed material related to South Africa or Africa in general prior to the trip. What little knowledge they do have is commonly obtained from the media that bombards students with images of Africa as a homogeneous, static, helpless continent filled with exotic inhabitants and animals, caught in war and poverty, but nevertheless offering an opportunity to explore one’s own place in the world (Keim, 2017). Given students’ lack of information about South African issues, it can be difficult for them to develop effective and realistic research projects without considerable guidance from the professors. Often, students approach the professors with ideas that would be unethical or impossible to research. For instance, one student planned to interview adolescents whose parents were HIV positive or had passed away from AIDS. Since the interviewees would not be 18 years or older as per IRB requirements and she had limited training and experience dealing with this population, her project would not have been feasible. Thus, helping students come up with and refine their topics can be time consuming. Project topics must be clearly defined months before the trip for IRB and scholarship/grant due dates.

Paola (2007) investigated study abroad in South Africa specifically and found students were hesitant to choose it as a location for study abroad because of misinformation and lack of knowledge about its status as a developed and developing nation. It is therefore not surprising that the traditional locations for American undergraduates who choose to study abroad have always been and continue to be Western Europe, with the United Kingdom being the most popular (Institute for International Education, 2015). As one student, Soul, who wanted to join the program, but did not, stated: “my [immediate] family was not very supportive of me going to South Africa, my parents didn't think it was safe or productive to my future. My extended family (who are actually my future in-laws) who were willing to pay for my plane ticket for London Abroad, were more unwilling to pay for the tickets to South Africa because of the price and they too, did not see the point.”

The most relevant factors influencing the choice to study abroad in South Africa include: prior academic coursework in African studies at the home institution, perceiving it as a destination that would offer unique cultural learning and personal enjoyment opportunities, and being able to communicate with people and conduct one’s studies in English. In her interviews with study abroad students who visited Cape Town, Mathers (2004) reported a recurring theme: students indicated that “South Africa is not Africa” (p. 9). A variety of stereotypes underlie or underlined this view including expectations they would encounter an all-black, rural, poor, and primitive society. One of our students, Blanca, writes in an article she later published, “I did not feel like I was in ‘Africa.’ That thought made me realize that I had assumptions that I did not want to admit myself” (Garcia-Barron, 2015a, p. 286).
**Perceived Constraints and Expectations**

With limited background knowledge, students often approach the study abroad program to South Africa tentatively. In general, the idea of travelling to another country is something that has not been considered, and most of our students have never left the country or region. For first-generation, African-American, and Hispanic/Latin students this hesitance is heightened. As Cole (1991) and more recently, Burr (2005) have pointed out, students with minority backgrounds often feel that the program is not meant for them. Cole highlights four barriers facing African American women in particular when engaging in international programs: faculty and staff who encourage only the “best” students to partake, financial constraints which supersede supercede or supersede those of their white peers, family and community concerns about places they have never visited or know much about, and fear of encountering new forms of racism overseas (5-6). For first-generation students, who already face challenges attending college, “a supplementary education experience may represent an additional departure from the values and behaviors of their friends and families” and is not seen as integral to their career objectives (Andriano, 2010, p. 41). Indeed, participation rates among Hispanic/Latin, African-American, Asian, and American Indian students in study abroad programs have been considerably low, with Euro/white students in 2017 making up 71.6% of participants in study abroad programs from the U.S. (Institute of International Education, 2017).

The location of the program in South Africa, in particular, plays an important role in the difficulty of student recruitment. Not only does the negative portrayal of African countries in the media lead students to fear travelling there, the far distance from the U.S. and the expectation that they conduct research also increases parents’ and students’ insecurities. There is a perception that visiting and researching in an African country is far more dangerous and requires more preparation, such as health checks, documentation, and equipment, than a country in Europe. Moreover, many students often worry that they do not have the skills needed or will be safe enough to conduct the required research. Even after students decide to partake in the program, their participation in pre-departure orientation sessions that address risks and dangers can precipitate these views in that students and parents are merely told about their need for security (Heron, 2005).

After arrival, students, particularly those with limited background knowledge, experience considerable culture shock, and there are challenges to ensuring that they adjust appropriately to their environment. Not only do students have to learn how to live closely with each other, preparation must be made so that students are aware of issues such as jet lag, nutrition and hydration, budgeting, and importantly, their role in managing stereotypes of both Americans and South Africans. They must quickly develop cultural awareness. It is sometimes difficult to ensure that students understand the local idiosyncrasies and implications of their actions. One example is the desire to take pictures of local children or people without their permission. In an increasingly public social media landscape that allows for easy perpetuation of stereotypes, it is important for students to fully understand the effects of these pictures in the larger socio-political landscape. Many students have preconceived stereotypical notions about Africa that they want to highlight, often for their friends and family back home. These are not necessarily negative portrayals, but the limited opportunity for explanation and analysis on a social media site does not always lend itself to the complexities of the students’ experience.

**Opportunities**

The challenges mentioned above, nonetheless offer opportunities for students to have a more in-depth, and far-ranging experience related to the study abroad program than if research were not expected. Because they focus their efforts on obtaining internal and external funding, they begin researching issues related to South Africa, think about their reasons for participating in the trip, and have a more active role
in the program than if they were passive participants. Here, we discuss opportunities related to cultural competencies, professional development, and identity development.

**Developing Cultural Competencies**

One of the core goals for many study abroad programs is to foster intercultural competency and encourage students to become “global citizens” (Smith Rotabi, Gammonley & Gamble, 2006). Intercultural competence and global citizenship refer to understanding cultural norms and using that knowledge to effectively communicate in intercultural settings (Deardorff, 2008). By incorporating a research agenda into the program, we seek to nurture what Killick (2015) describes as the “global self,” which goes beyond the simple “global citizen” (p. 5). Individuals with a global self are self-reflective, active participants in the world; they take the knowledge gained through their international experiences beyond their studies and apply it in their daily lives. One of our students, Gino, noted “The most challenging parts of the trip were the historical and current context of society. The rich, deep, and painful history in South Africa was difficult at many times because of the experience of the people. Some people were in poor physical and psychological states especially with the prevalence of homelessness and need for jobs. Hearing stories first hand and experiencing the history through museums and valuable lecture time was eye opening and, in some cases, psychologically/ emotionally taxing.” One of our goals with the program is to encourage students to examine their relationships with others including the influence of global tensions and inequities (Killick, 2015).

Research activities, in conjunction with assignments and in-class discussions, offer a process whereby students can examine their roles in a safe yet productive environment. Students are assigned articles that challenge their passive position in study abroad. Articles by Enevoldsen (2003) and Ramchander (2007) discuss ethical considerations of cultural tourism and raise questions about the gaze that students may have during their encounters. One of our students, Blanca (2015a), explains an encounter during the program:

Walking throughout the Soweto township arose conflicting feelings. In one sense, I became aware of the status of my own privilege. Within that awareness, I also realized that I was not a traveler here, but a tourist. It felt exploitative to walk around a neighborhood just so that I could see the conditions they live in. It felt exploitative because simply becoming aware of these conditions is not enough to change them. I can feel guilty and sad all day, but not being active in any small way cannot justify those feelings.

During a short-term study abroad program in particular, the focus on critical analysis of one’s position is important, as it avoids the potential for destructive interventionism and deconstructs the western-centric gaze, enabling students to respectfully engage with the history and people of the region.

Once research ensues, not only do students interact with and learn from the local people, it also makes them think about their position in the country, and offers opportunities for cross-cultural exchange. One student, Natalie, describes the impact of research on intercultural competency: “[It] was definitely a learning experience, however the most helpful part of my learning was talking to the residents in South Africa. I was involved in a research group that had to talk to the residents and as I interviewed them I gained lots of wonderful input beyond the research interview questions.” Students have a job to do that situates them within the country much more than the average tourist, and offers unique opportunities to learn about themselves and South Africa. The interviews they conduct with local residents help dispel some of the misinformation related to South Africa. The supplemental reading assignments provide students with accurate information about the country, which they read during the study abroad (e.g.,
Kaffir Boy by Mark Mathabane, A Long Walk to Freedom by Nelson Mandela). One of our students, Diana, described her reaction to an assigned reading:

[We] discussed K boy today in class. As hard as I tried, I was not able to hold back the tears. I felt so selfish to cry because of how I felt after reading the book. I will never know the hardships that K boy experienced during that era. I cry for them and because I am sad. But, I will never feel or experience their sadness. Hardest book I’ve ever read. I wanted to say, while I had all the school supplies a child could wish for, [K boy] had a broken slate, while I played on a beautiful yard full of grass, he played on dirty rocky streets and fields and trash dumps, while I had new clothes, he wore his father’s old t-shirt to school, while I slept in my own comfortable bed in my own room, he slept on a concrete floor with cardboard and newspapers as blankets, while I had a clean bathroom to bathe in, he went to school dirty, sharing a single family washcloth to wipe his face, while I had three meals a day, he hardly ate, while I celebrated Christmas, he did not, while I joyfully played as a child, he scoured the streets for food, while I was protected by my parents, he protected his siblings and mother; two lives during the same time period, yet so drastically different.

The difficulty of some of the subject matter and experiences students feel during the trip, offers opportunity for self-reflection. In studying oppressive history, one can easily feel debilitated and disillusioned, especially when poverty and racism are still prominent. However, the research component is an important means to ensure that students feel empowered by “doing something,” without too much interventionism that may not always be welcome by local citizens. One student, Bethany, noted how the trip complemented the material she had gained through preparatory coursework: “I feel as though there was so much that I took away from this trip. Not only was I able to experience different cultures in South Africa, I was able to better connect and understand the material in which I had been studying for some time. The experience was also quite humbling, haunting and life-changing. Visiting many of the museums really resonated with me, taking me back to a difficult time in recent history.”

Professional Development

Undergraduate students who participate in research-centered study abroad programs gain skills and experiences that are particularly valuable for graduate school and their future careers. Study abroad students are in a unique position to receive intense, focused mentorship from the professors in the program. The faculty to student ratio is much more balanced than for courses offered on campus. As a result, students not only engage with the professors more intensely in class and on field trips, they also receive abundant mentoring while traveling and during leisure time. The heightened student-faculty interaction bolsters academic achievement and educational aspirations among students (Cole, 2007), especially for African American and Hispanic/Latin students (Cole & Espinoza, 2008).

As a result of the study abroad trip, students strengthen their curriculum vitae in a number of ways. They gain skills related to collaboration, project design, grant writing, data collection and analysis, and presentation of their work in written and oral formats (Hatcher & Watkins, 2016; Lee & Green, 2016; Solis et al., 2015). They are also able to list international research on their CVs, which is a rare and invaluable accolade. Students’ affiliation with the University of Cape Town while abroad is an additional selling point for admission into graduate programs because of its strong, research-based academic standing. Upon returning home, most of our students present their work at professional and student conferences—some of which lead to the awards mentioned earlier—and these presentations similarly serve to enhance their CVs. All of the students in our program are encouraged to submit their work for publication in student journals or journals like PURM and several have done so.
Many students report gaining clarity about their academic and career paths through the program (Lee & Green, 2016). The research component allows students to see themselves as researchers and offers effective preparation for graduate school. One student who participated in the program in 2014, Alexis, claims that the research and program in general, greatly impacted her career path:

It influenced my decision to join The New School’s International Affairs grad program, which has its own study abroad program in South Africa, which I was also a part of. The program helped influence my graduate thesis, which was on South African housing policy and economic inequality ideas that I was introduced to through the program. I have also recently taken a position at non-profit InterExchange that sponsors J-1 Visas for international college students to come to the US for summer work, essentially a study abroad program. Really the study abroad program has influenced the professional decisions I’ve made over the last five or so years, I owe a ton to the program!

Another student, Bethany, noted, “The study abroad helped influence my decision to pursue my graduate education in African Studies. I believe that my trip to South Africa gave me an edge on my grad school applications and ultimately aided in my acceptance to UCLA.”

The professional development benefits ascertained through research-intensive study abroad experiences have the potential to be especially impactful for underrepresented students. For African American and Hispanic/Latin students, there appears to be an added benefit of experiencing “an epistemological shift regarding how they [are] socialized to understand education” (Lee and Green, 2016, p. 69). Ethnic minority students who participate in undergraduate research are more likely to be currently enrolled in, have graduated from or planning to enroll in, a graduate program compared to minority students without undergraduate research experience (Morley, Havick & May, 1998). One of our students, A’Sharee, described how the trip impacted her graduate school plans: “I can proudly say that studying abroad in South Africa and conducting research affirmed my passion to continue on to graduate school. Also, I strongly believe that my experience abroad contributed to admittance into various graduate programs...My time abroad facilitated the research that I am in the process of conducting [in graduate school] on psychological well-being, and helping-seeking that affects various African/African American communities.”

**Identity Development**

The racial categories used by companies and government agencies in the U.S. differ from classifications used in South Africa and in turn, those who participate in research gain first-hand experience about the social constructions of race. Different terminology about identities not only raises questions about racial classification in the U.S., but also highlights the changing nature of individual concepts of identity. One of the prompts given to students during lecture is to complete the sentence “I am...” Many students list “American” and discussion often ensues about whether this component of their identity would have been included if the exercise had been done back home. For some ethnic minority students, it may be their first time prioritizing their national identity over their ethnic/racial identity (Landau & Moore, 2001). The discussion about place and the role that the perception of others plays in one’s definition of identity, is a crucial part of one’s development as a global self. Our student A’Ssharee described this process, “The trip humbled me and exposed my privilege, which was mind-blowing. As an African American female in the United States, I have little, to no privilege. However, in South Africa I was privileged in many aspects. Being an American citizen alone was a privilege, not to mention my access to education, health care, etc. That realization was humbling for me and made appreciate who I am, and where I came from.”
Lee and Green (2016) qualitatively examined the impact of a South Africa study abroad program on African American undergraduate students. They noted three key findings: 1) students shifted their academic focus as a result of participating in the trip (e.g., all students added an African studies minor to their degree); 2) students developed a more layered, complex ethnic/racial identity; and 3) students greatly strengthened their research skills. The confidence gained through conducting research transferred into other domains such as developing confidence to apply to graduate school. Another important skill gained through research was to become more aware of biases and develop appreciation for multiple ways of knowing. Our students have also developed an awareness of the impact of research beyond their individual projects. Through their assignments and discussions, they pondered questions such as: how are U.S.-based survey questions interpreted differently outside the U.S.? How does culture influence the ecological validity of research? How might policy makers perceive their findings? If published, could their research findings cause unintentional harm to their participants or the community of people they represent?

The extent to which a South African study abroad program impacts identity development for all students, but especially African American students may depend on the extent to which their experiences conform with stereotyped expectations. Some of the African American students on our trips are disheartened to learn that even in Africa, black people have experienced immense oppression, disenfranchisement, and discrimination, much of which continues into the present day. Scholars have noted, identity transformation “require[s] a highly managed visit to Africa, which touch [es] on issues of African-American, rather than contemporary African identities and existence” (Ebron, 1999, p. 920; Mathers, 2004). Neff (2001) points out that African-American students often have high expectations to create cultural bonds during study abroad, which are not necessarily met. Students may feel surprised or uncomfortable when they do not fit in with or accepted by local residents (Gearhart, 2005).

However, this is not the case for all African American students and several benefits are obtained as well. One of our students Tanisha, describes a positive experience, “The trip impacted and influenced my identity in so many ways. I am proud to be an African American woman, but this trip made me feel more honored of being who I was and where I came from. I was welcomed with love and became overwhelmed when getting off the plane hearing, ‘Welcome home, sister.’ I thought about Black women (and our behavior) in America, and looking at the natural physiques and hairstyles made me think about embracing the real “beauty” of who I am. Coincidently, learning about the harsh past of Africans made me upset and disgusted, yet to see the strength and resilience of what so many had undergone was inspirational and moving.” Many students develop a stronger sense of self and a better understanding of how historical occurrences connect with the present day (Penn & Tanner, 2009; Tolliver, 2000). They are also able to challenge and dispel the stereotypical information they have learned in the U.S. about Africa and gain clarity about their identity (Lee & Green, 2016).

As students conduct their interviews or archival research, they hear or read personal stories about what life was like under apartheid. These personal narratives help bring the course content to life and complement information gained on the field trips. Research data enhance our class discussions. Students relay quotes from their study participants and ask for clarification. For example, “why would a person say that they preferred life under apartheid?” or “why do some South Africans embrace the identity of being coloured or black, while others do not?” What is significant, however, is that through these encounters, students of all ethnic groups learn about themselves. As Tolliver (2000) states, “the living/learning community that develops during study abroad in Africa can provide a powerful context for helping students deal with the complex relationships that exist in America today and can provide a backdrop for understanding the historical context of Black-White power relations” (p. 115). Talking about racial issues in a context far removed from the U.S. and in an academic and research context offers a unique
opportunity to discuss these powerful and personal issues in a safe environment. One of our students, Yvette, described this process: "The trip made a big impact and influenced my identity. Such as that I have a personal reference point to race, racism and segregation. Before South Africa, I only knew what I knew from the U.S. in regards to racism and segregation, and now through the experience I have another reference point, hands on knowledge from what I learned and experienced in South Africa."

**Conclusion**

The inclusion of research in our study abroad program provides a means to expand students’ experiences beyond a cultural tourism encounter, allowing them to develop their global, professional, and personal selves. Researching in the field offers students opportunity for a more nuanced examination of a particular topic based on direct exposure and allows them to reflect on their participation in knowledge production. Moreover, it enables students to understand an issue, challenge, or event from a unique angle and encourages critical analysis. As evidenced by their comments, the rewards gained through the program and the research component in particular, opened up funding possibilities, led to awards, bolstered their graduate school applications, clarified career goals, and enabled students to reflect on and assess their place in the world. Despite these benefits, their remains room for program improvement, including limitations we have yet to resolve.

As Castiello and Lee (2017) point out, there is inequity in the involvement of students in international programs from around the world, with the majority of students travelling from the USA, UK, Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Japan, and China. Few students from the global south participate in international education. In turn, this can perpetuate economic and social inequality (p. 3). When developing an effective study abroad program, we are aware of the lack of opportunities available for students from South Africa to reverse the travel--students from the University of Cape Town or other universities are not afforded the opportunity to visit and study at CSUSB. In addition, the research involves participants in South Africa who have yet to see the products or results of these studies and this disconnect perpetuates the very inequality of which students have become aware. Indeed, the ethical considerations of practicing research on South African subjects who gain little from their participation is not unique to this program -- it is something with which all academics grapple. Nonetheless, this challenge can be overcome in the future with collaborative research involving South African faculty and students—an addition that will no doubt offer further opportunities and positive experiences.

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Nurses are vital in providing health care around the world. Nurses have valuable expertise, competency, and germane perspectives that are imperative in the management of global health issues. The health care environment is changing to a global focus due to new technology, migration of people beyond borders and an increase in health disparity. Nurses are positioned to assume important roles in education, care delivery, leadership, and policy to influence the health outcomes of people. The purpose of this paper is to acknowledge the importance of global health in the nursing curriculum, and to explore global partnership opportunities for faculty and students around reciprocal interests.

Global health is an area of practice, study, and research that places priority on improving health, achieving health equity for all people and ensuring sustainable sociocultural, political and economic systems (Koplan et al. 2009; Wilson et al. 2016). Global health (GH) allows us to examine systems and how these systems impact the health care experience at local, national, and international levels (Wood, 2010). The health of all people globally calls for an examination of the interconnectedness between individuals and their environment and the impact it has on health (Gimbel, Kohler, Mitchell, & Emami, 2017).

The population of the United States (US) is becoming increasingly diverse and it is predicted that there will be a rapid growth in racial and ethnic minorities by the year 2060 (Calvillo et al., 2009). Racial and ethnic minorities are a group of people that experience significant health disparities. Health disparities are differences in incidence, prevalence, mortality, burden of disease and adverse health conditions that exists among specific population groups (Healthy People, 2020). Limited resources, inadequate access to health care, cultural barriers are among some of the constraints that often result in health disparities and contribute to the burden of diseases. The American Association of Colleges of Nursing (2018) acknowledges that nurses’ practice in diverse and multicultural settings and thus, must be equipped with the knowledge, skill and ability to provide culturally sensitive care to individuals in these settings. Cultural competency in nursing education is, therefore, crucial in addressing health disparities and adept care to a diverse population in a globalized society.

Diverse populations have unique health care problems which is often overlooked when addressing health care needs. In Ghana, there are multiple unique factors that affect health outcomes. Some of these factors include economic, cultural and religious factors, and regional factors. The economic factors include the health care system which is nationalized. Ghana has a national health care system where the Ministry of Health (MOH) control nurse employment. Nurses sometimes find it difficult to obtain employment upon completion of their training. Unemployed nurses have to wait until a position is available through the MOH. Instead of waiting, nurses migrate to other countries and find jobs with better salaries and working conditions. Migration of nurses from Ghana to other countries has a global effect (both social and economic) on the healthcare system. Unemployed nurses who chose to stay in Ghana often seek jobs outside of the nursing profession in order to survive financially (Health News, 2018).

Other factors that affect health outcomes are cultural and religious traditions. In Ghana these include early marriages, of female, polygamy, female genital mutilation (FGM), gender discrimination, and ritual servitude. FGM is a traditional practice of partially or totally removing the genitalia of girls and young women for non-medical reasons. This procedure can cause severe bleeding as well as pelvic infections that results in infertility or complications in childbirth and increased risk of new born deaths (World Health Organization, 2018). Another cultural practice unique to Ghana is the cleansing of widows (where a
widow must have sexual intercourse with a stranger to “purify” herself). Some of these practices although not legal are practiced in rural areas. The practice of early marriage of girls are related to gender discrimination where women often do not have the same right to education, employment, and health care as are men (Ministry of Health, 2013). The practice Trokosi still endures in the remote country side villages in Ghana. Trokosi is another practice where young virgin girls are sent to shrines of fetish gods and forced into slavery to atone for crimes committed by a family member. These young girls become a sacrifice protecting their family from the gods’ wrath. Some stay at the shrine for a few years or an entire life to meet the physical and sexual needs of the fetish priest (Mistiaen, 2013).

Lastly, the regional factors that affect health outcomes are the immunization rates, and rural vs urban differences. There are significant inequalities in childhood immunizations with those in rural areas more likely to be immunized because of campaign efforts that focuses on rural areas (Asuman, Ackarh, & Enemark, 2018). In Ghana, there is also a divide with those in the North, Upper East and upper west having less than those in the south. (ACCP, 2013). Fewer than 50% of the people in the three northern regions have access to electric power supplies, for example, compared with 72% nationally. When compared with those in the south, the people living in the northern, upper east and upper west regions have very limited access to secondary healthcare facilities but are somewhat better served by community services. The northern regions are also poorly served in the number of clinical staff serving region (ACCP, 2013). Economic, cultural and religious, and regional factors have an impact on health to health inequity and health disparities.

On a broader level nursing is a universal profession so health inequities and disparities should be at the forefront of global health. Nurses are the one of the largest health care professions in the global health workforce, providing 90% of health care worldwide (Bryar, Kendall, & Mogotlane, 2012). It is imperative that nursing students appreciate the global burden of diseases, health implications of migration, travel, and displacement; social determinants of health, globalization of health and healthcare; provision of care with minimal resources healthcare. To advance global health education for nursing students, schools of nursing (SONs) must consider how to strategically build and sustain partnerships on a global level. To do this effectively, there must be advancement of education, research, and practice into real world experiences locally and globally. Investing in academic structures is one important way to expand the effective participation of nursing students in global health care experiences. This provides students the opportunity to see their role in the world and a chance to learn, partner, innovate, collaborate and build capacity.

There is a growing demand from students in the health sciences for global health care experiences (Gimbel, Kohler, Mitchell & Emami, 2017). To adequately prepare students to tackle health care challenges in diverse populations and often impoverished communities, promote health equity and reduce health disparities, nurse educators in the US must re-think how global health can be incorporated in nursing education. It is important to adequately prepare nursing students to provide culturally competent care to the diverse populations that they will encounter (in practice) and how to address some of their existing challenges.

Providing care for diverse populations does require an in-depth knowledge and awareness of cultural norms which are important to health behavior (Safipour, Hadziadic, Hultsjo & Bachrach-Lindstrom, 2017). Culture considers knowledge, beliefs and values held by a group of individuals. Being culturally aware facilitates proper communication and lessens the possibility of misunderstanding and mistrust of the provider. Cultural competence can be acquired through experiential learning and practice (Olukotun et al., 2017). Undoubtedly, nurses tend to people in times of vulnerability and are one of the most important providers who need to be aware of cultural clashes that can affect care. Previous studies have supported the important role of culture in shaping health, and health behaviors (Yingnan, Juling, Junling, Pinpin &
Hua, 2017; Swierad, Vartanian & King, 2017). Research studies have also examined the effect of cultural competency education on nursing students, and most studies reported positive changes in nursing students’ view point as a result of their interventions (Allen, Brown, Duff, Nesbitt, & Hepner, 2013; Northam, Hercelinskyj, Grealish, & Mak, 2015).

In advancing global health in nursing education the Research, Education, Policy and Partnership (REPP) framework, can be used as a guide by academic institutions. The use of this framework ensures that core areas of research, education, policy development, and effective partnerships are addressed when developing and implementing strategies to promote effective faculty and student involvement. Investments in each of these core areas can create a sustainable foundation which promotes engagement of a critical mass of global health nursing scientists and practitioners within academic institutions who are linked and are mutually supporting.

University level collaborative partnerships foster broader connections to national and international nursing and non-nursing organizations engaged in promoting nursing’s role in global health research and education. This also fosters cross-disciplinary collaboration and encourages multidisciplinary research through the development of academic infrastructure, appropriate curriculum development, and creating consortiums and centers for global health initiatives.

**Incorporating Student Learning Outcomes (SLOs)**

With nurses playing a major role in global health care, a nursing education should prepare students for responsibilities to move the global health agenda forward for culturally congruent care, reduction of health disparities and creation of partnerships. Nationally, less than half of schools of nursing (SONs) in the US have integrated global health in the curriculum (Wilson et al. 2012). For SONs to incorporate global health into existing course work, this require significant investments (Dohrn, 2018). To occur, this calls for a transformation of the curriculum to include global health experiences into existing didactic courses and global clinical experiences to expand students’ knowledge. But first, nursing programs will have to develop student learning outcomes (SLOs) and incorporate these across the curriculum.

SLOs are statements that clearly state the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and competencies that students are expected to demonstrate upon completion of the program. Program planning includes identifying student learning outcomes, learning objectives, establishing clinical sites (locally and globally), recruiting and preparing students, and supporting students with host institutions. Investing in academic structures is very important to provide students with global experiences (Gimbel, 2017).

**Cross Cultural Opportunities in Ghana**

Class room learning, though important, only goes so far. Understanding the nuances and complexities of global health and culture often takes direct personal experiences. In pursuing the opportunity for global health care partnership with Ghana, the writer would like to explore specific global health and cross cultural opportunities for nursing students. This kind of SLP is envisioned as placements of nursing students in a community health center to provide health care to communities in Ghana. One opportunity that the writer would like to explore is student service learning projects (SLPs). The author foresees SLPs in the form of students working in the community health centers to provide primary care services. A major emphasis should be on health education in one on one sessions with clients and in groups with option of open forums. Another way to engage students in SLPs is to have them assist in coordinating medical outreach programs in villages and towns. Working at local orphanages and geriatric centers would also be advantageous for students as they participate in care, for these vulnerable groups.
Students participating in this project would write daily reflective clinical logs, and submit reports on cultural aspects of care in the community. Having students discuss their encounter in cultural diversity and challenges to providing care would enrich the learning experience. Students would share this with their peers at home institution for comparative analysis. This unique opportunity provides students with the opportunity to understand aspects of global nursing that is stressed heavily in the didactic component of the course.

In summary, the current curriculum in nursing education lacks adequate content in meeting the health needs of people globally. SLPs are a good way to offer students an experience in cultural immersions where norms are learned and understood which then inform the care of diverse populations. Students would acquire other knowledge such as nurse migration patterns where Ghanaians migrate to other countries when employment is not possible in their country and impact at the individual, national, and global level. Other educational take aways include cultural competency, the impact of traditions on health care, disparities in health in rural vs urban areas, and acquaintance with a national health care system. The SLP would also offer students the opportunity to learn about diseases and illnesses that are endemic to the region. This cultural exchange for students offers a new perspectives on life and their profession. With an open mind and a paradigm shift nurse educators can provide the global opportunities to students where global competency provide students with the knowledge skills and attitude needed to meet the needs of a diverse population of the future.

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EXPECTATIONS OF PUBLIC SPACE: ATTACHMENTS, ENVIRONMENTAL RESPONSIBILITY, AND URBAN SUSTAINABILITY IN DAKAR, SENEGAL

SUZANNE SCHELD

Introduction

After Asia, Africa is the fastest urbanizing area in the world, with many cities growing on the average of four percent annually. Due to this growth, African cities run the risk of developing in disorderly ways if they are not carefully planned. For this reason, when the United Nations announced its new Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) in 2015, the UN-Habitat immediately released its new urban agenda in 2016. Among the UN-Habitat’s principles for effecting urban sustainability is the need to plan for public space. From the UN-Habitat’s point of view, public space is a resource that can aid the health, economy, environment, social cohesion, and the civic identity of cities. Public space is deemed as critical to the future sustainability of African cities. Can public space do so much good in developing cities, however? Is public space the new silver bullet for urban sustainability in Africa?

In this chapter, I explore the expectation that public space can aid urban sustainability by examining several popular public spaces in Dakar, Senegal, and the extent to which they are likely to engender environmentally responsible behavior. Environmental psychologists argue environmentally responsible behavior is engendered by strong place attachments (Vaske and Korbín 2001). A place attachment is an emotional, social, and cultural bond forged between people and their environment (Eisenhauer, et. al. 2000; Proshansky et. al. 1983; Tuan 1977). Anthropologist describe these bonds in terms of a sense of belonging to a particular social environment or milieu. Such bonds are created through repetitive visitation as well as interactions, exchanges, and events that occur in the space. Sensory experiences, memories, images, and discourse also foster these bonds. In theory, the more citizens forge connections to public space, the more likely they are to participate in social actions that aim to support, nourish, and protect public space and its environs. Highly functioning and self-sustaining public space is ultimately a benefit to sustaining a city overall. One can see how this theory applies in instances where citizens with long-term relationships to a public park, for example, are motivated by their connections to become engaged in protecting the environment or “green” space of the park. But, does this idea apply to citizen’s relationships with other types of public space, such as markets and stickly plazas, where “nature” is not a prominent feature of the space? Does it apply to public spaces that are managed with limited input from the public? Does it apply to public spaces in African societies where the history of public space differs from the history of public space in Western societies? Contemporary public space significantly contributes to urban sustainability when it is designed and used to host healthy and productive activities instead of destructive activities. The literature demonstrating the benefits of public space is vast. Are there additional ways that public space contributes to the goal of fostering urban sustainability apart from standing as islands of productive human interactions in the broader city? In the pages below I explore these questions through an analysis of several public spaces in Dakar, Senegal where nature is, for the most part, not the dominant feature. These spaces include plazas, a shopping area, and an art space. Studies that probe how public space engenders environmental responsibility are often conducted in the context

\[101\] I would like to thank Isma Diaw and Khadim “Bu Mag” Diaw for their helpful contributions to this research.

\[102\] On social cohesion and quality see Anderson 2011; Carr 1995 (1992); Low, Taplin and Scheld 2005; Oldenburg 1989; Watson 2006; on improving physical development of children and adolescents, improving nutrition and weight loss see Wolch et. al. 2011, Black 2005; on improving mental health see Catlin, et. al. 2003; Kaplan et. al. 1998; Popkin et. al. 2005; Ulrich 1981; on civic identity see Projects for Public Space 2002.
of green spaces where trash collection and recycling are examples of citizen stewardship. In the public spaces that I examine, the dominant features in the built environment are designs that engender group gatherings, limited movement, observations of one another and things, and conversation. Therefore, “environmental responsibility” may be interpreted as acts that welcome others into the space, acknowledge and engaged others, and encourage others to have a sense of belonging. I find with one exception, old and new public spaces tacitly and explicitly exclude others, and in this sense, even when there are healthy place attachments, these examples of public space do not engender environment responsibility or citizen stewards that contribute to urban sustainability. It is possible for these forms of public space to engender place attachments that transform into stewardship, but this is dependent upon diverse members of the public having access to public space, citizens embracing a shared notion of public space, and public participation in meaningful “place-making” of public space.

In the sections that follow, I define public space, urban sustainability, and relationships between these two concepts. I briefly describe Dakar, and then discuss several examples of old and new public space including Place de l’Indépendance, a “traditional” plaza in the middle of the city, and Sea Plaza, Place du Souvenir, and a public art installation, three new forms of public space on the city’s corniche. I conclude the chapter by reflecting on patterns observed in the aforementioned examples of public space, and the notion of public space as the U.N. Habitat’s new tool for effecting change.

There are many forms of public space in Dakar (e.g., plazas, parks, markets, soccer fields, transportation hubs, sidewalks, beaches, etc.). I focus on plazas, market spaces, and public spaces along the corniche because they are they are examples that best highlight public, private, and community intersections and the changing meanings associated with public space as the city is undergoing rapid urbanization. Environmental psychologists typically study place attachments in public space using mixed methods, with a focus on quantitative data. In contrast, this chapter adopts an ethnographic approach to studying public space. This perspective conveys the experience of being in certain public spaces, which is knowledge that is highly relevant to understanding how some individuals and communities form deep attachments to public space while others are subtly and explicitly excluded from public space. The discussion in this chapter is based on participant-observation, open-ended interviewing, and archival research which was conducted in Dakar in July 2013 and June 2016. It is also informed by on-going ethnographic research in Dakar since 1996.

**Public Space and Urban Sustainability Intersections**

Public space and urban sustainability are complex and contradictory concepts. Public space is traditionally conceived as open, outdoor space that is publically owned and managed, such as plazas, parks, streets, sidewalks, beaches, etc. New forms of public space that have developed within modern times challenge this definition. For example, do transportation hubs qualify as public spaces since many of them are indoors? Are indoor shopping centers or outdoor parks public spaces if they are accessible to the public but owned or managed by private companies? According to Stéphane Tonnelat (2010), the contemporary concept of public space tends to be based on the notion of private property and access, and in this sense, it is akin to the concept of early English commons whereby the rights to use pastures for animal grazing and subsistence were granted to farmers under the law of the manorial system. Ironically, Tonnelat points out, such spaces no longer exist in the western world since nearly every inch of physical space is owned and regulated by a state or private entity.

“Urban sustainability” is an equally tricky concept. It is oxymoronic from one point of view. Urban centers are often associated with the notion of progress, movement, growth, and expansion. They were once conceived as closed systems, in opposition to “rural areas,” the “countryside” and “hinterlands.” They were
also considered as part of a closed system when they were characterized as “the engine of the nation” (Jacobs 1961). However, the sustainability of a city depends on it having access to material and human resources in diverse parts of the world. Thus, cities are global in nature, and constantly changing. In Africa in particular, ongoing rural-urban migration results in ongoing urbanization and the need to frequently redraw city limits. Sustainability in contrast, is associated with a closed system, self-sufficiency, and fixed resources. Expanding the boundaries in which limited resources will be consumed threats the vitality of resources. So, is it possible to create urban sustainability when “urban” and “sustainability” are based on contradictory forces?

In addition to the problem of contradictory meanings, sustainability is defined in diverse ways, which makes the meaning of “urban sustainability” even more of a moving target. Based on the United Nations’ definition, sustainability refers to meeting “the needs of present generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Brundtland Commission 1987). This definition is prompted by concern for the rapid depletion of natural resources in the world. A similar concern certainly applies to culture since globalization is undermining indigenous languages, lifeways, and local knowledge that can contribute to the preservation of natural resources. David Throsby (1995) argues there is a need to add “cultural sustainability” to the general notion of sustainability. This form of sustainability entails the preservation of the arts, and society’s attitudes, practices, and beliefs. Throsby furthers extended this idea to social sustainability, which entails the preservation of social relations, meanings, histories, and values of contemporary people (Arendt 1973 [1958]; Habermas 1991).

Despite the broad range and contradictory meanings associated with urban sustainability and public space, there is widespread agreement that urban sustainability is critical to achieve and public space can contribute to this goal. Presently, the U.N.-Habitat is at the fore in promoting the development of public space as a means to improve urban sustainability in the global south. The organization enlists the help of the Gehl Studio in Copenhagen, the Knight Foundation in Miami, and the Project for Public Spaces in New York for insights and tools for studying public space in developing cities all over the world. This turn to public space is noteworthy because these organizations and many others have been studying, designing, and advocating for public space as a tool for improving cities for several decades (Lewicka 2011). Why hasn’t this literature been highlighted before?

Indeed, lay people intuitively have known the benefits of public space. Historians trace citizens’ acknowledgment of the benefits of public space back to the Parks Movement in the nineteenth century in North America and Europe. Upper-class city dwellers were critical of industrialization and the deterioration of the environment, health problems, crime, and poor living conditions it produced for the working class and poor. They pressured their governments to create large landscape parks that they believed would uplift the poor and working classes, as well as protect their investments in the city. This movement resulted in the construction of Central Park in New York, Victoria Park in London, among other large parks (Low et. al. 2005). Others chronicle citizen-led gardening movements in the U.S. and U.K. Studies of gardening movements in the nineteenth century reveal similar concerns for the negative effects of industrialization and urbanization on the health of the working classes and poor, and privileged citizens’ belief that urban relief gardens would improve community health as well the overall look of the city (Lawson 2005; Burchardt 2002). The victory garden movement associated with World War I and II reflects concerns for the status and wealth of the nation, and often, the position of gardeners—typically women—within it. And, the Green Thumb and Green Guerilla movements in the U.S. reflect citizens’ responses to urban decay and gentrification (Gowdy-Wygant 2013). Collectively, these studies highlight public space as a dynamic and contested social formation with “healing” as well as “controlling” powers. Diverse groups of citizens and urban authorities use public space as a tool to fulfill their needs and meet their goals. Diverse groups of citizens have also known the usefulness of public space all along. The U.N.-Habitat’s...
promotion of public space represents the renewal of theories that have a long history. In this light, the U.N.-Habitat’s promotion of public space for effecting urban sustainability can be interpreted from at least two perspectives. In practical terms, public space is a material resource that individuals and groups use for meeting others, recreating, exercising, procuring good health, and for developing a sense of community and belonging. As the host to these activities and interactions, public space shapes the day-to-day rhythms of a city, often in positive ways which contribute to its sustainability. In analytical terms, the renewed focus on public space coincides significant moment of urban transformation. In the past, public space received attention when elites needed to control the masses, or the working classes needed reclaim their space and legitimacy as cities underwent deindustrialization. What tension needs to be fixed today and masked by attention given to the politics of public space? Encountering the resilience of neoliberalism may be the source of this new tension. Neoliberal economic policies and programs have been thoroughly critiqued as inadequate to engendering economic development in the global south. Nevertheless, policies that encourage dependency on foreign investment, deregulation of the economy, and the retreat of the state remain in place. How will new opportunities for growth be created if political and economic relationships within African countries, and between African countries and the global economy remain the same? In short, the U.N. Habitat is in-need of a new game plan to effect urban sustainability, and public space is available for use. The U.N. Habitat frames public space as dynamic tool for solving many ills, and in doing so masks the reality that the structural arrangements that undergird these problems is not changing. In this light, among the many cures a public space panacea can dispense is an anaesthetizing effect when confronting resilient neoliberalism.

I now turn to introduce the reader to Dakar, a city that has been thoroughly shaped by resilient neoliberalism.

**Dakar**

Dakar is located on the breezy, sandy Cap-Vert peninsula of Senegal, Africa’s westernmost point. It is a densely populated city with approximately 3 million inhabitants, which is almost a quarter of Senegal’s population. The city is culturally diverse. Residents are of many ethnicities including Lebu (original inhabitants of the peninsula), Wolof, Fula, Serer, Jola, Manjaka, Soninke, Bassari, and Moors. Many are of mixed ethnic backgrounds. In the 19th century, Lebanese began migrating to Dakar and today, a large community of Lebanese-Senegalese lives in the city. There are migrants from Mauritania, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Ivory Coast, Liberia, and Sierra Leone. Others migrated to Dakar from as far away as India, Korea, and China. Dakar houses the headquarters of numerous international banks and development agencies which employ many Europeans, North Americans, Middle Easterners, and Japanese who add to the city’s diversity. Dakar is growing in religious diversity, but currently ninety-five percent of the population are Muslim, practicing several varieties of Sunni Islam (e.g., Tijanism, Mouridism, Qadiriyya, and Layenism). There is a small community of Shia Muslims, and about 4 percent of the population is Christian (mostly Roman Catholic, some Protestants). About 1 percent of the population follows traditional beliefs.

In addition to extensive cultural diversity in the city, Dakarois are economically diverse, although a great portion of the inhabitants are poor and struggling economically. Thirty-six percent of Dakar’s working-age population is under or unemployed (ANSD 2015); 60 percent of the population earn less than two dollars/day. Many urbanites are illiterate and live in sub-standard housing. Because of limited job opportunities and poor living conditions, many younger people aspire to emigrate to other African countries such as the Gambia, Mauritania, or Ghana, and to countries in the Global North (e.g., France, Italy, Germany, USA, and Canada). Many Dakarois try to make a living in the city’s vast informal economy.
A small number of urban residents are wealthy and live in luxurious homes in well-resourced neighborhoods such as Las Almadies and Fann.

Immediately after Independence in 1960, hopes were high for Dakar to develop into an industrialized, wealthy city. The new government Africanized and further modernized the economy and state. By 1979, high hopes for industrial development evaporated as Senegal confronted a large deficit, collapsing growth, debilitating drought in the interior, and the global oil crisis which specifically impacted Dakar. In the 1980s, Senegal was deep in debt. The World Bank and International Monetary Fund offered to bail out Senegal with aid packages in exchange for several "structural adjustments" which, in theory, were to boost the economy. The adjustment included maintaining open borders, devaluing the currency, putting the government on austerity, and implementing cost-sharing approaches to public services. As a result of these policies, Senegal minimally benefited from hosting foreign companies within its borders, while its own companies were weakened by the new competition within Senegal and in the global market.

Currency devaluations helped the economy in terms of prompting the Senegalese transnational migrants in Europe and North America to invest in Senegal; however, it drove the prices for sugar, bread, and rice through the roof thereby increasing food insecurity and poverty. In addition to this, as the government withdrew its support for education, health, and housing programs, causing the population to truly suffer. This accelerated transnational migration as well as prompted the deaths of many youth who with limited opportunities for visas for migration to Europe, opted for a clandestine route which entailed traverse the Atlantic Ocean on artisanal wooden canoes guided by inexperienced and broke, but ambitious captains. In short, structural adjustment programs did little to address poverty in Dakar or Senegal's dependency on other countries and low position in the global economy. If anything, it exacerbated poverty and normalized Senegal's marginal position in the world economy. Meanwhile, the well-to-do of Dakar continued to live comfortably. They drive the most expensive vehicles, live in large homes, and travel to Europe for shopping sprees.

Within this picture of uneven development in Dakar, public space is an ambiguous social formation. On the one hand, the public-private space dichotomy is a familiar concept in this city. On the other hand, definitions of public and private space vary in Dakar, thereby creating confusion over who has the rights to claim and use public space, and who has the obligation to protect and take care of it.

One reason the line between public and private space is unclear is found in the history of the peninsula. The Lebu, the first inhabitants of the peninsula, practiced customary land ownership prior to the arrival of French settlers. Arguably, their land was a form of public space until the French colonial administrators imposed Western distinctions between public (governmental) and private (non-governmental) property. In 1858, this distinction was used to justify evicting the Lebu from their lands in order to build the first road in Dakar. Although the Lebu were afforded the right to use their lands in 1905 and the right to register for land ownership in 1932, by the end of the colonial period (1960) a good deal of Lebu land had been converted into French "public" land. Due to customary land laws, Lebu land was not easily registered in the French system. In 1964 when new Senegalese state passed a law to nationalize unregistered lands, the Lebu lost even more land. This compelled many Lebu to rapidly sell off collectively-owned lands on the informal real estate market in order to derive some benefit before their lands were further appropriated. As a result, to this day land ownership in Dakar is sometimes unclear. Real estate buyers are commonly forewarned that a Lebu-initiated land dispute may crop up in the middle of a sale (Gaye 1992).

In short, the line between public and private space is a reworked historical invention that obscures the first inhabitants' attachment to the land. In the history of Dakar, "public" lands were "privatized" by two external, state entities, and in the process disenfranchised and marginalized its original inhabitants. Thus,
unequal positions of power and varying historical perspectives of Cap-Vert lands contribute to blurring the boundaries of public and private space in Dakar today.

Yet another reason the line between public and private space is blurred relates to the spread of informality in Dakar. Informality is often discussed with respect to the economy, the absence of formal employment, and individuals meeting their subsistence needs by performing work in an informal sector. There are other aspects to informality as well. They included the actions that individuals or communities take in response to the lack of state oversight of activities in many domains of society. Informality has always been an aspect of life in Dakar. In the colonial period, for example, even though French colonial administrators imposed a cash crop economy system in Senegal, African subsistence farming and bartering did not impact the French system and was therefore permitted to persist. As a result, it was common for a good deal of economic activity to take place outside of the French system.\(^{103}\)

The scope of informality in Dakar was brought to a new level, however, in the 1980s during the years of structural adjustment. It has since remained high and a highly visible feature in the city. For example, informality is readily observed in the large number of itinerant traders roaming the streets at any time of the day, and the increased amount of public space that vendors appropriate for commerce. In the early 2000s, it was indeed difficult to walk down Avenue Pompidou (formerly Ponty) for the sidewalks were blocked by street vendors selling goods stacked on improvised wooden tables, tarps on the ground, and pinned to murals, trees, and umbrellas as well as bodies. Some vendors occupying street corners take advantage of cars that are forced to stop due to traffic. They extend these public vending spaces into the privacy of citizen’s cars by thrusting an eclectic array of goods for sale through an open window when the cars stop at intersections. While sitting in the passenger’s seat, one is often nose-to-nose with alarm clocks, packets of tissues, boxes of Kellogg’s Rice Crispies, picture frames, mirrors, toothbrushes, kitchen cookware, sun glasses, and small plastic toys, among many other items coming in through the opening.

But informality is visible in other ways too. For example, it is common for private citizens to informally reroute traffic from a neighborhood in order to celebrate a family baptism or wedding. Plastic barricades, rented chairs and awnings are among the objects employed to send taxis and busses down an unplanned, unofficial route. In downtown Dakar on Fridays, it is common for citizens to pray in the streets at mid-day. In this case, hundreds of bodies line themselves up in neat rows on the roads creating human barricades that prevent traffic from traversing the city.

Attention to informality is illuminated by citizens’ appropriations of public resources when striving to meet social obligations and personal economic obligations. It is also illuminated by citizens’ willingness to fulfill the government’s role when the government does not take action. For example, Dakar’s municipality collects garbage once a week. But youth have detected the desire for more sanitation services. So, many young men informally collect garbage by driving horse draw carts through neighborhood streets. They yell “mbalit-mbalit”\(^{104}\) in a distinctive voice, and this prompts maids and other young women to dash out into the streets with bags of trash. The informal trash collectors then dump and burn the garbage in the open fields of Léopold Sédar Senghor airport. In this process, they expose themselves, others, animals and the soil to foul and toxic pollution. Yet, informality is normalized such that that youth willingly put themselves and the environment at risk as they clean the city.

\(^{103}\) For more on this idea in the context of Nigeria see Meagher, K (2017) Cannibalizing the Informal Economy: Frugal Innovation and Economic Inclusion in Africa. European Journal of Development Research

\(^{104}\) In French, “balayer” means “to sweep.” Mbalit is a Wolof derivation of this term.
The above descriptions are meant to introduce the reader to Dakar, and to convey that the concept of public space in Dakar cannot be taken for granted. Public space is a shifting concept shaped by the history of Cap-Vert, by the spread of informality due to Senegal’s position in the global economy and by many sets of unequal power relations. This results in public space being treated as available for private activities such as family celebrations and the intimate act of connecting with God, while activities typically relegated to public space, such as commerce, often invade citizens’ privacy. The line between public and private space is vague and awaits clarification by city or state governments. However, citizens consider themselves among the governing bodies of Dakar and freely determine the boundaries of public space on their own. In the literature on cities of the global north, much ink has been spilled over characterizations of parks, places, sidewalks, etc. as contested public space. In some instances in Dakar, uses of public space are hotly contested. For example, there are periodic, violent sweeps of street vendors on Avenue Pompidou and other areas of the city, and market halls burned to the ground, a severe tactic for removing vendors from public space. The vast majority of public space appropriations in Dakar, however, have been without heated confrontations. After street sweeps and burned down buildings, vendors often return to “their” sites to reconstitute their work. In other words, the boundaries of public spaces in Dakar are highly fluid due to the movement of people, varying views of public space, the spread of informality, and the limited power of municipal authorities. Can fluid forms of public space engender forms of place attachment that are strong enough to mobilize citizen stewardship for urban sustainability? If attachments to public space are flexible, how to they result in producing enduring, proactive, and effective stewards? Let us now turn to public spaces in Dakar to examine if and how place attachments form, and if and how they are converted into citizen stewardship.

**Place de l’Indépendance**

The Place de l’Indépendance was part of the first master plan of Dakar which was designed by Émile Pinet-Laprade in 1862. The plaza was then named after the first governor of Dakar, August-Léopold Protêt, and was built on top of an abandoned French fort and at the mid-point between the port and the governor’s palace, Plateau (where French settlers predominantly lived) and the road to Medina, the African quarters on the outer limits of the town. In its early years, the plaza had a gazebo for musical performances and announcements, an enclosed garden and many shady trees that initially gave the plaza the look of a woody, romantic place where one could commune with nature. There were also benches to rest upon on out skirts of the park, and walkways around the entire plaza that were wide enough for strolling in pairs or small groups. Later, a monument in the form of a miniature Arc de Triomphe in Paris, was added to mark the entrance for those coming from the Medina, and to commemorate soldiers who had died in World War I. Another monument was later added to commemorate the fallen soldiers of World War II. This monument was built into the sidewalk of an elevated part other the plaza and remains in the plaza today while the arc monument was removed, and a large and round, water fountain was added to the center to complete the symmetrical pattern of rectangular lawns and paths laid out on all sides of the fountain, effecting the look of the Tuiliers Gardens in Paris. At first, the Chamber of Commerce, courthouse, and a few cafes and shops surrounded the plaza. Before the end of the colonial period, modern high-rise hotels and an apartment building, each sitting on top of arcades, were built on both sides of the plaza, enclosing the area from the rest of the city, and providing photographers with opportunities to frame Dakar as a modern, French-influenced city.

The Place de l’Indépendance was specifically designed as a symbol of the French Empire. Aspects of the plaza’s design were modified after 1960s to reflect the Senegalese state. The long and symmetrical grass panels and public space surrounded by administrative buildings symbolizes military power, rationality,

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and order. The natural environment is framed as subjugated by state power. Indeed a small and enclosed section in the southern part of the plaza is designed to reflect a landscape of “untamed” nature whereby trees are not conservatively pruned, vines are permitted to grow on the fence, paths are narrow and asymmetrical, and due to branches drooping from the trees, views of the city are obstructed in unplanned ways.

Many citizens have formed attachments to this historic site of public space. On an ordinary day one finds local middle-aged men gathering under the shady trees in the middle of day. They use a spigot reserved for lawn maintenance to fill a plastic tea pot which they use to perform their ablutions for mid-day prayer. Youth in Catholic school uniform wait on benches in the shade for their friends. Elders stretch out and cat nap on the benches, while some also read books and newspapers. Other youth wander around offering for sale souvenirs, sun glasses, or their services as tour guides. Tourists meander through the center of the plaza, almost never entering the garden in the southern part of the park. They generally pause by the water fountain, which for the past two decades has not pumped any water, and spin around looking to the skyline for familiar landmarks by which to orient themselves.

From one perspective, the Place de l’Indépendance is a peaceful plaza where a wide range of locals and guests have equal access to the plaza. Groups in the plaza do not come into conflict with one another. There is ample space for visitors use, and locals continue to practice the cultural norm “teranga” (the Wolof term for hospitality for the visitor) as well. The plaza comes alive with action when it hosts significant cultural events such as New Year celebrations, international exhibitions, and an occasional political protest. The peacefulness, welcome, participation in cultural events, and lack of signs of destruction of the plaza suggests inhabitants’ value this public space.

From another perspective, the Place de l’Indépendance is a peaceful plaza because some citizens are not there. Individuals who grew up during the time of Senghor’s presidency recall the plaza as an exciting place to visit, especially on the weekend when colored lights illuminated the spouting water fountain. When Abdou Diouf assumed the presidency in 1981, to distance himself from Senghor and Senghor’s affinity for France, he limited funding for maintaining public spaces that referenced France. Therefore the colored lights and water left the fountain. Then, as the economy weakened in the mid-1980s, the plaza filled with poor rural migrants seeking to eke-out a living selling odd objects. The presence of “kaaw-kaaw” (a derogatory Wolof expression for rural youth coined by urban youth) in the plaza disrupted middle class youths’ enjoyment of the plaza, so they stopped visiting.

On the one hand, citizens appear to practice environmental responsibility at the individual and “green” level. Trash is generally properly disposed, locals are tolerant of the pause on water fountain use, and the trees in the plaza remain intact and valued for the shade and aesthetics they provide. In terms of responsibility toward social environments, little sign that citizens feel the need to do more to protect the plaza or public spaces surrounding it.

Recent signs suggest the municipality feels the need to ignite citizens’ place attachments. In 2013, the municipality permitted an exhibition in the plaza of approximately twenty post cards of Dakar, the plaza, and the surrounding buildings in the early colonial period. These nostalgic scenes were printed on large banners that were fastened to rebar driven into the dirt floor of a garden space in the plaza. Wind whipping through the plaza made the banners vigorously flap and twist around their rebar supports, making it

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106 In Rethinking Urban Parks (2005), Low, Taplin, and Scheld document park visitors at Jones Beach, New York freely and extensively cutting down expensive trees and shrubbery in the park in order to have wood for their barbeques.
challenging to fully view all of the images. But many of the images were already familiar to me since post cards of the African colonies are now a popular item for sale in e-commerce.

The sight of this exhibit in Place de l’Indépendance was both discomforting and curious. Why would Dakarais pine for the colonial past, a time of racism, exploitation, and the marginalized of Africans in the city? How could such an exhibit nourish viable place attachments among the citizens? On the one hand, I interpreted the post card exhibit as a distasteful tribute to a time when aspects of urban growth may have been exciting despite the destruction of African culture that undergirded such growth. On the other hand, nostalgia for the colonial past may be viewed as displaced anxiety related to societal transformations occurring in the present. 107 For example, Place de l’Indépendance is currently being swallowed by urban growth. Due to the increase volume of traffic in the city and particularly circling the plaza, the plaza is marked by a layer sand, dust, and particles from car emissions, and views of the sky are blocked by new tall buildings. At the same time, due to traffic in Dakar and the availability of amenities in the suburbs, it is increasingly unnecessary for inhabitants to visit Dakar’s downtown and the Place de l’Indépendance. And since views of the plaza are available online, tourists do not need to wade through the traffic, crowds and gritty air to view the Place de l’Indépendance either. In short, the plaza’s position as the geographic and symbolic center of the city is currently shifting. The exhibition appears to be an attempt to “fix” the Place de l’Indépendance and downtown Dakar as the center of the city by taking control over representations of its history, however ironic the content of that history may be. This dynamic also suggests citizens’ attachments to the plaza form and operate at one level, while the municipality works on another level to provide the context for these formations and their particular dimensions. Citizens are ultimately passive agents of place-making and in some cases they are against place-making efforts if they are too inclusive.

**Public Space on the Corniche**

In a recent wave of urbanization, developers moved from the center of downtown to the outer limits of the peninsula in search of new space to build on. New luxury hotels, apartment buildings, shopping centers, and recreation areas have been installed along the corniche. These developments are controversial because the beaches and ocean views are cultural significant landscapes to Senegalese, especially the Lebu fishing communities. Access and views have been blocked by the new structures, thereby disrupting access to cultural resources that are central to the cultural identity of so many inhabitants of Dakar. Indeed, from time to time there have been small groups protesting the construction of luxury hotels on the corniche.

One such new public space along the corniche is Sea Plaza, an underground shopping mall that is attached to the Radisson Blu hotel via tunnels. Sea Plaza was a 35 million dollar project funded by Yerim Sow of Telyum Group, a wealthy Senegalese holding company that is constructing several other up-scale housing projects on the Corniche. Sea Plaza was designed by SAOTA, a South African based architectural firm that is known for their contemporary style and for building structures on cliffs. The mall hosts numerous brand name upscale retail shops, a spa, and several restaurants, a movie theater, and Dakar’s only bowling alley.

While it appears to be a modern and inclusive public space, aspects of this space’s signal it is meant to be used by a select population. This is first communicated by the presence of armed guards at the entranceway. Few other commercial centers in Dakar have this level of security. The security check may be for ensuring safety; however, it shapes the perception that there is something in the mall worthwhile to protect. Being searched at the security gate is a particular experience that is like passing through a threshold to a different and better world. Security guards trace visitors’ bodies with beeping metal detectors. The detector is like a magical wand, and tracing the body is like a ritual through which one is

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transformed. Passing through a grand door that leads to mall’s lobby, and then riding the escalator down to the first level of shops adds to the feeling of being transformed by one’s entrance into a magical space. Indeed, on the lower level one is faced with many shops that are merely glass enclosed spaces with, fancy floor tiles and expensive goods. Glass walls signal that the mall is a highly modern and upscale place. They also permit a rapid socialization for new comers. Having unmediated views of numerous and diverse symbols of privilege, prepares visitors to quickly become familiar with these symbols and begin to incorporate them in their own self expressions. Glass windows also contribute to another ritual that orients visitors in the mall. As visitors stroll, they stop to take selfies next to window displays. The repetitive act of taking selfies inscribes familiarity, comfort, and desire for consuming and enjoying the upscale milieu. That said, a variety of physical features do much to filter this public space (Shephard and Smith-Simon 2011). A security check, stylish thresholds, reflective glass walls, expensive goods, and visitors taking selfies are aspects of shopping that are not found in many other markets in Dakar, least of all some of the most populated clothing markets such as Marché Sandaga. These features in the built environment may be familiar and inviting to some, which they signal to others that they do not belong. Therefore, some will not enter the mall. Sea Plaza is a form of public space that filters the public by threatening visitors’ comfort zones in cerebral ways. It may provide opportunities for place attachments to develop among privileged city-dwellers, but it limits opportunities for others. As such, it has a limited ability to contribute to the social sustainability of the city.

Place du Souvenir Africain is just south of Sea Plaza on the Corniche. It is a multilevel and multi-purpose public plaza and conference space which opened in 2009 during a time when the Senegalese government and Dakar’s municipality made a concerted effort to improve the image of the city so as to maintain a foothold in the global tourist market. The mission of Place du Souvenir Africain is to commemorate national and pan-African heroes through exhibits, conferences, and cultural events related to this theme. It is initially an inviting space because there are no check points or doorways to pass through in order to enter the space, and the promise of a view of the Atlantic is alluring.

The “Place du Souvenir,” as it is commonly referred to, is a symmetrically organized space. The top level of the plaza is balanced by a line of flag poles on each side of the open space. A round water fountain with an asymmetrical arrangement of ceramic jugs is positioned in the center of the space. On the lower level, the space is balanced by two buildings with columns that reference Greek pantheons. In this space there are multiple water fountains and a large sculpture of the African continent in the center axis of the space and at the far end of the plaza. There is a restaurant on one side of the plaza with moveable chairs enclosed by a fence and set on a grass-like carpet, and an auditorium with modern glass walls on the opposite side of the lower plaza. The symmetrical organization of objects, nation-state references, modern glass-paneled building, and the quaint but modern restaurant communicates that this plaza is part of a modern and orderly culture, while the asymmetrical sculpture in the center of the plaza suggests that this is also a space that honors spontaneity, creativity, nature, and African tradition.

While the Place du Souvenir appears to be open and accessible to all, there are a number of features that suggest the public is not welcomed unless they are tourists or conference participants. First, the plaza calls to mind a space that is needed for military columns to maneuver. This is not a space for ordinary citizens. There are no benches for sitting, only narrow ledges around the edges of the plaza. A view of the ocean is interrupted by the huge sculpture of the African continent that is placed in between the Greek-like meeting spaces. Unless one intentionally visits the plaza for an event, the spatial organization prompts a brief visit.
Some visitors, however, bond with the plaza. During one visit to the plaza, I noticed a thin, middle-aged man in dirty work clothes busily scraping tiles off of the floor of an unused water fountain. One of my friends said, “Hey he’s stealing the tiles!” This prompted another friend in my group to say, “That’s how it is. The patron in charge of the plaza is probably inside watching T.V. right now!” Indeed, while the visitor was scooping blue tiles into a brown plastic bag in plain sight, there were many people in the plaza setting up tents for an exhibition and discussing plans for an event. No one did anything to challenge the man as he appropriated material from this nationally significant public space. Was it problematic that someone was taking the tiles since the fountain is rarely used? Was this a new form of tax return? Who is hurt and who is helped by this act? Although the Place du Souvenir is designed to create memories that engender respect for Senegal’s history and culture, some citizens form attachments that are based on the direct and immediate material benefit the state can give its people, with or without a governing mechanism to distribute its resources. Although inclusion is not an issue, it is doubtful this type of attachment is the basis for developing stewards of the city.

Cherif Mahktar Cissé’s art installation on the beach underneath the Hotel Terrou-bi, just south of Place du Souvenir, is another example of compelling public space in the margins of the city. Cissé’s art installation is also his home which he constructed in along space in the cliff that coincides with an alcove on the beach. Thus, his house is not visible from the street. One has to walk down an informal path cut into a small slope to the beach to find it, or climb over many jagged and slippery boulders if approach the house from the sand.

Cissé’s house is made out of light wood, card board and tarps precariously nailed together. Inside his home he has stacked numerous pieces of art that he painted on wood and scraps of various sorts. He calls his home, “Paradise by the sea.” Upon meeting Cissé it is immediately apparent that he is an eccentric. He enthusiastically welcomes all who arrive and plays the role of a hospitable host who has been expecting the visit all along. He invites visitors into his home and offers them a place to sit (on the rocks). He exclaims many times how wonderful it is that the “world comes to him,” and he finds indirect ways to indicate that world comes to him in the form of visits from curious international tourists and the trash that floats up on the shore which he uses for his art. The implied connection between international visitors and trash is delivered with humor and smiles, which is just one of the many ways that Cissé communicates his critical views of the world.

Cissé’s art installation is comprised of approximately a dozen life-sized figures of famous Senegalese and Africans fashioned out of trash that he found on the beach. Water bottles, beer cans, plastic colanders, torn plastic bags, and ripped up soccer jerseys are used to effect the look of humans. If asked, Cissé informs his visitors of the name of the dignitary they confront—Senghor (Senegal’s first president), Abdou Diouf (Senegal’s second president), and Lat Dior (a 19th century resistance leader against the French) are among the dignitaries in Cissé’s courtyard. This art installation is indeed an ironic parallel to the Place du Souvenir, which seeks to honor famous Africans but features none in the built environment.

Each time I travel to Dakar I try to visit with Cissé. My visit in 2016 was especially thought provoking. On the one hand, things were not going well for Cissé. He was in poor health and in need of money. On the other hand, he had taken his art to new level by creating costumes for his visitors to wear while taking selfies. He invited my companion to try on a “general’s jacket” which was a green army-like vest to which he painted on strips and stars. He also gave me a “fez”, created out of the bottom half of a large plastic soda bottle which he painted red. He also gave me a Senegalese flag to wave about. He had replaced the star in the center of Senegal’s flag with large image of Abdou Diouf.
How does one classify Cissé’s art installation? Is it an example of an artist’s privatization of a public beach? Is it the reclaiming of public space for public art? The art installation is hard to define given the history of land and the ambiguous line between public and private space in Dakar.

Does Cissé’s art installation exhibit signs of an existing place attachment or sense of belonging? If so, are their signs of environment responsibility possibilities citizen stewardship? Indeed, Cissé’s work and approach to life is all about environmental responsible. In terms of responsibility toward to the natural environment, Cissé’s protects natural resources by reusing objects for his art before contributing to the demand for new goods. In terms of social responsibility, the goal of his art is to welcome everyone to into his art space. Inviting visitors to engage in play with props made of recycled items prompts one to re-imagine the notion of privilege and the effects privilege can have on one’s natural and social environment. Ironically, Cissé’s work takes place in the margins of the city where he is free but also inaccessible. With so few exposed to his work, his stewardship has a limited effect.

Public space along the corniche of Dakar is clearly developing in divergent ways. Public spaces are both more exclusionary and inclusive than ever before. This is exhibited by the welcome at Sea Plaza and Cissé’s home. Yet in the margins, the state still aims to stamp public space with symbols that intend to orient citizens toward the nation. However, both the state and its citizens are ambivalent about their obligations toward one another. These themes are visible in the design, filtered access, and a citizen’s anti-custodial reliance on the resources available in public space. As citizens are afforded the opportunity to develop attachments to these new places, connections to the beach and sea—part of the historic landscape for many long-term inhabitants of Dakar—will soon be lost. This message is communicated by Cissé who has installed himself on the beach to make art that expresses the need to care for the natural environment and a desire for an inclusive society. Ironically, this creative and fearless message is obscured, literally and figuratively, by shadows in the margins of the city.

Conclusion

This chapter began by asking if place attachments can engender environmental responsibility in public spaces that are not predominantly “green”? Indeed attachments are formed in nearly any type of public space, but this does not mean they can be transformed into significant acts of environmental responsibility. Local and Western notions of public space coexist and are evoked in different circumstances. Therefore, individuals’ and communities’ relationships to public shape are often shifting, giving the object of place attachments and citizen stewardship a certain ambiguity. It may be premature (and possibly not desirable) to target public space as a tool for engendering urban sustainability.

Environmentally responsible public spaces are meant to be inclusive, and in the examples above we have seen that in Dakar there are various issues related to accessing public space. Some public spaces are designed to purposely prevent access (e.g., Sea Plaza), or filter access (e.g. Place du Souvenir), or afford access to all, but some don’t want to associate with others, and therefore limit their own access (e.g., the Place de l’Indépendance). Yet others are unaware of the access they are afforded (e.g., Cissé’s art installation). Such diverse circumstances produce diverse opportunities for attachments to form. In some contexts, place attachments lead to citizen stewardship. For example, Cissé created an engaging way for the public to reflect on their own contributions to making art out of garbage on a beach. In other contexts, neutral place attachments form. Citizens care about public space, but don’t see it as a place for social action, and in fact, are willing to leave it for other spaces in the city in order to avoid conflict. Yet others form connections that are detrimental to public space, as they remove pieces of it for their own use. In short, access is necessary in order for place attachments and stewardship to emerge. This would need to
be addressed in order for these public spaces to become sites that engender inclusivity if not also an ethos of “green” environmental responsibility.

Based on the discussion above, it seems that the U.N. Habitat’s hope for citizen involvement does not take into consideration the cultural or historical dimensions of the relationships between people and their environments. Nor does it propose consideration for the broader political, economic, and social dynamics that drive people to and out of public space, and shape people’s perception of it and the environment as well. Without an understanding of these factors and their role in shaping public space, it will be difficult to move the needle toward urban sustainability.

The productive power of public space has been acknowledged by lay people since the nineteenth century and has been extensively documented by social scientists since the 1960s. So, how may we make sense of the U.N. Habitat and other international organizations’ recent renewed interest in public space? Possibly, this renewed interest is similar to colonial nostalgia—a displaced desire to engage the past thereby masking anxieties about contemporary social tensions. In this case, the renewed interest in public space diverts attention away from the resilience of neoliberalism, a phenomenon that threatens the sustainability of Dakar by encouraging open border policies, deregulation, and the withdrawal of the state. One hopes that the renewed attention to public space in the name of urban sustainability will not result in a heightened enthusiasm for privatizing public space, for this will result in a built and social environment that does not take the history or culture into consideration, and does not foster inclusivity. The municipality and citizenry should work together to determine the best to approach to creating and maintaining public spaces that “speak” to the people and history of the peninsula, and that engender social and natural environmental responsibility in culturally relevant ways.

Bibliography


‘AFRICAN ART’ AND CROSS-CULTURAL NEGOTIATIONS IN GHANA - KODZO GAVUA

Introductory comments

Ghana is a major source of visual expressions that may be referred to conveniently as ‘African art’ (Mack, 2000; Willet, 2002; Steiner, 1994). In addition to those which Ghanaian artists produce today, the assemblage of this art comprises antiquities and other pieces of work dealers collect across West Africa and other regions of Africa. Growing interest in this art among collectors, dealers, tourists and other visitors to the country, as well as students and historians has engendered proliferation of a variety of plastic and graphic types. My paper discusses briefly how transactional dialogues between producers, dealers, and patrons of the art relate to the character and meanings of what artists and dealers offer in Ghana today. The discussion will posit that, the range of contemporary and other art works that may be found in Ghana today reflects consumer preferences for art that conforms to widely held notions of ‘African art’ but which deviates significantly from local art traditions in form, function and meaning.

My observations derive from the works of other students of Ghanaian art and the preliminary results of a longitudinal ethnographic study I began in 2014 into the character, production and distribution processes, functions and meanings of visual cultural expressions in Ghana. In addition to studying and documenting art works with the aid of still and video cameras as research tools, I randomly observed, interviewed and had discussions with a total of 56 artists individually and in groups, 40 art dealers and vendors, and several local and foreign patrons of art. My focus, so far, has been on art, artists, and art dealers and vendors at major production and distribution centres, including the Arts Centre and Tetteh Quashie Interchange art markets in Accra, the Cape Coast Castle art market, and the Kumasi Cultural Centre art market.

The Arts Centre, the largest art market in Accra, has at least 200 regularly operating shops of variable sizes. Many of these shops specialize in vending specific items they acquire from different domestic and external African sources, such as Congo, Mali, Nigeria, Burkina Faso, and Kenya. A few of them engage also in the production, reconfiguration, and finishing of semi-finished products they acquire from producers and dealers. Each of the about 120 relatively smaller shops found at the Tetteh Quashie Interchange market sells a variety of items. In addition to the art dealers and vendors, eight carvers and five young men persons who specialize in finishing products dealers and vendors assign to them, operate in this market. The Cape Coast Castle market comprises about twelve shops and about eight kiosks that are housed within and outside the castle premises respectively. The shop and kiosk operators vend a variety of local and foreign plastic and graphic products. The Kumasi Cultural Centre has about a dozen shops in which a variety of locally produced items are sold, in addition to at least fifteen workshops that specialize in the production of hand-woven textiles, pottery, brass objects, graphic art, wood works, and other items.

Apart from the centres described above, I have also gathered information from the Aburi crafts market in Ghana’s Eastern Region, the Bolgatanga leather and straw works market in the Upper East Region, the Ahwia wood carving centre, near Kumasi in Asante, the Vakpo wood carving centre, Agortime Kpetoe hand-woven textile production centres, and the Vume pottery centre in the Volta Region. Except for those in Bolgatanga and Ahwia, these centres of art are located in rural settlements from where dealers often acquire products for sale in urban areas. Most of the producers at these centres are indigenes of the settlements in which the centres are found.
Art and the artist in Ghana

Artistic expressions have a long history in Africa as evinced by 80,000 years old engravings on cave and rock-shelter walls in southern Africa. In the geographical area now called Ghana, artisans of early agricultural settlements that date to about 6,000 years before present have produced pottery and clay anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines of variable morphology and surface treatments (Anquandah, 2013). The development of plastic art in the area continued into the first and second millennium AD with the production of a wide variety of terra cotta figurines, which researchers have conveniently referred to as ‘Koma figurines’ at various 6th to 14th century sites in the northern regions of the country (Insoll et al, 2016; Insoll et al, 2012). The Asante and other southern Ghanaian groups of people are also known to have been producing and using pottery, clay figurines, gold weights (Sheales, 2017; Phillips, 2010), gold ornaments (Ross, 1977), textiles (Cole & Ross, 1977), and other works of aesthetic and symbolic value since pre-colonial times (Rattray, 1927; McLeod, 1981).

Today, products of Ghanaian artists include a variety of plastic and graphic depictions of various environmental and cultural phenomena. There are, for example, representations of wild life, including those found in the eastern and southern regions of Africa, sub-urban and rural life ways, such as open market scenes, local music and dance performances, impressions of African women, proverbial and religious images, as well as philosophical abstractions and aspects of Ghana’s cultural past. In addition to these are a variety of stamped and hand-woven fabrics (Adler & Barnard, 1992; Ross, 1998; Clarke, 2002). Clothes made of wax and resin-printed fabrics that are labeled as ‘African prints’ (Smith & Ayavoro, 2016; LaGamba, 2009; Gillow, 2009; Picton, 1995), jewelry, accessories, local musical instruments, basketry, and furnishings are also among the repertoire of African art in Ghana. Some of these works may be associated with particular groups of people among whom their production is common. For example, stamped fabric, bright, multi-coloured hand-woven textiles, and cast gold and brass objects are peculiar to the Asante, works of leather and straw and dim-coloured hand-woven textiles are common to artisans of the northern regions of Ghana.

Many of the art Ghanaian artisans produce derive from local craft and artistic traditions in which art is generally intrinsic to formal variability and is not only aesthetic but also symbolic and/or utilitarian. Art from such traditions expresses aspects of local cognitive structures, social values, histories and folklore, and functions in various social and ideological contexts, particularly as a medium through which individuals and groups construct, reconstruct, negotiate and assert identities, and connect with metaphysical entities (Gavua, 2015). Thus, the art is rarely produced for art’s sake.

However, clear distinction between categories of Ghanaian art in relation to regional, ethnic and cultural origin has since the mid-1990s when the nation’s economy became liberalized become blurred. In their bid to take advantage of market opportunities and new knowledge systems that came with the liberalization artisans of different geographical and cultural backgrounds move and relocate to popular market centres within the country, thereby enhancing heterogeneity in artist communities. Over sixty percent of the wood sculptors found at the Arts Centre and Tetteh Quaashe interchange markets in Accra as well as the Aburi crafts market in the Eastern Region of Ghana, for example, are of Volta Regional background. A large number of textile weavers found in the Accra and Kumasi markets are also of northern Ghanaian and Volta Regional origins.

As the different artisans interact among themselves and with art dealers and patrons, they access, acquire and share relevant knowledge and information that enable them to boost their ability to innovate and experiment in accordance with market trends. Thus, while the artisans may apply long-established production methods, techniques and templates, the character, quality and repertoire of their products are regularly altered. This appears to be minimizing variance in particular product designs. The production
by carpenters over the past two decades of designer or fancy coffins, for example, is an innovation that has broadened the scope of Ghanaian art. These coffins, which assume the shapes of objects that reflect the careers or professions of deceased persons or activities by which the persons are popularly remembered, are now produced by several other carpenters apart from those based in the Teshie area of Accra from where that genre of art originated.

Also, diversity in the assemblage of art works that are found in Ghana has increased due to copying and sampling by local artists of the works their counterparts from other nations and regions of Africa. The artists fuse with, or incorporate into local forms design attributes they copy or sample to produce hybrids of art. Funnel-shaped drums, popularly known as ‘jembe’ and an assortment of wooden masks exemplify artistic expressions local craftsmen have copied from other West African peoples and popularized. The jembe is a versatile musical instrument of the Senufo, the Malinke and other West African peoples and was rarely used in Ghana. Wooden masks are indigenous religious objects associated with the Nafana, Koulango and other peoples of northeastern Ivory Coast, Mali and Nigeria.

The contemporary community of Ghanaian artists includes various craftsmen and women and other artisans who may not necessarily regard themselves as artists. These artists acquire their basic skills through apprenticeship under renowned artisans, self-training, and training in second cycle and tertiary institutions of art. A few of them, particularly the school-trained artists, belong to guilds and produce for established art galleries and dealers and occasionally organize exhibitions of their works. Some of the artists operate independently at home and at private kiosk and shop studios, while others work at organized craft centres, each of which specializes on the production of particular classes of art such as pottery at Vume, wooden sculpture at Vakpo and Aburi, and hand-woven textiles at Agotime Kpetoe.

Art dealers I have interacted with are persons whose primary vocation is to procure objects of art from artists and other sources for sale. But for a few who are artists, many of them are traders with good knowledge in local and international art market situations and who have excellent communication and bargaining skills. Some of them have shops at the production centres while others travel across Ghana and other West African nations to locate, bargain and acquire mainly semi-finished works from producers, and disused older pieces of art, which elderly people have preserved. They include Ghanaians as well as nationals of other West African countries, including Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Mali, and Niger. These dealers engage the services of vendors to operate their shops at the market centres.

**Cross-cultural negotiations and contemporary Ghanaian art**

At the various craft centres this study has covered, artists and art dealers closely interact and network among themselves and actively engage clients. The artists and dealers inform each other about market trends, including consumer preferences and pricing of products. Dialogue that ensues between these actors directly and indirectly influences the character, variability and meaning of art which artists and art dealers offer. Consequent to the quest by mainly Western European and other foreign patrons of art for so-called ‘exotic’ and ‘authentic’ African art, for example, many artists, art dealers and vendors at the market centres present works that may be described as ‘tourist art’ for sale.

Tourist art comprises mainly potable art works that Ghanaians rarely acquire and use, as their practical functions, meanings, and relevance to local social and ideological situations are limited. Plastic and graphic depictions of African women with over-exaggerated buttocks, women of burden, basic living conditions of Africans, as well as awe-inspiring masks with exaggerated facial features, miniature jembe, and an assortment of bead and cowry shell jewelry are some examples of this art. Another category of the art is the generic form of hand-woven fabric, kente, which has no local name, meaning, and significance. There
are also fake antique masks. As I observed on three different occasions at one of the market centres, such masks are produced when newly carved wooden masks are soaked in water and other organic solutions, coated with ochre and ash and buried in damp soil for a number of days. After being attacked by bacteria, earthworms and other elements, the slightly disfigured and old-looking masks are dried, cleaned slightly and put up for sale at relatively high prices as antiques obtained from sacred contexts. The few Ghanaians who occasionally collect such tourist art works exhibit them to decorate space in homes, hotels, and other places of work, or use them to dress the part for cosmetic purposes, if the works are costume items.

**Reflections**

This relatively brief discussion has sought to define what constitutes African art in Ghana from a historical perspective and to account for variability, continuity and transformation in the assemblage of this art. It has also addressed some effects that dialogue and networking between artists and art dealers of diverse cultural and artistic backgrounds and patrons of their products have on the kinds of products artists offer in the Ghanaian market. The information presented suggests that, art in local Ghanaian contexts is generally intrinsic to functional form, which may not be of only aesthetic value but also of ideological, social and, in many cases, practical significance. However, as a result of increasing interaction, networking and dialogue between artists, art dealers, and clients of different cultural backgrounds, artists have shifted from producing works that satisfy local demand to commercial art that is devoid of much local meaning. The majority of the dealers and vendors are concerned with mainly the commercial value of the products they market while being oblivious to the local socio-cultural significance of the products.

The commercial art or tourist art may be regarded as an interface between African, Western European and other art traditions. It may reflect aspects of technological traditions within which Ghanaian artists operate and express some environmental, social and ideological circumstances of contemporary Africa. Nonetheless, this art is not coded with enough messages that can render them meaningful to a cross-section of local peoples. In this regard, the term ‘African art’ would thus be a convenient marketing label.

**References**


WE CAN NEITHER ACCEPT NOR DENY: MOURNING, CELEBRATION, AND THE QUEST FOR FAMILY IN MAYA ANGELOU’S ALL GOD’S CHILDREN NEED TRAVELING SHOES—DOUGLAS TAYLOR

Maya Angelou was one of a group of about two-hundred African American expatriates who chose to make Ghana their home in the decade following Ghanaian independence. According to Angelou, apart from Drs. W.E.B. DuBois and Alphaeus Hunton, who had been personally invited to Ghana by President Nkrumah to work on the Encyclopedia Africana, the black expatriate community was comprised of four groups (904-05). The first group was made up of teachers and farmers, some with children, who established themselves in the countryside (905). The second group was comprised of Black Americans affiliated with the American government (905). The third group was part of a small business community (905). And the fourth group, of which Angelou was a part, considered themselves to be exiles or “political émigrés” (905). According to Angelou, the members of this last group were fiercely “dedicated to Africa, and Africans at home and abroad,” but they were “gaping with hungers” (904-05). In leaving the U.S. for Ghana, they hoped to heal the traumas of the Middle Passage, slavery, Jim Crow segregation, and internalized racism by finding acceptance and a new life in an independent African nation. Maya Angelou, who lived in Ghana from 1962-65 where she worked as an administrative assistant here at the University of Ghana, explores the yearning for healing, reconnection, and acceptance among this circle of black intellectuals in her 1985 memoir, All God’s Children Need Traveling Shoes (https://africasacountry).

While there are many ways one could approach Angelou’s memoir, an important thread running through the text is Angelou’s attempt to narrate the relationship between continental Africans and Africans of the diaspora through the metaphor of family. As familiar as such a metaphor is to those of us with Pan-African sensibilities, Angelou repeatedly stumbles in her attempts to narrate the diaspora. Rather than being due to any lack of historical knowledge or linguistic facility on Angelou’s part, it is, I argue, the trauma of the middle passage and the trans-Atlantic slave trade that causes her to question the possibility of a diasporic community. Trauma, by definition, involves a psychological and emotional excess that cannot adequately be narrated nor conceptualized within language. Ultimately, Angelou realizes that there can be no diasporic African “family” without a mourning of those lost in the Middle Passage, and a celebration of those who survived. Their spirits must be fed and mourned as a condition for the possibility of such community (Angelou 963, 1051).

Early on in her memoir, All God’s Children Need Traveling Shoes, Angelou writes that she became infatuated with Ghana the way “a young girl falls in love, heedless and with slight chance of finding the emotion required” (902). Being in a majority black country in which people who looked like her occupied the highest offices and most elevated positions throughout the land reaffirmed for Angelou that black people were capable of interpreting the world and themselves without the assistance of whites, and that we had both the right and the capacity for self-determination (899). “[F]or the first time in our lives,” she writes, “the color of our skin was accepted as correct and normal.” “We lived under laws constructed by Blacks, and if we violated those laws we were held responsible by Blacks” (889, 948).

There are any number of examples I could choose to illustrate the hunger for acceptance that Angelou describes in the Black American expatriate community. One of the better examples might be the young couple who arrive from Chicago, claiming: “We have come to Mother Africa to suckle from her breasts” (917). Despite the many familial metaphors in Angelou’s narrative, she and her friends are the first to

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remind this couple that they were weaned in childhood and that the African continent is too complex to be described by a gender-specific metaphor (918). Annoyed, but still feeling a degree of empathy for this working-class couple who saved for two years in order to be able to afford their airfare, Angelou writes: “They were just two more people in an unceasing parade of naïve travelers who thought that an airline ticket to Africa would erase the past and open wide the gates to a perfect future” (919).

Not that Angelou herself is immune from these yearnings. In fact, she suspects that part of the annoyance that she and her friends feel comes from the fact that the couple reminds them of their own neediness and naïveté (919). Although Angelou and her friends object to the mindset of the young couple who infantilize themselves vis-à-vis “Mother Africa,” thinking only of the nourishment that they might draw from their new environment and never considering what they might offer, Angelou’s own elation at living in an independent, majority black nation has led her to express similar emotions. Comparing the varying skin tones that she sees in Ghana to childhood treats like peanut butter, licorice, chocolate, and caramel, Angelou describes these complexities as if they too might be consumed in order to nourish her hunger for a place that feels like home (903). Through memory, or perhaps what Toni Morrison, in her novel, Beloved, calls re-memory, Angelou combines her impressions of the Ghanaian people with the memories she has of family in the U.S., claiming:

The erect and graceful walk of the women reminded me of my Arkansas grandmother, Sunday-hatted, on her way to church. I listened to men talk, and whether or not I understood their meaning, there was a melody as familiar as sweet potato pie, reminding me of my Uncle Tommy Baxter in Santa Monica, California. (903)

Angelou’s joining of the African and the African American implies a trans-Atlantic familiarity and familiality that aspires to reverse the ravages and disruption of the Middle Passage. Within this extended diasporan family, Angelou fashions herself “the prodigal child.”

As critical readers, I think it is important that we question the aptness of Angelou’s allusion to the parable of the prodigal son. Is Angelou so eager to attribute meaning and significance to the possibility of a “return” to Africa that she overlooks the ways that this story does not apply to herself or other Black Americans?

The biblical story of the prodigal son is a very patriarchal story. It involves two brothers competing for their father’s approval. As such, it has much in common with the story of Cain and Abel, Ishmael and Isaac, and Jacob and Esau to name just a few of the biblical stories in which brother is pitted against brother. These stories resonated with the Ancient Israelites because of the law of primogeniture, which dictated that, upon the father’s death, the firstborn son would receive double his brothers’ share of inheritance. There are no mothers and daughters present in the biblical version of this parable, and this is a reflection of a patriarchal society in which the father’s blessing indicated the manner in which wealth was transmitted from one generation to the next (www.jewishencyclopedia.com).

There is a long history of African Americans using the Bible to interpret our historical and political situation in the United States. This can be seen in Negro spirituals ranging from “Go Down, Moses” to “Didn’t My Lord Deliver Daniel,” and in sermons like Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.’s “I’ve Been to the Mountaintop.” Traditionally, in these interpretations, white slaveholders, segregationists, and racists figure as Pharaoh, the United States figures as Egypt or Babylon, and African Americans figure as oppressed or exiled Israelites. These biblical narratives appealed to African American preachers and congregants because they feature a God of justice that intervenes in history on the side of the oppressed. The more personal God of mercy and forgiveness found in the New Testament may not have seemed forceful enough to contend with the oppressive violence of enslavement and Jim Crow segregation. It is, however,
the parable of the prodigal son in the New Testament that Angelou turns to in this early attempt to narrate the relationship between Mother Africa and the children of the diaspora. In Angelou’s refashioning of the parable to express her historic relationship to what she hopes will become her Ghanaian home, a tension emerges between history and metaphor that may be more disempowering than affirming to her and other African Americans seeking a connection to the continent. The very word “prodigal,” of course, implies waste, extravagance, and imprudence. In referring to herself, and by extension all African Americans, as a “prodigal child,” who has “strayed, been stolen or sold from the land of her fathers,” Angelou confuses things that perhaps shouldn’t be confused (903). While it makes perfect sense to refer to Black Americans as having been “stolen or sold” from the land of our fathers, it does not make sense to refer to us as having “strayed” as Angelou does here (903). And while Angelou, to her credit, introduces a mother to this previously all-male narrative, it is solely in reference to the claim that the prodigal child has “squandered her mother’s gifts” (903). Assuming that those gifts refer to African cultural traditions, again, it does not seem accurate to paint the victims of the trans-Atlantic slave trade as having squandered what was taken from them. Of course, the point of this whole passage is that the prodigal child has “at last arisen and directed herself back to the welcoming arms of... family,” but in taking on the blame for things that were beyond her control has she paid too high a price for this reunion? (903).

It may seem like I am splitting hairs in my discussion of a relatively brief passage from Angelou’s memoir. Yes, the metaphor is not a particularly good fit, but no metaphor is perfect and readers don’t have to do much work to get the general sense of what Angelou is aiming at. I would readily agree with such a point of view if there weren’t several other moments in the text in which Angelou seems plagued by similar, self-deprecating thoughts.

For instance, when a receptionist at the Ghana Broadcasting office responds to her inquiry about a job with cruel condescension, Angelou remarks, “The receptionist and I could have been sisters, or in fact, might be cousins far removed. Yet her scorn was no different from the... rejections of Whites in the United States” (914).

Was it possible that I and all American Blacks had been wrong on other occasions? Could the cutting treatment we often experienced have been stimulated by something other than our features, our hair and color? Was the odor of... slavery so obvious that people were offended and lashed out at us automatically? Had what we judged as racial prejudice less to do with race and more to do with our... ancestors’ bad luck at having been caught, sold and driven like beasts? (914).

While Angelou’s self-figuration as a prodigal child at least enabled her to reconcile with an African extended family through repentance, here the possibility of familial connection with a Ghanaian woman with whom she “could have been sisters, or...cousins far removed” is impeded by rejection, shame, and the self-doubt that accompanies a history of enslavement, a history Angelou refers to as one that African Americans can “neither accept nor deny” (914).

The specter of enslavement emerges again following a dinner at the home of Angelou’s editor at The Ghanaian Times. Her employer and his wife are perfect hosts. He is Fanti. She is Ewe. They playfully joke with one another about their tribal differences. Whether it is this joking that influences Angelou’s thoughts is unclear, but her mind drifts to questions about her African ancestors.

Had her ancestors been enslaved by a “stronger and more clever” tribe? Did they refrain from enslaving others because they could find no one weaker than themselves? Is it better to be a descendant of “bullies or dupes”? (924). These are not questions that Angelou willingly entertains. They represent what she refers to as “ugly” and “hideous” thoughts that force themselves upon her (924). Angelou’s use of the words “brother” and “sister” when she writes: “Suppose, my great-grandfather was enslaved in that colorful town by his brother. Imagine my great-grandmother traded by her sister in that marketplace” (924). In what
sense can a man who enslaves your great-grandfather be considered your brother? In what sense can a woman who trades your great-grandmother in the marketplace be considered your sister? Angelou hopes that getting to know her Fanti employer and his Ewe wife who use tribal differences to express love will help to dispel these fears, but it’s hard to see how or why that would be so. While comedies sometimes use marriage as a way of achieving an imaginary resolution to real social conflicts, the conflict between Angelou’s vision of an African diasporic family and the historical reality of African participation in the trans-Atlantic slave trade, are too dark a subject to lend themselves to comedic treatment.

Not surprisingly, these questions resurface for Angelou during a visit to the Cape Coast. Unlike many African Americans who make the Cape their first destination, Angelou says that she intentionally avoided the area for more than a year (963). Finally, when she does go, it is only to stop for gas (963). At least, that is her intention. However, after leaving town, she finds herself overwhelmed by emotion and has to pull to the side of the road (963). Questions like the ones that arose after her dinner with the editor and his wife spontaneously come to mind (963). Only this time instead of seeking a means to ward off what she has previously referred to as “ugly” and “hideous” thoughts, Angelou decides to let the questions surface unimpeded (963). “There would be no purging. I knew unless I asked all the questions,” she writes. “Only then would the spirits understand that I was feeding them” (963). This seems to be a crucial insight. Angelou realizes that the purpose of the questions is not to solicit information, but to summon experience. While we may be capable of reconstructing and disseminating a great many facts about the slave trade, the psychological and emotional excess of trauma cannot adequately be narrated nor conceptualized within language. Instead of deploying yet another narrative frame for these events, as Angelou does with the parable of the prodigal son and hints at with her observations of her editor’s mixed marriage, Angelou resists any attempt to narrate the story of the enslaved, and instead allows a procession of images related to the slave trade to pass through her imagination. She refers to this process and “feeding” and “purging.”

Angelou’s choice of words raises important questions: What do we owe the victims of the trans-Atlantic slave trade? And how can we remember them without being consumed by those memories? Angelou suggests that we feed them by listening to their voices and their stories, and that we purge ourselves by being receptive to those stories’ emotional impact.

It’s not until Angelou takes a trip to the southeastern part of Ghana, near the Togo border, and meets a group of Ewe market women that she discovers a more fully adequate way of healing the traumas of the middle passage. While there, Angelou is mistaken by an Ewe woman for the daughter of a friend. The woman is insulted when Angelou attempts to explain first in Fanti, then French, and then English that she doesn’t speak Ewe. It is only when Angelou’s guide, Mr. Adadevo, explains to the woman that Angelou is an American Negro that she understands. But then, the woman is so stricken with grief that she laces her fingers together, places them over her head, and rocks from side to side moaning.

109 According to Gregory Smithers:

There are two levels of literary memory at play here in Angelou’s narrative. First, there is the memory derived from the act of remembering and writing about her 1960s travels in the 1980s. Second, there is the memory that writers derive from their connection to a collective historical imaginary. In Angelou’s case, her historical imaginary is fired by the specter of the Middle Passage and New World slavery. Angelou filters her autobiographical recollections through these two layers of literary memory. She thus recalls how her early 1960s encounter with the place of slavery in Ghanaian historical consciousness was unsettling. Angelou’s initially romantic images of Africa and the belief that Ghana possessed a spiritual quality powerful enough to transform her soul were assaulted by the memory of the transatlantic slave trade (491).
The woman takes Angelou from stall to stall in the market where every Ewe woman to whom she is introduced responds with the same gesture. The women offer Angelou gifts of tomatoes, onions, peppers, yams, cocoa yams, and cassava, and Angelou is so moved by their grief and their generosity that she implores Mr. Adadevo to explain. “That’s the way we mourn,” he tells her (1048).

The first woman thought you were the daughter of a friend. But now you remind them of someone, but not anyone they knew personally…. This is a very sad story, and I can’t tell it all or well…. During the slavery period Keta was a good sized village. It was hit very hard by the slave trade…. In fact, at one point every inhabitant was either killed or taken. The only escapees were children who ran away and hid in the bush. Many of them watched from their hiding places as their parents were beaten and put into chains. They saw the slaves set fire to the village. They saw mothers and fathers take infants by their feet and bash their heads against tree trunks rather than see them sold into slavery. What they saw they remembered and all that they remembered they told over and over.

These women are the descendants of those orphaned children. They have heard the stories often, and the deeds are still as fresh as if they happened during their lifetimes. And you, Sister, you look so much like them, even the tone of your voice is like theirs. They are sure you are descended from those stolen mothers and fathers. That is why they mourn. Not for you but for their lost people. (1049-50)

That which cannot be narrated nor conceptualized within language can still be mourned.

Mr. Adadevo’s claim that he cannot tell the story all or well is not a function of imperfect memory or storytelling ability; it is a function of the traumatic nature of the tale itself; an acknowledgment of the extremity of its content. Although the Ewe market women have told and heard stories of their kidnapped ancestors “over and over,” they do not retell them to Angelou (That is left to Mr. Adadevo); their first priority is to mourn. They do not mourn for Angelou. After all, she has survived. They mourn for their “lost people,” for that part of their history that can neither be accepted nor denied.

Unbeknownst to them, the gifts that they bestow upon Angelou restore the “Mother’s gifts” Angelou accused herself of “squandering” in her parable of the prodigal child, and their mourning heals not only themselves but Angelou as well, who writes:

The women wept and I wept. I too cried for the lost people, their ancestors and mine. But I was also weeping with a curious joy. Despite the murders, rapes, and suicides, we had survived. The middle passage and the auction block had not erased us. Not humiliations nor lynchings, individual cruelties nor collective oppression had been able to eradicate us from the earth. We had come through despite our own ignorance and gullibility, and the ignorance and rapacious greed of our assailants.

There was much to cry for, much to mourn, but in my heart I felt exalted knowing there was much to celebrate. Although separated from our languages, our families and customs, we had dared to continue to live. We had crossed the unknowable oceans in chains and had written its history into “Deep River, my home is over Jordan.” Through the centuries of despair and dislocation, we had been creative, because we faced down death by daring to hope. (1051)

From the Ewe market women, Angelou learns that storytelling is crucial, but it is not enough. As Mr. Adadevo implies, although certain stories must be told and heard over and over, they cannot be told all or well. Instead, the dead must be mourned and the living celebrated. Only in the wake of such mourning and celebration is African diasporic “family” possible.
SUSTAINING MEMORIES OF THE DIASPORA: TABOM’S MUSICAL ENACTMENTS – BEN AMAKYE-BOATENG

ABSTRACT

In this paper, I examine three Tabom historical epochs that are revealed in song texts and musical enactments. The musical enactments, known as Agbe, where among the few surviving possessions of the Tabom after their days of slavery in Bahia, Brazil. The Tabom arrived in Ghana with their music among others. While it is evident that over the years, the people have lost most of their cultural baggage due to assimilation, same cannot be said about their music. After close to two centuries of re-location from Brazil to Ghana, the people still hold clear images about their ancestors’ stay in Brazil, and about events and personalities through their musical enactments. Based on fieldwork among the Tabom in Accra, this paper focuses on the contextual performances of the Tabom’s music, and how it engages their memories of the diaspora. It is framed in Shelemay’s argument that, “the music that symbolizes identity maintains strong links with the past or with an original homeland”

Introduction

During the late 18th century and early 19th century some Afro-Brazilians migrated from Brazil to settle along the west coast of Africa (Amos & Ayesu, 2002). Some of them were freed slaves who returned to Africa after gaining manumission. Others returned during the aftermath of the Islamic Revolt in Bahia, Brazil in 1835. Another group of Afro-Brazilians arrived after slavery had been abolished in Brazil in 1888. The Afro-Brazilian ex-slaves formed communities in their host countries, acquiring names that helped to distinguish them from their hosts. For example, those who settled in Togo were identified as Bresliens, while those in Benin and Nigeria were identified as Agudas and Amaros respectively. Those who settled in Ghana were identified as the Tabom (also spelt Tabon).

Figure 1: West African Countries that hosted the Afro-Brazilians
Among the reasons given to how they became known as the Tabom, (Schaumlloeffel, 2008) asserts that upon their arrival in Accra they could speak only Portuguese. The Ga people often heard them use the Portuguese greeting “como esta?” (How are you?), to which the reply was “ta bom” (it’s fine). Schaumlloeffel concludes that consequently, the Ga people of Accra started to call them the Tabom people\(^{10}\) in order that they would be distinguished from the local people at that time.

The Tabom were warmly welcomed, and given parcels of land within Accra for building and cultivating purposes, since the group that arrived in Accra included agriculturalist as well as artisans. The Tabom in turn used the skills acquired from Brazil to help in the development of the Ga state. This reciprocal gesture thus helped them to negotiate their settlement and become an integral part of the Otublohum division of the Ga state. The Tabom, since then, have integrated into the Ga culture, the terms of which were partly shaped by their adoption of Ga ways (Quayson, 2014).

Conversely, they still held on to certain cultural personas, which they inherited from Bahia, for they were proud of them. According to Quayson (2014), the Tabom’s heritage from Bahia must be understood as formed recursively by the African retentions in the New World that were constantly augmented by cultural flows from Africa itself and then subsequently returned to Africa. Additionally, he states that “the process of becoming Ga did not completely obliterate certain features brought from Bahia that were incorporated into Ga ritual to make the Tabom variants of Ga ritual that were essentially ciphers of cultural memory”.

These traits helped them to negotiate their identity among the Ga society, as well as bring them memories of their days in Bahia. For example, the Tabom still held on to their mode of organising funerals and worship of their Shango god, which they brought along with them to Ghana. These social activities, and others of the Tabom, where never organized without the performance of Agbe, which accounts for why Agbe remains one of the few things that they have been able to transmit in a global and changing world. Music thus became one of the inheritances from Bahia, which remains crucial in defining their identity. The performance of Agbe featured prominently as part of the activities that identified them as a people, which include their funeral ceremonies, religious rites, marriage ceremonies and at times, recreational activities. It must be emphasized here that the performance of Agbe, comprises of music, song and dance and each of these components plays an important role in the holistic presentation. It is the rhythms that provide the basis for the songs to flow, as well as bring out the movements required of the dancer.

Today, the descendants of the Afro-Brazilian returnees are connected to Brazil through narratives told by their ancestors. These narratives have strengthened the current generation of Tabom’s resolve to uphold and buttress their Brazilian heritage. This is within the view that they have never set foot in Brazil. The historical narratives have been presented mainly through oral tradition, which are historical sources of a special nature deriving from unwritten sources couched in forms suitable for oral transmission. The preservation of these sources depends on the powers of memory of successive generations of human beings (Vansina, 1985). It is worth noting that some of these narratives are encoded in the musical enactments of the Tabom, which they carried along from Brazil due to its portability. The narratives encoded in Tabom musical enactments are supported by Gbolonyo’s assertion that traditional music contributes to historical documentation and education through the authority and memory embedded in

\(^{10}\)This denomination, according to Schaumlloeffel (2008, p.17) in a certain way reflects acceptance and at the same time a way of distinguishing them, determining their past and origins, even though the group completely integrated with the inhabitants of James Town of Old Accra.
songs (Gbolonyo, 2005). The Tabom, thus rely also on music to aid their memory, even as it serves as a means of documentation and repository of historical events.

**Music and Memory**

During my interactions with the Tabom, it became evidently clear that some of them had scant knowledge of their history, and were as nosey as I was. Some of them had searched for the opportunity to find out more about their history, which had been passed on to them through oral tradition. The opportunity to know a little bit more of Tabom historical events presented itself in observing Tabom musical enactments, as some of the songs presented had historical connotations. Music, generally, is a great avenue for exploring memory, and according to Storr (1992, p.21), its power to remind is still evident in modern culture.

From the above statement, it is evident that music is an effective means of enhancing memory, as well as stimulating memories of one's past which becomes re-constructed again in the present. These reproductions of the past are often constructed similarly among groups that share common features and/or experiences, which could range from individual experiences to group experiences. Communities like the Tabom, are much involved in maintaining links with their past, using music as a means for stimulating memories of the past, and revealing historical events to the listener.

In the search for one's past and the familiar, it is often the shared past, the collective memory that is so powerful (Bryant, 2005). The Tabom, share a common identity because of their shared past experiences, which permits them to identify as a group.

In addition to being a subject for historical scrutiny, music has acted as a powerful vehicle for the transmission of memory. It has played an important part in Tabom cultural ceremonies. At these ceremonies, music has overwhelmingly been used to promote Tabom narratives. *Agbe* songs, which are largely the products of oral tradition, constitute a rich repository of communal knowledge, meaning, and identity, and offer a lens through which to consider the experiences of ordinary people in the African Diaspora. Songs used in public ceremonies, political gatherings, documentaries, and a variety of other contexts help to focus attention on particular aspects of the Tabom’s history, and can also — because of their immense power in rousing group sentiment — evoke an emotional sense of pride.

**Theoretical Suggestions**

The value of music’s role in time past, and its subsequent value for the historian, according to Gilbert (2005) can, for purposes of discussion, be explored in terms of several theoretical categories, although in practice these inevitably overlap and cannot easily be separated. Gilbert further reveals that the first broad category, relating to one of the most important functions that music fulfilled at the time, is documentation. While song texts provided spaces where detailed accounts of what people were experiencing could be chronicled; melodies served as useful mnemonic devices, and made oral distribution easier and more effective. Whereas some songs chronicled individual stories, others addressed the experiences of larger groups and communities. The *Agbe* repertoire is complete with examples of songs, which have documentation of specific events that involved the Afro-Brazilians. The documentations could address either individual or group experiences. The *Agbe* songs were, and have been efficient in preserving and disseminating historic events. These songs also helped to reconnect individuals to their past, or provided opportunities for imaginative getaway into a time in their history. In addition to strengthening past identities, they were a means of producing and communicating meaning about the diasporic experiences they went through. In this context melodies were recognized as a useful mnemonic device, allowing people to record experiences in a way that could be easily remembered.
Musical Enactments of the Tabom

The central locus of Agbe is typically during Tabom funeral and religious activities in honor of Sângò. However, in recent times, its use has gone beyond these two avenues. It can also be performed during child naming ceremonies, durbars, and other social gatherings, such as marriage ceremonies. Wherever and whenever Agbe is performed, it becomes an important medium by which the Tabom people connect to their past.

The prevailing conception of Agbe performance is one that integrates music with other arts like dance, drama, and visual elements (Nketia, 1974, p. 231). Most often than not, these other arts are an integral part of the musical performance, playing complimentary roles in the holistic presentation. The presence of these other arts in Agbe musical performances thus confirm Nketia’s assertion that while “some performances in African settings emphasize only the music, others combine music and dance” (Nketia, 1974, p. 231). All the components of Agbe, at one time or the other, communicate historical events to the listener and or observer.

![Figure 2: Agbe Instrumental Ensemble](image)

The Agbe ensemble usually consists of idiophones and membranophones. The idiophones include the double bell (agogo), and a number of rattles (shekere), while the membranophones consist of two (at times three) small drums called malinwo. The idiophones are typically limited to playing fixed rhythmic patterns that often work as the time line of Agbe music. The two membranophones come in varied pitches, one being lower in pitch than the other. Usually the lowest pitched drum assumes the principal role of master or lead-drum.

The ensemble’s performance is usually controlled or conducted by the Agbetse (Master drummer). The agogo is assigned the role of time line in an Agbe performance. Its role, however, is not confined to the time line, but also, is sounded as part of the music and regarded as an accompanying rhythm and a means by which rhythmic motion is sustained. One of the drums, (malinwo) plays the same pattern as the agogo, whilst the other drum plays lots of improvisation based on what Anku (2000) refers to as a “stock of generative rhythmic vocabulary” which they have in store.

One very important component of Agbe is its vocal accompaniment. The mode of singing is mostly call-and-response, requiring the dexterity of a cantor, while the rest of the ensemble members and spectators complete the chorus. This form falls into one of the four types of vocal music in African setting which

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111 visual elements such as costume and decorations on some of the musical instruments used in the ensemble.
according to Nketia (1974), includes one that emphasizes the role of a lead singer or cantor, or a number of cantors, with a supporting chorus.

An Agbe performance session incorporates a dance component, which forms an integral part of the performance as a whole. In the course of performance, close collaboration is always required between musicians and dancers because of the relationship between the structure of the music and the design of the dance (Nketia, 1974, p. 228). The Agbe dance could be performed by any of the musicians (both instrumentalist and singers), or any member of the audience who is called upon by the musicians through special coded or symbolic songs. People who wish to dance normally alternate over and over again to put together a complete performance session which can last for several hours. The performance duration for each dancer is suggested either by the length of a song, or at the discretion of the Agbetse. On the other hand, a dancer could also indicate to the musicians, by sending a signal to show that he/she has ended his/her dance session.

![Figure 3: A dancer performing Agbe](image)

**Tabom Musical Enactment and Memory.**

The performance of music, according to Shelemy (2006) enables us to transmit memories of people, places and events. It also aids in commemorating people and events as well as reconcile the past with the present. To the Tabom, the performance of Agbe is no exception. Each Agbe performance is held in honor of persons or the Shango deity during specific events. For instance, during Tabom funeral celebrations, Agbe is performed in commemoration of the deceased. During such performances, several acts enfold which help the Tabom to transmit individual and collective memories. For example, members gathered could perform the Agbe dance that is reminiscent of the dance movements of an ancestor, thus bringing memories to the gathering. Also, songs that are ‘raised’ by any member of the ensemble or the gathering possibly would bring memories of an ancestor’s bravura of leading songs during such events.
One plausible reason for the survival of Agbe till date has been due to the process of recalling. Just as other traditional expressive arts, Agbe has existed only in the memory of the Tabom. Its performance, according to the Tabom, comes out of inspiration, hence the acknowledgement of the gods and ancestors before any performance. Agbe has also enhanced the Tabom’s memory by helping to recall historical events, as well as evoke memoirs of prominent Tabom personalities. In this regard, the role of its song texts and general presentation cannot be over emphasized. Significantly, Agbe song texts and melodies can remind us of people, places and events.

Memory of Events

Ashanti toobi, eba me wo ku jure are examples of songs that remind the Tabom of their early epochs among the Ga in Accra, focusing on a particular event that the Tabom got involved in. According to Naa Riza Nelson\(^{12}\), the Tabom arrived in Ghana at the time when the Ga had suffered many defeats in the hands of the Ashanti. So, in line with one of the philosophical sayings of the Ga – *ablekuma a ba kuma wo*, they heartily welcomed the Tabom to live among them and to join them in their quest for freedom at the hands of the Ashanti. The Tabom, at that time, had one man as their spiritual head who, according to Naa Riza Nelson, could see beyond the ordinary eye, and could communicate with external forces. During the battle between the Ga and the Ashante, Mahama communicated with a bird that hovered around the battle ground to release vital information about the Ashanti’s hide out to the Ga. The Ga, thus, took the Ashanti by surprise and pounced on them unawares, dragging them like fishing nets. According to Naa Riza Nelson, and supported by Eric Morton, the Ashanti where beaten well well, given birth to the song *Ashante otoo bi*

*Ashante 'otobi*  
*Kole bawa she,*  
*Kole bawa jija, jija,*  
*Kole bawa san san san*  

These Ashanti people,  
Are small in our eyes;  
As such, they can’t stand us.  
Let’s scare them away\(^{13}\).

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\(^{12}\) Personal conversation with Naa Riza Nelson (July 2014)  
\(^{13}\) Translation by Memuna Anago on 17\(^{th}\) June 2015
The arrival of the Tabom was therefore a relief to the Ga, since they (the Tabom) were men of stature and skilled in war.\textsuperscript{114} With the help of the Tabom, the Ga defeated the Ashanti in the Awuna war (1866).

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.8\textwidth]{figure4.png}
\caption{Tabom song about the Ashante of Ghana}
\end{figure}

This historical event has been transmitted from generation to generation because it has been encoded in the Tabom’s musical enactment. Present day Tabom and non Tabom alike get to know this history whenever and wherever this song is performed.

\textbf{Memory of Places}

A significant memory encoded in Tabom’s musical enactments is the memory of places. The Tabom either sing about a place or appear in costumes that link them to their origin. The Tabom have three national identities namely; Ghana, Nigeria and Brazil. But the Tabom prefers to call themselves Brazilians. During performances, the Tabom mostly appear in costumes that link them to Brazil and Nigeria. It is essential to state that, features of Nigerian clothing style can be found at Agbe performance gatherings. While some wear the \textit{buba} attire; others use the veils, Nigerian hat, and \textit{coolimi} hat. Also during other social gatherings such as the \textit{chale wote} festival, one is sure to see the Tabom’s Agbe performers in yellow and green colours to depict their Brazil affiliation.

\textsuperscript{114} Personal conversation with Naa Riza Nelson (July 2014)
Figure 5: Tabom Musicians in Nigerian styled clothing

At a funeral ceremony held in honour of Mamuna Cofie, the Agbe ensemble’s mother, one could see the erecting of the Brazilian flag on one of the canopies provided to give shelter to friends and sympathizers. The sight of the flag sets visitors asking questions about why the Brazilian flag should be hoisted at the funeral of a Tabom. In this way, the Tabom tell their Brazilian story in performance.

Figure 6: Brazilian Flag hoisted at the funeral of a Tabom

One other song that commemorates places is the dabi m’beru Agbe which is translated literally to mean “we have started the Agbe performance”. In this song, mention is made of the Ijesha tribe of the Yoruba of Nigeria. According to Eric Morton, the Agbèṣè, the Tabom made a stop-over at Ijesha on their way to settle in Ghana. It is from Ijesha that they brought Agbe to Ghana. The origin of Agbe is confirmed by
Shanco Bruce, who himself is a Tabom and a former minister of state. However, he claims that the Tabom came to Ghana before going to going to Nigeria to return with Agbe.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LYRICS (YORUBA LANGUAGE)</th>
<th>LITERAL TRANSLATION</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Call:</strong> Dabi m’beru Agbe, kim be wa jo</td>
<td>We have started the Agbe performance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Response:</strong> Yee! dabi m’beru Agbe, kim bewa jo eee</td>
<td>So come and dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Call:</strong> To eba m’beru Ijesha, koni gbagbe</td>
<td>Yes, we have started the Agbe performance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Response:</strong> Yee! dabi m’beru Agbe, kim be wa jo eee</td>
<td>So come and dance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The text of this song admonishes the fearless to join in the performance of Agbe. It also informs the audience that this musical type was brought from Ijesha by the fore fathers who hailed from there. It is said that any one who does not fear Ijesha, does not fear any other thing.

The Tabom’s perception of Brazil as their home is made evident during the funeral rites of a member of their community. Close to midnight, the Agbe Ensemble begins to perform series of songs in a build up to their ritual for the dead. After these, all members of the Agbe ensemble, led by the Agbetse, process into
the room where the corpse has been laid to perform the *aadwample*\(^{15}\) (breaking of plate) ceremony. Once the ensemble enters the room, they begin to sing the *Viva Viva* (a Portuguese word translated literally to mean live alive) song, as they go around the corpse. Incidentally, this is the only song in the *Agbe* repertoire with Portuguese text. Aside the drummers, each person in the room at the time of the *Viva Viva* song, must be seen carrying something on the head\(^{16}\). One can see the singers carrying the *shekeres*, as well as folded cloths. Others could place their hands on their head representing a load they are carrying. As they file past the corpse amidst the *Viva Viva* song, one of the elders, who has in his/her possession a ceramic plate and a metal spoon, gets close to the dead body, and hits the ceramic plate hard with the metal spoon till it breaks and the particles drop on the dead body. According to Odarkwei, the breaking of plates signify separation between the deceased and the living. This act signifies the end of the *Viva Viva* song.

The performance of *Viva Viva* helps the Tabom to uphold their Brazilian inheritance. According to them, the song helps to transport the soul of the departed back to Brazil, which is the home of their ancestors.

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*Viva viva lyrics*

*Viva viva3x Viva yaa ya*

*Temi le she le’o 4x*

*Aya bu ko ee buko , Aya ko sa eee*

*Aya buko ee, aya kosa ee*

*Aya Zinabu ke leo (e ya)4x*

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The ensemble then sings ‘*ile oo ile oo*’ (a song that bids farewell to the deceased) as they recess to take their original seats. This song also makes reference to Brazil as the ensemble report to the audience that ‘he/she (the departed) is gone’ (straight to Brazil).

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\(^{15}\) According to the Tabom, this ritual signifies the parting of ways with the dead. This is a ritual imported from Brazil by the Tabom.

\(^{16}\) The Tabom believe that on the demise of one of her members, that person travels back to Brazil to join their ancestors. The act of carrying things symbolizes the group members helping the deceased with his/her luggage as he/she travel to Brazil.
Aside the use of songs to narrate the Tabom’s acquaintance with Brazil, there are certain scenes and utterances that help the Tabom to sustain their memories of Brazil. During the initiation of the Šângò Priestess, she purposely appeared in green and yellow costumes, spelling out allegiance with Brazil. During her possession, one could hear her communicating in English language, although it was not used in their everyday discourse. In an answer to a query by the Agbëtse as to where he/she had come from, the response was that “I have come from Brazil”17. This answer reveals the origin of the Tabom deity, Šângò.

The above discourse has focused on how the Tabom commemorate historical places in their musical enactments. Using songs and other artistic forms, they mention places like the Yoruba’s Ijesha as well as Brazil as they tell their unique stories to listening and watching audience.

**Memory of People**

The Tabom have songs that celebrate individuals for their exploits in one thing or the other. Singing such songs therefore reveals the names of the said individual and helps to tell their story from generation to generation. One such song is “Quarcoopome Kushere ooo” translated literarily to me “Quarcoopomes, thank you”. This song is sung by the Tabom in appreciation to the kindness of the Quarcoopomes towards them.

According to the Tabom, Šângò was handed over to the Quarcoopome family, who were privy to Šângò’s generosity and protection to its worshippers. This started started a lasting relationship between the Tabom and the Quarcoopomes. The Tabom have two stories explaining how Šângò got into the possession of the Quarcoopomes. They alleged that, due to the benevolence of Šângò to them, they became so wealthy and started to misbehave in the society. This brought a stigma to them as a people, and in order that they will be free from this canker, they decided to get rid of Šângò into the sea. Since the Quarcoopome knew the benefits of following Šângò, they asked to keep it, and the Tabom agreed.18

Another reason is that due to Christianity, certain rites that needed to be performed for Šângò periodically were ceased. Thus, Šângò was handed over to the Quarcoopome family, who assumed ownership. Šângò extended its benevolence to them, and made them prosperous as well.

The Šângò ritual was performed twice a month, but in some cases, thrice if the first is at the beginning of the month (Schaumloeffel, 2008). Besides that, there were regular meetings every Saturday morning. Currently the meeting with Šângò is limited to as and when one needs to make an inquiry into his/her spiritual life, or when one wishes to communicate with an ancestor.

Other occurrences where the memories of individuals could be sustained are through dances and euphoria that surrounds a particular Agbe performance. The Tabom begin every performance with an invitation to the gods and ancestors via the offering of libation prayers. It is of no wonder that ancestors indeed visit them during performance. A dancer could be showing dance moves and acts that are likened to the dance movements of an ancestor, thus bringing memories of that ancestor. Also the rapid mode of “raising” songs during performances could be ascribed to the presence of a particular Tabom who had passed on.

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17 This happened during the initiation of the Šângò priestess July 2014
18 Personal Conversation with Terlo, August 2010
Final Discussion

Music is a particularly powerful carrier of memories because of the active roles it plays in so many settings, and the ways in which it is associated with complicated texts and events that helps to transmit them over long periods of time. When we participate in or hear a musical performance, we experience a moment similar to the moment when a memory was first generated. Through repeated performances over a period of time and in diverse settings, Agbe, like other forms of music, draws on a partly subconscious bank of memories, sometimes triggering recollections and emotions long forgotten (Shelemay 2006). Thus music, through its content and through the physical act of performance, can bring our past into the present even when we have long forgotten the occasions of which they were a part. Agbe has long preserved the memory of specific historical moments and documented the lives of important individuals in Tabom history.

The Tabom’s Agbe is an example of the ability of music to convey memories of particular places, people, and events. In Agbe, memories are encoded mainly in the song text, as well other visual elements that make up a holistic performance. The repertoire of Agbe songs conveys deep historical connotations for the Tabom community. The connotations embedded in these songs over time and through performance intricately link with remembrance. It brings the past into the present through both its content and the act of performance, while also serving as a device through which long-forgotten aspects of the past and information unconsciously carried can be evoked, accessed, and remembered.

References

NEGOTIATING THE AFRICAN DIASPORA IN GHANA - CYRELENE AMOAH-BOAMPONG AND NANA YAW SAPONG

Abstract

The African diaspora is conventionally perceived as separate communities of Africans and diasporic people outside the continent of Africa. It lacks the shared social artefacts of a common culture, language, religion or national homeland. However, the CSU-UG study abroad programs have illustrated that from the perspective of students of African descent, the African diaspora can be a unified whole if we take cognisance of the historical baggage and African realities in the international black community and ensure that African American history is studied as an integral part of African history.

Keywords: African diaspora, University of Ghana, California State University, Afrocentrism

This chapter highlights the interconnections and realities of interaction between African American students from California State University (CSU) and Ghanaian students at University of Ghana (UG). At the heart of this study is an interest in the African diaspora, which refers to the larger international black community which is understood beyond the boundaries of nation-states. The study also focuses on the perceptions of African American students and their Ghanaian counterparts on each other and concern about the historical baggage both carry about their African identity.

Using data from California to Ghana: Learning and Adjusting through Education Abroad Programs (Rose Walls, 2011-2017), a compilation of personal narratives written by students who studied abroad in Ghana from California State University or the University of California system, as well as interviews with UG Ghanaian students in our “Black Diaspora” and “Atlantic World” courses, this chapter presents a more complex interaction between Ghanaian and African American students in the “motherland.” It discusses the transformations and disjuncture’s experienced by African American and Ghanaian students in Ghana. It argues that using the study abroad platform, CSU and UG students have started to bridge the artificial divide within the African diaspora to learn more about each other. This entails the adoption of an Afrocentric and Pan Africanist perspective and a dispassionate analysis of critical issues that span the gamut of historical memory such as the role of Africans in the slave trade, to the use of the terms “African American,” and “obroni,” and the romanticized perceptions of Africa that give way to the African reality.

There is a great need for African American students to visit the continent of Africa. Most students acknowledge that they have been educated away from their African culture and traditions and attached to the fringes of European culture. They have become a people dislocated from themselves and often valorise European culture to the detriment of their African heritage. Thus, there is the need to address African American historical experiences in Africa and the Americas, in order for African American education to be meaningful. This perspective calls for a paradigm shift from a Eurocentric approach to history that rarely exposes African American and Ghanaian students to the contributions of non-white people and their significance in history to a centrist approach (Molefi Asante, 1980). This Afrocentric approach reflects general historiographical changes that took place in the study of Africa and other marginalized regions in world history since the 1960s. At the sub-discipline level, the rise of social history encouraged a re-examination of history to reflect realities. In this regard, Afrocentrism, is one of the viable frameworks that locates students in Ghana and from the African diaspora within the context of their own cultural references and appropriates an African-centred perspective for black people.

To African American and Ghanaian students in Ghana this means they have the opportunity to study world history from an African world view and see themselves as the subject rather than the objects of
history. Afrocentricity challenges the historical reality of European experiences as universal which leads to further cultural dislocation for students of African descent. It ends the valorisation of European perspectives amongst Ghanaian students making room for pluralistic viewpoints that validate the experiences of all ethnic groups. Ghanaian and African American students can see themselves in a stronger position within the context of history rather than at its peripheries. Although, this conceptual idea of Afrocentrism is not novel, what is intriguing is the implementation of this idea by African American and Ghanaian students in Ghana through the framework of CSU’s study abroad program where students of African descent hold an open and honest conversation on their African past and contemporary challenges centred in the context of their African heritage. Consequently, African American engagement with Ghana no longer focuses solely on the African past or cultural heritage to the exclusion of African people and its contemporary realities.

**Ghanaian and African American Historical Baggage**

Over the past twelve years, Ghanaian and African American students have capitalised on the study abroad framework offered by UG and CSU. They come to this interaction with an open heart and curious mind deeply seated in historical baggage.

Historically, the forced migrations associated with the trans-Atlantic slave trade that occurred between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries led to the dispersal of Africans globally creating an African diaspora (Falola, 2018). However, after the nineteenth century, the voluntary migration of Africans to other continents, for a plethora of reasons created another kind of African diaspora. Thus, when referring to the African diaspora, we are dealing with multiple experiences, some global and some localized within nation states but with ties to other areas. Interestingly, both kinds of the African diaspora have Africa as their homeland and the centre of their construction of black identity.

One of the key issues of contention is the notion of “homeland.” The first-generation African Americans perceived the African homeland with the dream of return, ever since their arrival as slaves in James Town in 1619. The notion of a return to Africa served as a form of psychological resistance to the racial oppression waged against African Americans in the United States. The belief that African slaves could return to their homeland helped these uprooted Africans maintain a cultural and psychological connection to Africa and gave them hope for a future liberation. This dream was partly actualized in Sierra Leone, (1787), Liberia (1819), and in the Gold Coast (present day Ghana) when some Afro-Brazilians returned back to the African continent. However, for millions of other African Americans, physical relocation was impossible, and the idea of homeland became rooted in a romanticized memory of African traditions, communal values and societal cohesion. This nostalgia for the African homeland evoked unresolved tensions as some African Americans blamed Africans on the continent for partaking in the trans-Atlantic slave trade. They felt the African motherland betrayed them. Other African Americans had an ambivalence to the notion of homeland as they had assimilated into American society and perceived Africa as an unsafe and distant place. One black American student noted,

“Most, if not all, of my friends were shocked when I told them I was planning to travel to West Africa to study for an entire academic year. The most frequent question I was asked was, why do you want to go there? They were all commending me for being brave and adventurous and asked me questions about cannibalism and disease. My mother was very frightened for my safety and chose not to believe that I was actually leaving... (Rose Walls, 2013).”

Despite the few instances of ambivalence to the African homeland, the search for identity was still crucial as African Americans felt stigmatized by American society as second class citizens. This uncomfortable reality had historical roots from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, set in a Eurocentric
worldview, in which Africa was believed to be a dark continent with nothing positive to offer history (Trevor-Roper, 1965). Knowledge about Africans did not figure in school curricula. Images of Africa fell victim to racist denigration as Africa was seen as a primitive place, an exotic and wild continent or a broken place of sickness, civil wars and famine where nothing works (Gilbert and Reynolds, 2008).

This misrepresentation of Africa persisted until the early twentieth century when knowledge of the African past increased, thanks to the efforts of individuals such as W.E.B. Du Bois, Carter G. Woodson, Marcus Garvey and George Padmore. They encouraged African Americans to embrace their African identity. They insisted that Africa had a proud culture and glorious past that was part of the identity of all African Americans. Reciting Psalms 63 verse 31 “Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands unto God” (Psalms 63:31), African Americans linked ancient Egypt, Ethiopia, Kush and Africa, and the people of African descent throughout the diaspora into one whole. Ethiopia stood as a symbol of black achievement, and resistance with its centuries of independence. They adopted ancient Egypt because it had a reputation as the birthplace of Western civilisation and nourished black self-esteem and inspired hope with its achievements in the arts and sciences especially the pyramids. Cleopatra, an Egyptian queen was transformed into an emblem of black womanhood and black people as a whole. Hannibal, one of the greatest African generals of antiquity who defeated the Romans and carried his army to the gates of Rome was extolled. To African Americans, Africa’s noble past proved that the continent would regain greatness. This collective identity of the African diaspora was embodied in the self-identification as “African Americans” and the rejection of the term “Negro” though black nationalist in orientation, did not focus black identity on Africa.

By using the term “African American,” people of African descent in the Americas accepted the part of their heritage that was not American. They highlighted their pride as a people descended from Africa. Their collective past was more than the enforced immigration, slavery, segregation and oppression that had been much of their lot in the New World. The term “African American” looks back to a proud past to offset an uncomfortable present against the backdrop of a multivalent western oppression that categorized enslaved Africans by race, ignoring their ethnic identity and lumping them together as “African.”

While African American students experienced the historical baggage of a racialized world, Ghanaian students dealt with the legacy of a colonized world that was soon superseded by nationalism. This shaped African societies and disconnected the potential solidarity between all peoples of African descent. This colonial world view was worsened by the fact that Ghanaian students do not tend to study African history past the point of extraction. This means that the histories of where people of African descent were forcibly relocated are not integrated into the understanding of African and Ghanaian history (Falola, 2018). This suggests that the experiences of Africans of the slavery diaspora have been disconnected from those who remained behind in Africa. This is a recipe for misunderstanding, and fragmentation among the African diaspora, especially in Ghana, where basic discussions on slavery are shrouded in silence as taboo subjects to maintain social cohesion. Where discussions persist, Ghanaian social conventions forbid the disclosure of an individual’s servile ancestry. Average Ghanaians are barely conscious of the traumatic experiences Africans had once they departed their homeland and were forced into American chattel slavery.

Recently, strides are being made by Ghanaians and African Americans to right this wrong. This consists of lectures on the trans-Atlantic slave trade at the Cape Coast and Elmina forts to Ghanaian high school students. Ghana’s coast line is dotted with silent memorials to over 400 years of inhumanity and these lectures conscientize the younger generation on one of the watershed moments in black history. Secondly, the formation of the African American Association of Ghana (AAAG) in 1981 to maintain a positive image of African Americans in Ghana and in the diaspora as well as to educate Ghanaians about the African American experience and culture and vice versa has led to a mutually beneficial relationship and better
dialogue between Ghanaians and Africans in the diaspora. Additionally, Ghanaian academics such as Akosua Perbi with her monograph *A History of Indigenous Slavery in Ghana* has started to break the silence surrounding public discourse on domestic slavery in Ghana.

However, one of the most unifying events between Ghanaians and African Americans in the diaspora is the Pan African Historical Theatre Festival (PANAFEST) and Emancipation Day celebrations. PANAFEST was mooted by the late Efua Sutherland in the mid-1980s as a cultural vehicle for bringing Africans on the continent and in the diaspora together around the issues raised by slavery which remain suppressed. In 1992 it was launched as a biennial festival for uplifting and uniting African and its diasporic peoples through the arts. It aimed to use African arts and culture to vindicate Africa’s pride in its history; affirm the common heritage of continental and diaspora Africans and define Africa’s contribution to world civilization (PANAFEST website). PANAFEST celebrates the strengths and resilience of African culture and achievements of Africans in spite of the transatlantic slave trade and its aftermath. It is designed to help Africans to reconnect with their strengths and thus inspired to eternal vigilance, rededicate themselves to fully assuming the reigns of their own destiny in recognition of the lessons of history.

The festival has revolved around days of musical, dance and theatrical performances from Africa and its diaspora, to illustrate the historical continuities embedded in these creative art forms. The festival includes a durbar of chiefs and the slaughter of a ram as an atonement exercise and a traditional meal sharing between diaspora returnees and chiefs to welcome the African diaspora home; a wreath laying programme and tribute to the Pan African pioneers commencing at the W.E.B. Du Bois Centre for Pan African Culture and continuing to the George Padmore library and ending at the Kwame Nkrumah mausoleum; naming ceremonies in which African names are ceremonially given to diasporic people and an academic colloquium bringing together scholars and writers of African descent.

The most sacred aspect of PANAFEST is a reverential night which begins with a candlelight procession to the slave trading forts of Elmina and Cape Coast, in which wreaths are laid accompanied by a full-scale tribute to the ancestors. This festival consciously makes the slave forts a site for confronting the effects of enslavement, purging the pain of the diaspora, acknowledging the residual effects of the trade on the continent and re-uniting to forge a positive future in the contemporary global environment. The candlelight event culminates in a Declaration of Emancipation at midnight. The celebration of Emancipation day is a vital component of PANAFEST as it commemorates the abolition of slavery throughout the British Empire and gives reverence to African ancestors who suffered the horrifying journey of the slave route and gave up their lives far away from their homeland (PANAFEST website).

In July and August 2019, the PANAFEST and Emancipation Day celebrations dubbed “The Year of Return” will mark 400 years of the first documented landing of enslaved Africans to the fledging English colony of Jamestown in North America. It will be an opportunity to remove the veil of silence over the indescribable sacrifices made by Africans and the application of their skills, talents and life-force to the accumulation of wealth in the New World. The festival is expected to celebrate the resilience of Africans and people of African descent while bring communities of Africans together in the spirit of reuniting the African family beyond distance and time.

**Ghana Calls: The Disjunctures and Triumphs of Interaction**

Walking into this puddle came CSU students who travelled to Ghana, the land that offered them a warm welcome (*akwaaba*) where African Americans could finally be part of the racial majority and feel at home. Yet, in 2017 some students noted that this dream was not the reality (Rose Walls, 2017). The excitement of being part of a racial majority in Ghana, however, was something short-lived as everything changed when they spoke and were identified as Americans. Consequently, they became outsiders, an
identification that superseded their blackness and led some African Americans to be charged extra fees or perceived as being rich which was frustrating to take on.

In an open class discussion with Ghanaian students they further asserted that “we feel rejected and ignored by our African brothers and sisters. All they want is our dollars, they do not want to have anything to do with us.” To which a Ghanaian student quickly retorted, “Some African American students return to Ghana and automatically assume they will be wholeheartedly embraced by their African brethren, yet you come with a condescending attitude, make fun of us as backward and uncivilized and feel you are better than us. So, we give you way.”

This pre-lecture interaction in the “Black Diaspora” class at University of Ghana highlighted that fact that Ghanaian and African American students were wrong in their preconceived notions of each other. These notions were based on the internalization of negative images to construct their prejudices about each other. Both groups of students share the burden of little understanding of the history and complexities of their historical relationship. These misconceptions are steeped in the stereotyping that Africans have perpetually received from the mass media in the West that its people are all dirt poor, ignorant, at various stages of starvation living in a Hobbesian world where life is short, brutish and nasty. Indeed, as a past CSU student in 2011 affirmed, “my knowledge of Africa was mostly from books and television series I watched on the Discovery Channel. I really had not formed any mental picture of what Ghana would be like (Rose Walls, 2011, p. 27).” To some CSU students, Ghana appeared as a place from which people departed, the memory of which becomes progressively more generalized, rather than as a nation in a diverse and changing African continent whose inhabitants are worthy of study not just for their historic past or cultural heritage but for their present activities to foster unity across the African diaspora.

Against the backdrop of a lecture on the trans-Atlantic slave trade and its ramifications for the African diaspora, Ghanaian and African American students delved into the controversy of the restoration and commodification of the Cape Coast and Elmina slave castles. The use of the term “castle” for these European fortifications was the first point of controversy. To African Americans, the term castle has a positive connotation referring to an affluent dwelling, a far cry from the horrid, and inhumane conditions enslaved Africans experienced during their trans-Atlantic trauma. Ghanaian students felt the term was an appropriate representation of the physical structure constructed on the Gold Coast. Ghanaian students linked these castles to their national history and the long history of interactions with the West that demonstrated their ability to overcome imperialism and colonialism. They advocated for the preservation and maintenance of the castle structure which implied cleaning, fixing and painting the physical structure as well as installing lighting and heating.

For African Americans students, the slave castles were the main points of departure for enslaved Africans in the Atlantic slave trade. It is a powerful icon of memorialisation and it serves as a place of return to understand and ponder the brutal past of their ancestors. One student asserted, “The Ghanaian slave castles are a way to deal with a painful past, related to the displacement and horrors of slavery. Visits to these castles are an authentic, ritual process and many of us get overwhelmed by moving through and experiencing the dark, damp dungeons. Our feelings of pain and anguish reach a crescendo at the ‘Door of No Return.’” Clearly, with these different perspectives on the slave castles, it was no surprise when African American students felt strongly that efforts to clean and maintain the castles were whitewashing the horrors and evils of slavery. They felt that the Ghanaian initiative to restore the castles was designed to exploit the tragedy of slavery for financial reward rather than to memorialise the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Ghanaian students reiterated that the Elmina and Cape Coast castles had complex histories as trading posts, military fortifications, colonial administrative centres, prisons, schools and heritage sites beyond slave dungeons (Peterson, Gavua, & Rassool, 2015) Any visits to these castles was an attempt to grasp the broader issue of slavery as oppose to having a personal connection to the experience. Indeed,
the castles embody a larger African history of which slavery is but a part. African American students had not seriously considered this Ghanaian perspective.

In the midst of this heated discussion, a Ghanaian student exclaimed “Obronri you are a visitor in Ghana why are you trying to intrude in a local matter? You have no special claims over the castle.” The term “obronri” can be loosely defined to mean a “white person” or “foreigner.”

The use of the term “obronri” was particularly hurtful to African American students in the class. One noted, “it is upsetting and saddening that the only thing that has been consistent here in Ghana for me so far, is being called obroni.” Another student declared, “if someone calls me “obronri” one more time I may burst into tears. It is definitely an interesting dilemma to be considered “too black” in one country, but not “black enough” in the country you consider home” (Rose Walls, 2017, p. 146). Both students question why Ghanaian students and children in the streets in Ghana would lump them into the category meaning European rather than being considered black or “obibini” as they self-identify. To this question, one Ghanaian student responded, “the term “obronri” should not be taken offensively. It simply means that the person comes from beyond the horizon and did not originate in Ghana.” This further infuriated the African American students who asserted, “as black people and part of the African diaspora, we believe that we are not from beyond the horizon, we are people of African descent searching to find the roots that were stolen from our families.”

To African American students from CSU, the use of the term “obronri” is highly contentious and complicates their idea of identity. It evokes a deep sense of loss and entrenches their cultural displacement. African ancestry did not allow African Americans to be viewed as “true” Americans. They certainly cannot claim America as their home with the continual degradation and overall disrespect for the sanctity of black lives. Africa, the motherland is their only refuge. But the use of the term “obronri” by Ghanaians signified that dark pigmentation did not make you an African. Sadly, being born in the United States alienated African Americans from their African past and their kinsmen. They appear to belong nowhere. This is a pity because in the words attributed to Kwame Nkrumah, “I am not African because I was born in Africa, I am African because Africa was born in me.” The ability to be accepted and embraced in the black continent is the right of all descendants of the African diaspora.

Another encounter that was problematic for African American students was the intense religiosity in Ghana. African American students spoke about the bombardment of Christian paraphernalia on advertisements, vehicle stickers and blaring megaphones at all hours of the day. They were exceptionally offended by the repetitive times Ghanaian students would ask if “are you a Christian? If I said no, they would immediately make it their life’s mission to try and convert me or shun my company.” This dogmatic view of Christianity played a significant role in African American students’ encounters with Ghanaian students and complicated their relationship.

Following these frank discussions, CSU and UG students were able to begin the journey of self-knowledge and healing from the wounds of their ancestral past. As one student noted, “Coming to Ghana, not only as a visitor, tourist and student, but most importantly as a Black American seeking identity, worth, and destiny, has rescued me from my suffocating American bubble (Rose Walls, 2011, p. 27).” Another student concurred that “I have learned so much about my own culture just by observing and being immersed into Ghanaian culture than the 25 years I spent living there (Rose Walls, 2013, p. 30).”

On the whole, African American students observed that in the United States they felt estranged and isolated from the “whole.”

“We have 700 friends on Facebook with whom we share our most mundane thoughts but, we can barely find the time to eek-out a simple greeting to the people we pass on the street. It is not that we don’t care,
it is simply that we don’t equate caring with acknowledging the people in front of us. In short, we don’t know how to be present. Part of learning to love in Ghana is learning how to be there, now. I have abandoned my ever-present sense of urgency, to be in the moment with people (Rose Walls, 2013, p 13).”

To this another student added, “There is an invisible bubble around everyone in California and if you get too close it is always an awkward situation. Lasting community sentiment or sense of belonging are rare. It is everyone for him or herself, and community exchanges are highly formalized (Rose Walls, 2011, p. 20).” By contrast, Ghanaians are extremely affectionate with one another... personal space is not a factor even when it comes to strangers (Rose Walls, 2013, p. 28).” One student summarises the issue of personal space best when she states,

“I can never be lost in Ghana because there is always someone willing to not only point me in the right direction, but to also personally escort me. Once they escort me and I am sucked into giving my phone number, I can expect about nine calls a day from my new friend- just to check in. While the Ghanaian approach may feel invasive, it (usually) comes with good intentions (Rose Walls, 2011, p. 33).”

For many of the African American CSU students, who have never had the opportunity to discover themselves outside the context of their daily lives with their favourite clothes, friends and hobbies in California, studying abroad in Ghana has changed their lives forever, and challenged them to reformulate how they define themselves. Many are more appreciative of the simple things in life. They have learnt to slow down a little bit more in order to process everyday situations more delicately. They now embrace the reality that a trip to the local market may consume an hour or four hours. It is all good.

University of Ghana students also benefit from their interaction with members of the African diaspora. Through close interaction and open discourse Ghanaian students are no longer gullible recipients of the negative stereotypical perceptions that exist about African Americans as lazy, school drop outs, with criminal and violent past who complain too much about racism instead of helping themselves or doing something constructive with their lives. Moreover, UG students no longer perceive African Americans as the Africans that “made it out.” They recognize that although African Americans are privileged to enjoy a few luxuries that accompany America’s wealth, two hundred plus years of race-based human enslavement was no small price to pay. Ghanaian students are more aware of the active reality of double consciousness that their African American peers endure. They are unable to fit evenly into both identities of American and African. They cannot claim Africa solely as their only home since they already created understanding as an American through an American educational system. They also cannot consider themselves fully American as a result of the whiteness that America represents. The dream of having a place called home and feeling a part of it is remains unfulfilled for African American students. Thus, the concept of home is not as simple for the African American student as it is for Ghanaian students. The only way to cope with this double consciousness is to build community within the network of the African diaspora. CSU and UG’s study abroad programs have started fulfilling this need for black partnership through the African diasporan flows from North American institutions to sub-Saharan Africa.
Conclusion

Negotiating the African diaspora in Ghana reveals the complexities that emanate from reconciling the multiple heritage that binds African Americans and Ghanaian students together. On the African continent, the changes and continuities wrought by colonialism, political independence and globalization have spawned an Africa of complex personages. The same could be said of people of African descent in the diaspora.

In the end, there is a reckoning that negotiating “Africanness” or “blackness” is an ongoing dialogue, which is facilitated by study abroad programs such as the one between University of Ghana and California State University. Students from UG and CSU have come to the realisation that the African diaspora can be built and solidified by the genuine desire through open dialogue to create connections among members despite their differences. A vital component of this strategy should be a deeper reflection on the role of pedagogical processes that have led to different versions of black history and the need to come up with one common historical narrative that sees African American history as an integral part of African history ensuring the African diaspora remains a whole.

References

ENVIRONMENTAL CHALLENGES IN GHANA: STRATEGIES FOR ADDRESSING AND PROMOTING SUSTAINABLE WASTE MANAGEMENT - EMMANUEL A. IYIEGBUNIWE

Abstract

In the past decades, developing countries have faced ongoing environmental challenges related to solid and hazardous waste management (collection, transportation, treatment, and prevention/control). In Ghana, increasing population, rapid urbanization, improvement in local community living standards and a booming economy (increases in consumption and shorter life spans of products) are some of the factors known to accelerate the rate of generation of municipal solid waste (MSW). Historically, the management of MSW has increasingly become a problem of significant public health importance and arguably one of the most important environmental challenges facing the country. These challenges are due in part to a number of reasons including limited finances and municipal budgets and the high costs associated with the implementation of effective and sustainable waste management technologies. Additionally, local municipalities often lack proper understanding of the various systems-related factors that could potentially impact the amount of collection, handling, and transportation, functioning, linkages, and sustainability of waste management. In terms of planning and policy development, there are no reliable national data on waste generation that would inform adequate and effective waste management. However, the problem of MSW management constitutes a top priority for many local communities and metropolitan areas of major cities such as Accra and Kumasi. There is urgent need to raise public awareness with a view to reducing the amount of waste generation by households and ultimately develop sustainable waste management programs. To develop long-term and cost-effective methods, there is need for sound knowledge of waste generation streams with a view to implementing sustainable MSW management programs for cities and municipalities. Communication between communities and all stakeholders is of utmost importance in developing and promoting proven sustainable waste management systems. Suffice it to note that adequate investment in sustainable waste management requires buy-in from structural organizations or corporations as well as a true, well-meaning willingness, and dedicated commitment from the government sectors to institutionalize the process. Education is key. To this end, the importance of building public awareness and collaboration among all stakeholders through targeted and culturally-tailored educational programs cannot be overemphasized. Other recommendations include the promotion of waste minimization, reuse, recycling, recovery of materials, and waste-to-energy generation.

Introduction

Ghana At-A-Glance
Ghana, formerly Gold Coast, is located by the Atlantic Ocean and close to the equator in West Africa. It has a total land area of approximately 238,537 square kilometers (92,100 square miles), making it the 82nd largest country in the world (The Commonwealth, 2018). It has a tropical climate (often warm and is moderately dry in the north, hot and humid on the coast) with two distinct seasons in a year, including rainy season (from May to October) and dry season (from November to April). The average temperature ranges from 21°C to 32°C and annual rainfall ranges from 700 mm to 2100 mm in the northern and southern parts of the country, respectively (Miezah et al, 2015; The Commonwealth, 2018).

Ghana’s population is approximately 29.6 million (World Bank, 2018) and is predominantly composed of African groups: Akan (45 per cent), Mole-Dagbani (15 per cent), Ewe (12 per cent), Ga-Adangbe (7 per cent), Guan (4 per cent), Gurma (4 per cent) and Grusi (3 per cent). The remaining is composed of very small minority groups of other races (The Commonwealth, 2018). The current population density is 115
per square kilometer and a population growth of 2.5 per cent per annum with 53 per cent of people living in urban areas and 17 per cent in urban agglomerations of over one million people (The Commonwealth, 2018). The average life expectancy is 62 years (61 years and 64 years for males and females, respectively) (The Commonwealth, 2018).

English is the official language, however, there are key indigenous language groups, including Akan (Twi and Fanti are the most common), Ga (Accra region), Ewe (Volta region), and Mole–Dagbani (Northern region). In 2016, the Gross Domestic Product was 42.69 billion US dollars and represents 0.07 percent of the world economy. As part of “Ghana: Vision 2020,” the main driver for its economic program, the government has made plans “to achieve accelerated economic growth and improved quality of life for all its citizens, by reducing poverty through private investment, rapid and aggressive industrialization, and direct and aggressive poverty-alleviation efforts” (World Bank, 2018). Approximately 87 per cent and 20 per cent of the population have access to improved drinking water and adequate sanitation, respectively. Infant mortality is high at 41 per 1,000 live births. There continues to be ongoing challenges with common and endemic infectious diseases that constitute significant problems of public health importance (e.g., malaria, tuberculosis, and acquired immunodeficiency syndrome or AIDS virus) (The Commonwealth, 2018).

Problem Definition

Ghana ranks lowest in sanitation levels reported among lower middle-income countries by the World Health Organization (2018). The dumping and accumulation of municipal solid wastes (MSW) presents challenges that have far-reaching and significant environmental public health importance. In Ghana, approximately 90% of MSW are improperly managed and/or dumped openly in unauthorized places (Ghana News Online, n.d.). Daily generation rate of MSW was estimated to be in excess of 4,000 and 2,500 metric tons in Accra and Kumasi metropolitan areas combined and in Greater Accra Region, respectively (Oteng-Ababio et al., 2013). Miezah et al. (2015) reported that the generation of MSW in the ten regional capitals and outside the regional capitals in Ghana were 0.51 kg/person/day and 0.47 kg/person/day, respectively. The authors estimated the total waste generation rate to be 12,710 tons per day based on Ghana’s projected population of 27,043,093 in 2014 (Miezah et al., 2015). Not surprisingly, Kumasi and Accra, the two most populous metropolitan areas, generated the highest amounts of wastes that were 0.75 and 0.74 kg/person/day, respectively. Additionally, the least waste generation rates of 0.209 and 0.34 kg/person/day were reported for Tamale and Bolgatanga, respectively. These two municipalities had populations with much lower socioeconomic class and hence less economic activities when compared to Kumasi and Accra metropolitan areas (Miezah et al., 2015).

Poor sanitation and hygiene practices are major contributors to the outbreak of diseases (e.g., cholera) - accounts for 7,500 deaths in children annually (WHO, 2018). In developing countries, the ever-increasing MSW generation greatly overwhelms the capacity of their municipal authorities to cope with implementing adequate disposal and treatment technologies.

The public health impact of MSW is complex to determine due to incessant open dumping of refuse and the availability of multiple pollutant sources that are often very difficult to quantify. Combustion of MSW generally emit toxic pollutants including dioxins, furans and polychlorinated biphenyls, particulate matter, carbon monoxide, sulfur dioxide, nitrogen oxides, volatile organic compounds, and heavy metals. Hazardous wastes are implicated in many infectious and chronic diseases including acute respiratory infections, otitis media, chronic obstructive pulmonary disease, lung cancer, asthma, nasopharyngeal and laryngeal cancers, tuberculosis, perinatal conditions and low birth weight, and eye diseases (cataracts and blindness).
Ghana loses approximately $290 million and $79 million annually to poor sanitation and open defecation, respectively (World Bank, 2018). According to the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS), burning solid wastes in open air is a common practice in Ghana and industrial wastes containing hazardous chemicals are reported to increase the quantity of wastes generated (United Nations Environment Programme, 2002). Generally, these wastes have historically been discharged and/or emitted into environmental systems or improperly dumped in unlined landfills within the workplaces. In addition, leachates from open dumping of wastes often have high concentrations of metals and hazardous organic chemicals known to cause damage to the soil and ground water.

**Overview of Municipal Solid Wastes**

The term MSW generally refers to trash or garbage and include everyday household items that are subsequently disposed of or thrown away. In Ghana, wastes are generated from product packaging, grass clippings, furniture, clothing, bottles, food scraps, newspapers, appliances and electronics, paint, and batteries that are continuously disposed from homes (55-80%), commercial areas and markets (10-30%), while schools, hospitals, and businesses produce less, but varying quantities (Nabegu, 2010; Okot-Okumu, 2012).

Worldwide, municipalities and cities in many developing countries with responsibilities for waste management have faced very difficult and significant challenges of providing effective and efficient MSW disposal and treatment systems to their communities. The problems they face often go beyond the ability of the affected municipal authority to tackle the ever-increasing MSW generation problems with limited budget due to high costs associated with waste management. They also face additional challenges due to “lack of understanding over a diversity of factors that affect the different stages of waste management and linkages necessary to enable the entire handling system function” effectively. (Guerrero, Maas and Hogland, 2013). Additionally, they lack organization, have inadequate financial resources, as well as an understanding of the complexity and multi-dimensionality of existing treatment systems.

In 2005, the World Health Assembly adopted the International Health Regulations (IHR) with the main purpose of examining various public health threats and their impact on international health security (WHO, 2018). The objective was to ensure adequate capacity at all levels and “points of entry to rapidly detect and respond to public health emergencies before they spread to become international public health emergencies.” In Ghana, the National Health Policy stipulates the provision of a safe and healthy environment for all citizens, including air, water, and soil quality that have major implications for public health. Inadequate sanitation was identified as a major cause of diseases and hence a public health issue that presents significant priority in developing countries (WHO, 2018). Poor sanitation and hygiene practices in Ghana have been identified as the major causes and contributors to the outbreak of many diseases including cholera that accounts for 7,500 deaths in children annually (Oteng-Ababio et al., 2013).

The quantity of solid waste generation is mostly directly proportional to the economic status of a society (i.e., higher in countries with higher economies and lower in countries with lower gross domestic product or GDP) (Guerrero, Maas and Hogland, 2013). Table 1 below is an excerpt from previously published studies and it summarizes selected African countries’ Gross Domestic Product and waste generation rate.
Table 1: Urban Areas Visited, Country Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and Waste Generation Rate (kg/capita/day) (Excerpts from Guerrero, Maas and Hogland, 2013)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>GDP (US$)</th>
<th>Year of Study</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Waste Generation Rate (kg/capita/day)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Addis Ababa</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>1686</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Accra</td>
<td>0.47*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>738</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Nakuru</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>5786</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>0.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>985</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Lusaka</td>
<td>0.37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


According to a study titled “Municipal solid waste characterization and quantification as a measure towards effective waste management in Ghana, Miezah et al. (2015) noted that reliable national data is lacking on waste generation and composition that will inform effective planning on waste management is absent. The authors quantified the waste composition and generation stream and reported the following results: organics = 61%, plastics = 14%, inert = 6%, paper= 5%, metals = 3%, glass = 3%, leather and rubber = 1%, and textiles = 1%, and miscellaneous = 5%. Additional highlights from the above-referenced study are summarized as follows:

- Waste generation rate = 0.47 kg/person/day (approximately 12,710 tons of waste per day based on a population of 27,043,093 in 2015).
- Biodegradable waste (organics and papers) = 0.318 kg/person/day.
- Non-biodegradable or recyclable materials (metals, glass, textiles, leather and rubbers) = 0.096 kg/person/day.
- Inert and miscellaneous waste = 0.055 kg/person/day.
- Average household waste generation rate in metropolitan cities (excluding Tamale) = 0.72 kg/person/day.
- Metropolitan areas generated higher waste (0.63 kg/person/day) compared to municipalities (0.40 kg/person/day) and local districts (0.28 kg/person/day).

Environmental Policies and Programs

In Ghana, the Local Government Act (Act 462) mandates local district assemblies to have general oversight of MSW in their respective jurisdictions. Thus, a number of other policies and strategies have been developed to address sanitation challenges throughout the country (Oteng-Ababio et al., 2013). For example, the Minister for Sanitation and Water Resources promotes community-wide access to improved sanitation services. In 2017, the National Basic Sanitation Forum was organized under the theme “Five (5) years of Rural Sanitation Model and Strategy (RSMS) implementation in Ghana, learning for scaling up, Now and Beyond.” (Ghana News Online n.d.) The RSMS is an evidenced based strategy developed with the main goal of eliminating ‘open defecation’ and addressing all the sanitation problems encountered in operational areas in rural communities. It aims to promote adequate use of improved latrines in all 130 districts in Ghana’s 10 Regions (Ghana News Online n.d.). If these strategies are implemented as intended, they would have the capability of solving current sanitation and MSW challenges.
The following key regulatory agencies, policies, and/or strategies are reported to directly or indirectly impact MSW management:

- National Environmental Sanitation Policy (NESP)
- National Environmental Sanitation Strategy and Action Plan (NESSAP)
- District/Municipal/Metropolitan Environmental Sanitation Strategy and Action Plan (DESSAP/MESSAP)
- Strategic Environmental Sanitation Investment Plan (SIP)
- Rural Sanitation Model and Strategy (RSMS) and the House Water Treatment and Safe Storage (HWTS) and the Verification and Certification Protocol

The National Environmental Sanitation Policy (NESP) was developed in 1999 and has been reviewed, updated, and revised over the years. The policy was formulated “to develop a clear and nationally accepted vision of environmental sanitation as an essential social service and a major determinant for improving health and quality of life in Ghana” (Ghana News Online n.d.). The national sanitation day was instituted by the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development to promote sanitation and hygiene among citizens on the first Saturday of every month. The policy was originally intended as a necessary tool for shaping all efforts aimed at dealing with the ever-increasing challenges posed by poor sanitation in both urban and rural communities in Ghana. By the year 2020, the NESP would achieve the following outcomes (Ghana News Online n.d.):

- National Environmental Sanitation Day was established by legislation;
- All solid wastes generated in urban areas are regularly collected and disposed of in adequately controlled landfills or by other environmentally acceptable means;
- All pan latrines would be phased out by 2010;
- At least 90% of the population has access to an acceptable domestic toilet and the remaining 10% has access to hygienic public toilet;
- The majority of environmental sanitation services to be provided by private sector.

It is anticipated that the implementation of the above policies and strategies should encourage behavior change and provide the basic “framework for tackling and solving the ever-increasing and ongoing sanitation and hygiene issues that have confronted the country as well as ensure that Ghana achieved the national open defecation free (ODF) status by the year 2020” (Ghana News Online n.d.).

Environmental Public Health Challenges of MSW in Ghana

Adequate and timely collection of MSW has become an albatross due to inadequate resources in poor urban communities of Ghana where residents have to cope with heaps of openly dumped and uncollected refuse for several weeks at a time. In some cases, these wastes constitute significant environmental health hazards and often attract disease-carrying pests since they are either burned or dumped in streams and stagnant gutters (Oteg-Ababio, et al., 2013). There is no reliable national data on the total amount and composition of wastes generated in Ghana (Miezah et al., 2015). The authors reported that the average waste generation rate in Ghana was 0.47 kg/person/day (all regions and geographic areas) or 0.72 kg/person/day per household in major metropolitan cities. The composition of wastes varied greatly across regions, but on the average were as follows: organics = 61%, plastics = 14%, inert = 6%, paper = 5%, metals = 3%, glass = 3%, leather and rubber = 1%, textiles = 1%, and miscellaneous = 5% (Miezah et al., 2015).
In order to develop sustainable and long-term cost-effective methods for MSW management, adequate and sound knowledge of waste generation streams must be established. This will require proper documentation of waste characterization data (i.e., the amount, composition, and generation rate of total wastes) for each municipality. Waste characterization plays a key role in developing a sustainable and effective waste management, including the identification of generation sources for the various components, quantification of physical, chemical, thermal, and material recovery properties, and the design of equipment needed to facilitate the processing of wastes. A number of factors known to influence the amount and composition of MSW include season of the year, individual lifestyles, as well as demography, geography, and regulations in specific countries. The following factors have been shown to influence MSW management in developing countries (Guerrero, Maas and Hogland, 2013):

Collection, transfer, and transport practices due to improper bin collection systems, poor route planning, lack of information about MSW collection schedules. In most municipalities, irregular collection services, the use of inadequate equipment for waste collection, inadequate legal provisions are key factors that may be challenging waste management, especially recycling.

Management deficiencies, inadequate and/or lack of trained personnel have been reported in many municipalities. Previous studies have shown that waste management authorities at local municipalities and major cities lack organizational capacities or leadership skills and/or professional knowledge needed for the efficient and effective job performance.

Waste workers, due to their limited training and skills, were often associated with taking on these jobs that nobody wants and are often relegated to the lowest social-economic class status within their societies, thus resulting in low motivation among these employees. Compared to other municipal activities, elected government officials and politicians give MSW very low priorities and this often results in inadequate funding.

Most municipal disposal sites in Ghana still rely on open dumps with no landfills. In addition to constituting nuisance and public health concerns, open dumps lack leachate treatment and protection by a geo-membrane or clay-lined layer, gases treatment or other approved treatment and control measures needed for effective waste management.

Lack of environmental control systems and evaluation of the real impacts of MSW management program. Suffice it to note that active involvement of communities in environmental organizations or movement is necessary for improved and adequate waste management systems.

Inadequate or limited resources and lack of finance. Municipalities have failed to manage their solid wastes due to a large extent on financial factors. There is a huge expenditure associate with sustainable waste management and to provide the services needed. Lack of financial support and the unwillingness of the users to pay for services continue to hamper the delivery of proper waste management services in Ghana. Also, private sector involvement and investment that are needed to improve the efficiency of the system is often lacking.

Waste management has always been regarded as the sole responsibility of local municipalities and authorities. The public were often not expected to contribute to the reduction and treatment of wastes.
Recommendations for Sustainable MSW Management Programs

In the last decade, the overall tonnage of MSW generation in Ghana has continued to increase and the management of MSW has remained a constant and complicated problem of significant public health importance. In order to meet environmental public health and economical concerns, the management of MSW must be adequately addressed through the application of proven and low cost solutions.

Published reports have shown that improvement in sanitation often has significant benefits in managing MSW across many communities in developing countries. Sanitation broadly refers to “the maintenance of hygienic conditions, through services such as garbage collection and wastewater disposal” (WHO, 2018). The WHO Programme in Ghana supports the Ministry of Health, Ghana Health Service, and the Ministries of Water Resources, Works and Housing, and the Local Government and Rural Development in the implementation of various programs aimed at reducing and preventing public health risks and their environmental impact. WHO Ghana objectives include, among others, the need to “support the development of policies, guidelines and strategies for water, sanitation and climate change” (WHO, 2018).

The following section discusses seven recommendations that should be implemented to develop long-lasting and sustainable waste management programs in the 10 Regions of Ghana.

Implement an Integrated Sustainable Waste Management (ISWM) Model

As far back as the mid-1980s, the Integrated Sustainable Waste Management (ISWM) Model has been proposed as a pathway towards finding lasting solution for MSW management. The ISWM was originally developed by scientists with expertise in waste management technologies (WASTE, 2004) but received further revised during the mid-1990s by the Collaborative Working Group on solid waste management in collaboration with organizations in developing countries. The ISWM model focuses on urban environment and development by employing “studies involving complex and multi-dimensional systems in an integral way” (WASTE, 2004; Guerrero, Maas and Hogland, 2013). Guerrero, Maas and Hogland (2013) have reported that three dimensions were involved in analyzing, developing, and changing a waste management system. The ISWM theoretical framework comprises of three dimensions (Figures 1 and 2): Stakeholders involvement; elements or stages of the movement or flow of materials from the generation points towards treatment; and the final disposal or treatment.

![ISWM Dimensions](image)

**Figure 1. The theoretical framework for the ISWM model**
Figure 2. The integrated sustainable waste management model (Source: WASTE, 2004; adapted from Guerrero, Maas and Hogland, 2013).

**Stakeholder Involvement**
This refers to people with interests in solid waste management and it requires that formal stakeholders must be identified and involved in the process of waste management (Guerrero, Maas and Hogland, 2013). These include the service users (households, civil organizations, commercial and industrial sector), local municipal authority, as well as local, state and federal government ministries or agencies, and private contractors providing services related to MSW treatment and management and these crucial roles in shaping the system. The citizens must serve as co-collaborators with the local municipality. The federal and local governments are perhaps the most important stakeholders since they function in setting up policies and making adequate provisions for solid waste management systems. When all these stakeholders work together to establish an efficient and effective system, resulting in a well-functioning waste management system.

**Enabling Environment**
This includes environmental, socio-cultural, legal, institutional and economic linkages needed to ensure the system functions as designed or intended. These are mainly the environmental factors that influence the “elements or stages of the movement or flow of materials from the point of generation to the treatment facility.

**Final Disposal, Treatment and Analysis**
These are the various aspects through which the system is analyzed and managed for a successful and sustainable process.

**Improve Generation and Separation**
Separation is improved when citizens have a shared responsibility with the municipality on the decision making process on the waste management system for the city. At the municipal level, several factors have been identified as hindering the separation programs in waste management processes, including “limited knowledge on technologies and good practices for waste management, lack of equipment for the collection of sorted materials and the absence of decision makers interested in environmental issues” (Guerrero, Maas and Hogland, 2013). To further improve generation and separation at the source, the role...
of informal waste collectors (i.e., Kaya Bola) must be incorporated into an integrated and sustainable waste management system so as to use their efficient methods of source-separation and recycling (Oteng-Ababio et al., 2013). Additionally, this will ultimately reduce the need for pre-treatment and treatment technologies and provide long-term solution to waste reduction at the source of generation.

**Increase Awareness.**

Awareness campaigns serve to influence the behavior of service users or individuals to be part of the solution by participating, embracing and considering waste segregation from the point of view of environmental improvement and sustainability. Many poor people’s livelihoods depend on collecting recyclable materials from household disposal bins, streets and at the disposal site. To improve the efficiency of waste separation, there is need to increase the awareness of citizens and municipal leaders on the impacts of waste management systems in cities (Guerrero, Maas and Hogland, 2013). Businesses, large and small, that directly or indirectly generate wastes must provide complete and timely information to affected communities regarding how their activities can potentially cause environmental, social, and economic problems within such communities and the people’s livelihoods.

**Apply Multidimensional Problem-Solving Approach**

Solid waste management is considered a multi-dimensional problem that local municipalities must deal with from time to time. To effectively address such problems and find lasting solutions, municipalities must invest in modern equipment and machinery that are adaptable to the local environment. As a general rule, an effective system based on technological solutions will depend on available environmental, socio-cultural, legal, institutional and economic linkages that enable the overall system to function successfully as intended (Guerrero, Maas and Hogland, 2013).

**Promote Reduce, Reuse, and Recycling**

There are many recyclable materials generated in MSW stream by municipalities including plastic, paper, metal, glass, organic, battery, electric and electronic products. The three R's of the environment include reduce, reuse, and recycle. All communities, especially in metropolitan areas must be encouraged to develop the habit of reusing paper bags, plastic bottles and bags. The need for people to reuse and recycle whatever they can and to avoid buying things they do not need or items prepared in wasteful packaging cannot be overemphasized. Available estimates showed that only 33% of all solid wastes generated in urban areas across Africa is collected and 2% is recovered and recycled. However, citizens who are adequately informed and educated about the benefits of recycling, are more likely to participate in recycling campaigns and often play significant roles in the design and implementation of MSW management programs (Guerrero, Maas and Hogland, 2013).

Education is key and training programs must be appropriate and culturally tailored to encourage reuse of products and reduction in the purchase of disposable (often one time use) products. It must be noted that when leaders in municipalities are trained, have strong interest and priority in MSW management issues, they would support strategies designed to promote more efficient and effective collection systems, including improved infrastructure and low cost recycling technologies. The success of any waste collection, treatment, and recycling program would depend on the buy-in and participation of all stakeholders as well as the efficiency of available treatment technologies and infrastructure.
Invest in the Establishment of Modern Landfills
There are various treatment and management technologies of MSW that have been widely used such as the use of modern landfills. The sanitary landfill is undoubtedly the most commonly used MSW management system in the world. In developing countries, landfill is often considered the best option for waste disposal because it is less expensive than the other disposal options and accounts for up to 95% of total MSW collection and disposal (Zakaria and Aziz, 2013). Additionally, landfill is the most widely practiced method for MSW disposal due mainly to its economic advantages as “a method of disposing of refuse on land without creating nuisances or hazards to public health or safety” (Raghb et al., 2013).

Landfills utilize the principles of engineering to confine wastes to the smallest practical area, to reduce them to the smallest practical volume, and to cover them with a layer of soil at the conclusion of each day’s operation. Modern MSW landfill are generally licensed and operated by corporations and involves the compaction of wastes in layers lined pit that are usually capped with clay. However, landfills generate leachates that often contain harmful by-products and high concentrations of multiple pollutants known to cause serious public and environmental health effects (Zakaria and Aziz, 2013).

Leachate consists of liquid that passes through a landfill and during which process dissolved and suspended matter are extracted as a result of precipitation from the moisture present in the waste stream. In addition, leachate generation presents the most significant challenge for MSW landfills due to the potential for surface and ground water contamination, and the generation of wastewater and biogas streams (Malina and Pohland, 1996). It is not surprising that leachate often presents with strong color and obnoxious odor and contains excessive and hazardous concentrations of both biodegradable and non-biodegradable ammonia, organic matter, phenols, nitrogen, phosphates, heavy metals, and sulfides (Andreottola and Cannas, 1992). Additionally, leachate production is a function of composition of the solid waste stream, particle sizes, degree of soil compaction, age and hydrology of the landfill site, as well as the moisture content, temperature, and available oxygen.

Modern landfills are designed with adequate monitoring systems that collect and remove leachate and methane. There are two recommended types of leachate treatment technologies including biological and physical/chemical processes. In more developed countries with larger and integrated systems, a combination of these two technologies may be used depending on the corporation’s desire and established treatment goals.

Waste-to-Energy (WTE) Incineration
There are a number of informal waste management approaches that can be integrated into advances in MSW treatment technologies, including waste-to-energy (WTE). Incineration of waste to generate energy can greatly decrease the volume of MSW as long as such technology has been validated and found to be applicable to the requisite waste composition data (Oteng-Ababio et al., 2013).

There are a number of challenges associated with WTE including the generation of metals in the waste stream. Particulates and/or mercury emissions are often generated from burning wastes and these must be captured before being discharged into the atmosphere. Additionally, plastics in the waste stream can produce hazardous byproducts such as dioxins and furans if the combustion temperature was not high enough. Of significant importance is the production of both fly ash and bottom ash that would need to be captured and properly disposed of to prevent potential public health effects and environmental pollution.
Conclusions

The impacts of improper waste management have adverse public and environmental health importance and significance. This calls for sound MSW management as an essential component of public health policy that will accelerate the rate of progress towards developing a sustainable MSW management in Ghana. A sustainable system will depend on the overall strength of the national health system, the level of investment by cities and local municipalities in waste management, and a number of other factors, including environmental, social, political, and economic realities. Modern equipment and machinery including trucks, tractors, and compactors must be provided to local municipalities and cities. Suffice it to note that sophisticated waste collection, separation, and disposal systems require a multi-dimensional approach for such a complex process. These are key factors that are necessary to promote, manage, and recycle wastes at the municipality as opposed to the current practice of using wheel-barrow, hand trolley and/or rickshaws. In addition, researchers have documented that the provision of adequate and appropriate legal framework will positively contribute to the development of an integrated and sustainable waste management system (Asase et al., 2009).

In order to adequately managing MSW, education is key. In this regard, decision makers at the municipalities will function well in establishing waste management programs when they are adequately trained, have current knowledge, and demonstrated good practices of new and appropriate technologies required for the management of MSW. The citizens must be educated on the need to appreciate, respect, and care for the environment by being active participants in the entire process. The citizens who are the service users must be educated on the pros and cons of disposable and reusable household items and to make informed decisions that will have significant impact on the environment. Awareness campaigns must influence the behavior of service users to be part of the solution by participating, embracing, and considering waste segregation from the point of view of environmental improvement and sustainability.

The importance of building public awareness through well-targeted and culturally-tailored educational and information campaigns cannot be overemphasized. Communication between the various stakeholders is of utmost importance in having a well-functioning waste management system in any municipality or city. In the long-term, this will result in promoting waste minimization, reuse, recycling, and recovery of materials and energy among consumers and other stakeholders with responsibilities and involvement in the development and management of MSW. The operational efficiency of solid waste management must depend upon the joint active participation of both the municipal authority and the citizens. In this regard, sociocultural factors and community awareness must be in place to encourage the participation of all stakeholders in the decision-making process and to discourage any societal apathy of believing that their contributions will not lead to lasting solutions. This will necessitate the creation of a learning organization (“a group of people who are continually enhancing their capacity to create the results they want”) that will investigate stakeholders’ actions.

Suffice it to note that adequate investment in sustainable waste management requires certain structural organizations or corporations, a true, well-meaning and dedicated commitment from the government, and the willingness to institutionalize the process.

Additionally, long-term investment of both human and financial resources in the entire process will go a long way in ensuring sustainability of the processes and would undoubtedly yield successful results that are necessary to provide desired and permanent benefits to all affected communities and regions in Ghana. A culturally tailored sustainable MSW management must focus on the following factors that influence the elements of MSW management system as well as the technical, environmental, socio-cultural, legal, institutional and economic linkages necessary to enable the overall system function effectively.
References


TEACHING AFRICA: PAN-AFRICANISM, GHANA AND THE AFRICAN UNION - MJIBA FREHIWOT

Teaching Africa on the African continent or in the African Diaspora has been a contested field since the inception of African Studies, Africana Studies and Black Studies departments after the Civil Rights and Black Power Struggles in North America. Similarly, the evolution of Institutes of African Studies on the African continent after the founding of the first Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana by the first President Kwame Nkrumah have raised questions about how to teach Africa (Sutherland-Addy & Manu, 2013, Zeleza, 2011). African Studies, Africana Studies and Black Studies are all distinct fields that are intertwined through time and space. These fields deserve dedicated research and scholarship to highlight their uniqueness. However, while this paper is focusing on Africa the teaching of African Studies the research keenly recognizes the interrelated relationship between these fields of study. This paper examines the relationship between teaching Africa and Pan-Africanism. It will identify five key points that must be considered when teaching Africa:

1. Teaching Africa must include Pan-Africanism;
2. Pan-Africanism can be used as a teaching tool in all majors;
3. To teach Pan-Africanism one must at the very basic level understand the important of the unification of Africa;
4. Teaching Africa must include how to tell an authentic African story about development;
5. The African Union’s Agenda 2063 is a key component to teaching Pan-Africanism.

The paper will be structured around these points using examples to buttress the role of Pan-Africanism in teaching Africa and specifically focusing on the African Union’s Agenda 2063. Pan-Africanism is defined differently by scholars and activists alike depending on their ideological framing, the space they dominate in the African world and their class position. In order to set the foundation for this research it is important to highlight the leading definitions of Pan-Africanism. These definitions are not all-inclusive and are often interpreted and re-interpreted based on historical, cultural, social and societal conditions. Kwame Ture a Pan-African activist and scholar identifies Pan-Africanism as “the total liberation and unification of Africa (and African people) under scientific socialism” which is based on his organizational relationship with the All-African People’s Revolutionary Party called for by Kwame Nkrumah in the Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare (Nkrumah, 1968, Ture 1995). Horace Campbell defines Pan-Africanism as, “as a body of thought and action, shared but not uniform or dogmatic. A dynamic movement continually transforming itself and gaining new ideological perspectives in light of changing circumstance. Enriching itself through its own experience. Rowing from masses, groups and occasionally leaders of governments. Tending to the goal of the restoration of freedom and dignity for ‘Africans at home and abroad” (Campbell, 1996, 90). This is a thought-provoking definition as it highlights the relationship between thought and action and specifically identifies the creation of a new ideological perspective. Finally, Omotoso and Layode argue that, “It is a philosophy that represents the aggregation of the historical, cultural, artistic, scientific, and ethical legacies of Africans from the past to the present with the aims of unifying Africans and protecting them as people of collective identity struggling to evolve a more positive image of themselves” (Omotoso and Labode, 2013, p. 189).

The Pan-African Movement has historically been viewed as a movement that resides in the theoretical realm and the political sphere. This assumption is narrow and underestimates the critical role that the movement has played and continues to play in both the Diaspora and Africa. While this paper is not geared towards identifying and interrogating these Pan-African practises it will highlight a few key examples to support these claims.
Teaching Africa must include Pan-Africanism

Teaching Africa both in African higher education institutions and Global Africa must include both Pan-Africanism and the multiple experiences in the African world. The teaching of Africa is often approached from a victim-based approach where Africa lacks both agency and the ability as Kwame Nkrumah says, “manage our own affairs”. The story that is often told through research (which is generally published in “international western presses”) highlights bad governance, corruption; dependence on the west and in some cases romanticizes key historical events. This type of one-sided and narrow research grossly underestimates the depth and breadth of the African experiences, development and possibilities.

The teaching of Africa from a Western perspective reinforces the New Imperialist approach to global economics and domination from Western countries including the United States. Tikly describes New Imperialism as the incorporation of the economies of former “colonized nations” into a large global economy. These nations while part of the global economy primarily as producers of raw materials and dependent on Western nations are still on the periphery (Tikly, 2004). This concept of New Imperialism can also be applied to education and the way that Africa is discussed, researched and taught in the academy. The educational landscape both inside and outside of the academy is often poised using a Eurocentric model that guides the features of the curriculum (Tikly, 2004). The curriculum and features of education on the continent often dictates the story that academics tell in the classroom outside of the continent especially by non-Africanists.

The inclusion of Pan-Africanism in the teaching of Africa not only highlights that African people can manage her own affairs, but it gives African (this is not to imply that all African people are monolithic culturally, historically, politically or socially) people agency to use indigenous solutions to solve Africa’s problems. Africa’s story cannot be told without the inclusion of the Pan-African Movement in general and Ghana and Kwame Nkrumah in particular.

Pan-Africanism can be used as a teaching tool in all majors

Pan-African education is sometimes associated with politically and economically motivated unification which results in a high-level discussion about Pan-Africanism. This approach often is a romantic and academically narrow approach to researching and interrogating Pan-Africanism. It can be interrogated beyond the lofty definitions and can be viewed as a vehicle to collectively address the challenges facing Africa and to chart a new path towards self-determination. For example, building of a continental road system that promotes inter-African trade and travel can address the issues of food shortages, poverty and a dependence on exporting raw materials. “At present, overland transport is so difficult and costly that Africa’s diverse regions remain largely isolated from one another. Overland trade between the large urban centres of West Africa and South Africa is almost non-existent. Within many countries, abundant fertile soil lies fallow because hauling produce to market is too expensive, time-consuming and dangerous for truckers” (Piet Buys, Deichmann, Wheeler, 2010). Shortages and malnutrition impacts’ many countries in Africa while most countries are exporting raw materials and importing food stuffs. Teaching Pan-Africanism in the fields of agricultural, development, food, logistics and engineering can incorporate the issue of overland trade and road networks in Africa. The interconnectedness of the issue of the level of development of the inner-continental road network and the lack of internal trade can be the starting point of incorporating Pan-Africanism in teaching these important fields. The incorporation of small acts of Pan-Africanism should be investigated such as the Ewe community that straddle the Togo/Ghana border that through the Chieftaincy Institution challenge the imposition of international borders and subsequently contributes to the Pan-African project (Adotey, 2018). This interrogation should also include large-scale Pan-African projects such as the African Union and the seven aspirations of Agenda 2063.
To teach Pan-Africanism one must at the very basic level understand the importance of the unification of Africa

Teaching Africa must include Pan-Africanism; however, it is important to ensure that those who incorporate Pan-Africanism into their teaching must at the very basic level understand the importance of the unification of Africa. There is the perception that in order to believe in or promote Pan-Africanism one has to be of African descent. This is both a fallacy and a naïve approach to understanding this complex and multi-faced movement. The unification of Africa not only will impact the lives of people of African descent, but it will impact all of humanity. The history of the Pan-African movement has a history of working with and being in coalition with social justice movements focused on human rights, but its very survival is tied to its ability to work with other communities that are facing similar trials. Some of these nations have similar traits such as being heavy exporters, lacking political and economic control and a high level of dependence on external financial institutions and governments.

Africa finds itself at the center of the global world as a supplier of raw materials for important worldwide products such as rubber, oil, copper, bauxite, columbite–tantalite (coltan), chocolate and many other key exports. These products are vital components of the world economy today and are based on the global and technologically advanced world that is driven by profit and the global market. The interconnectedness of the world today and communities that are struggling for their liberation and independence is explored in the Pan-African movement and should be incorporated in the teaching of Africa. “The utility of the edification of the African nation will affect the global world order dialectically. On one hand such an edifice will liberate the will and genius of the African masses. On the other hand, this liberated African Genius will contribute greatly to the improvement of human culture in general by expanding the technique and knowledge base of humanity. The world is currently in awe of gadgetry and ignorant of life bearing traditions. Old discoveries are often overlooked by the ignorance of arrogance and the arrogance of ignorance. This imbalanced gnosis has the potential of threatening human survival. The historical depth of the African experience has the potential of enriching the self-awareness of humanity” (Poe, 2012). Faculty who choose to teach and research on Africa and incorporate Pan-African scholarship into their teaching must recognize the importance of the unity of Africa and its potential for transforming Africa and African people. Understanding the importance of the unity of Africa does not necessarily make one a Pan-Africanist. What is being suggested is that the unity of Africa should be viewed as not just an ideological movement but one that can be studied scientifically much like that of the European Union.

Teaching Africa must include how to tell an authentic African story about development

Teaching Africa often begins and ends with a discussion on development or the state of development in African communities. While it is imperative to discuss the role of development in Africa it is rarely examined from a standpoint that begins with the premise that there is a massive disparity between the development and underdevelopment in the West and Africa. This exploration is captured well in Walter Rodney’s How Europe Underdeveloped Africa where he reminds us that Europe and America the two models of development and success are developed as a result of the exploitation of Africa and African people through slavery and colonialism (Rodney, 1972). This is an important aspect of the development conversation in Africa and the Global South. As the teaching of Africa takes place in University classrooms across the globe the authentic Africa story about development must be explored. Development is universal and occurs at different stages depending on space, time, culture and history and this must be acknowledged. “Underdevelopment” which is a key term used to describe the progress of Africa and African nations is not an absence of development. “Underdevelopment makes sense only as a means of comparing levels of development. It is very much tied to the fact that human social development has been uneven and from a strictly economic viewpoint some human groups have advanced further by producing more and becoming more wealthy” (Rodney, 1972). This is an important point when
considering the African experience in regard to development. The presenter must tell an authentic story about development that is African centered and rooted in local conditions and cultural traditions. This can be achieved by using a reference list that has a balanced assessment of Africa and development. But it can also be achieved by using local examples of development that are African led by people of African descent. Most importantly, when addressing development from an African perspective the narrative must not focus on a Global North view of development but must re-interrogate development from a cultural, historical, social, economic and political approach.

**African Union’s Agenda 2063 is a key component to teaching Pan-Africanism**

The African Union launched Agenda 2063 in 2013 to chart the path for Africa to develop and move closer to unity over the next 50 years. This agenda is important to incorporate into the teaching of Africa as it has seven key aspirations that can guide the work African nations and people. The aspirations can guide the work of academics and practitioners in working on Africa and African people worldwide. “Agenda 2063 is an ambitious and people-centered continental vision with a carefully crafted action plan that aims to position Africa from growth over the next 50 years. It incorporates lessons and experiences from Africa’s past” (Addaney, 2017).

These aspirations if achieved have the ability to drastically improve the quality of life of millions of people of African descent. The first aspiration is to achieve, “A prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth and sustainable development” is an important goal that can support the economic growth of African countries. This aspiration can be used as a teaching tool in macro-economic courses or in the international development field. The second aspiration, “An integrated continent, politically united and based on the ideals of Pan-Africanism and the vision of Africa’s Renaissance” speaks directly to the need for integrating Africa and the Diaspora and to Africa and African people being able to manage their own affairs. This is not necessarily a road map, but it is encouraging to see that the second aspiration is promoting Pan-Africanism. The third aspiration, “An Africa of good governance, democracy, respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law” not only highlights the importance of promoting good governance but is in line with the current global push to eradicate exploitative and bad governance. The fourth aspiration, “A peaceful and secure Africa” is a basic human right and cannot be achieved without the active support of the entire continent and Diaspora. This aspiration can be used as a teaching tool in peace and security studies or in conflict resolution courses. The fifth aspiration of the AU’s Agenda 2063 is momentous as it promotes embracing African culture and heritage. It is, “An Africa with a strong cultural identity, common heritage, shared values and ethics” which highlights the need for respecting, celebrating and evolving what it means to be an African both professionally, personally and politically. The sixth aspiration, “An Africa whose development is people-driven, relying on the potential of African people, especially its women and youth, and caring for children” speaks to the prominence of African people managing their own affairs and focusing on one of the most explosive populations in Africa youth. The final aspiration, “Africa as a strong, united, resilient and influential global player and partner” requires a holistic approach to addressing the challenges that Africa faces. This includes strengthening the political, social and cultural systems form an African centered perspective (African Union, 2016). Agenda 2063 is billed as an all-inclusive agenda to promote continental unity and integration, social and economic development, peace, democratic governance, security and allowing Africa and African people to determine their own destiny (Addaney, 2017). While not a complete road map with room for divergence and convergence Agenda 2063 can serve as the foundation for teaching Africa.

Teaching Africa in the academy is not only an important aspect of scholarship, but it is something that should be considered for all fields. To teach Africa one must be willing to take chances with integrating African examples into their existing models and to incorporate African and Africanist scholarship in the course outlines and reading lists. Lastly, to teach Africa in any field the inclusion of Pan-Africanism is both a strong recommendation and will strengthen the course as it will not only expose students to new
material but will challenge faculty members and students to identify Pan-Africanism not just as an ideologically driven movement, but a viable option for Africa, African people and humanity.

References


A METAPHYSICAL INQUIRY INTO STRATEGIC PERFORMING AS THEORY MAKING ZERO TO HERO STORY OF KENYA’S TUSKYS SUPERMARKET - VIPIN GUPTA119 AND PAULA LINNA

Preface

In the field of strategy, success of firms is attributed to their competitive advantage formed from an existing resource-base or knowledge-base or blue ocean opportunity base. If the power of a firm to become a dominant leader is conditional on the quality of its predominating endowment base, then there is little hope for most indigenous-owned firms in Sub-Saharan African nations. Most indigenous firms in Sub-Saharan Africa have limited endowment base – both qualitatively as well as quantitatively. Yet, there are a few firms who have defied theoretical odds, and actually realized theory-making performing. Instead of being bounded by the limitations of their endowment base, they have mobilized the endowment base of an extended network of relationships. They have not even been limited by the lack of quality of the endowment base of an extended network of relationships. They reject the perspective of taking this below-par quality as a limitation that adds to the cost of the opportunity, and that discourages the leading international firms from considering business in Sub Saharan Africa. Instead, they take below-par quality of network endowments as an opportunity to power up motivation. They do not seek a blue ocean opportunity value that they may capture. In fact, they implicitly recognize that they lack the power to capitalize on the blue ocean opportunity that the leading firms internationally are all seeking, having read about that strategy from the international best-seller. They then discover those energies whose powers are not being fully tapped presently. For instance, the investors willing to guide what method to make, how to automate the method, and how to train the workforce to work with the automated machinery. The workforce that is willing to guide suppliers on what inputs to make, how to shape those inputs for customer needs, and how to manage work operations for managing cost and quality of those inputs. The managers that are willing to guide leaders on how to motivate governing family boards to become responsible investors, for further growth of the firm using the same exchange formula of trading technology for the workforce and servicing technology for the supplier networks. This exchange formula acts to (ex) change lack of motivation and endowment base with motivation and growth in technological as well as other types of endowment base. We refer the motivating factor in this exchange formula as white ocean strategy. A strategy that takes only the whiteboard and a metaphysical entity focused on weaving a path for development and growth on this whiteboard. Become a freedom empower, not a freedom limiter. Realizing the power of Africa as the cradle of global civilization, and becoming a savior of the world where now only 1% of the population holds 50% of the global wealth, and 70% holds less than 5% of the global wealth.

In this investigation, we use a metaphysical approach for strategic performing as theory making, based on the zero to hero market leadership pathway experience of Tuskys supermarket in Kenya. Tuskys has grown from virtually no endowments in 1960s to become the Number 1 leader of the Kenyan modern retail sector by 2018. As a family firm, Tuskys had three different pathway options for sense-making learning to perform strategically – first, theory taking by trading local culturally espoused theories of action; second, theory seeking by trading high-performing local work-culture practices; and third, theory making by trading work-practices from global cultural systems. Each of these pathway options had different strategic

119 I, Vipin Gupta, certify that this research is entirely my original work. An advanced version of this “Science of protagonists and the Art of Metaphysical Organizational Performing: Zero to Hero Story of Kenya’s Tuskys Supermarket”, will be forthcoming in a book-length manuscript. The inspiration for using the case of Tuskys came from Paula Linna, who presented an analysis of the company using the blue ocean
strategy model at African Academy of Management 2017 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Grateful of her metaphysical contributions to the physical investigation presented her, I invited her to be a co-author and she kindly give her consent performing effects: become a taker of normative market values through theory taking, become a seeker of transformative market values through theory seeking, and become a maker of formative market values through theory making. Each of these effects challenged the leadership of Tusks to trade-off values, aspirations and interests of one group of subjects, for ascending priorities on servicing other group of subjects. They required Tusks to decide among three potentially contradictory values – private interest seeking, sharing value with integrity, and sharing value with those who share value with integrity. Making these trade-off decisions increased competitive challenges and eroded the leadership advantage of Tusky’s mentor and largest rival – Nakumatt. We conduct a chronological, sequential and consequential analysis of Tusky’s leadership experience. We find no support for the espoused theory taking (blue ocean hypothesis), grounded theory seeking (dynamic capability hypothesis), or integrative theory making (red ocean hypothesis), in the strategic performing of Tusks. Tusks shaped its market making pathway by discovering invisible, undervalued local work-culture practices. Instead of learning through sense-making, it became a theory maker through its strategic performing.

Introduction

There are two methods for theory making: integrative method and metaphysical method. Integrative method assembles sense making frames from multiple disciplines. It is “a matter of borrowing insights or methods from one or more disciplines to illuminate problems in another (without dissolving the disciplines.” (Benson, 1982). Integrative method is guided by the purpose of understanding and resolving grand challenges, that the practitioners are unable to resolve using market taking and market seeking approaches, and that the scholars are unable to understand using theory taking and theory seeking approaches (see, Choi & Pak, 2006). It entails collaboration among different master practitioners and master scholars, where each participant takes a distinct contributing practice praxis or discipline to interpret different dimensions of the challenge. The insights of diverse participants are then fused into an integrative potentially lasting solution. The practice praxis and disciplines are selected based on an expert social consensus about relevant knowledge bases of value and the participants are selected based on their mastery of respective knowledge bases. A downside of integrative method is that it disempowers all subjects who lack deep mastery of multiple disciplines or access to the masters of different disciplines. Such subjects are reduced to discovering a “failed variety show” around them as they drive “ice creams truck down the academic alley”, fit for only shaping “a fool’s project, propounding equations where all the terms are unknown.” (Brenson, 1982).

Metaphysical method, on the other hand, shapes one simple heuristic insight – the insight of transcending beyond the knowledge boundaries of present disciplines that have failed to solve the grand challenges that they espouse as the benefit of their discipline. It then leads the subject on a metaphysical inquiry of a market making pathway, discovering linkages for creating value from virtually nothing except an intentionality for market making. It requires virtually no resources from the subject, such as private access to an excellent case, or private funding for analyzing multiple cases for scientific replicability. It only requires a theory-making intentionality, for making sense of freely available zero-value information in open-access mass media. New linkages are then discovered by asking simple critical questions that are forte of every student, such as how a barely surviving micro firm that was once unable to see the world of blue ocean opportunities, and without any capability to thrive even in the stable world of red ocean, transformed itself into a market leader? And, how this market leader, and its similar peers, were able to thwart successful entry of capability-munificent foreign players into the home market - despite the evidence of stable opportunity-munificent blue ocean signaled by sustained and rapid growth of the sector and the economy in the home market. These questions help in the discovery of the “ontos” i.e. the catalyst powers that made it feasible to make white ocean of new objectives not present earlier.
We refer this discovery step as the ontological step.

The ontological step, discovered through the process of critical inquiry, enlightens how new objective aspirations are formed. Metaphysical method goes further to help us seek knowledge of how to sustain – i.e. function – the white ocean of new objectives. How do the market making firms who have developed a work culture of market discovering trading endowments of below par value, differ from the market seeking firms who have an alternative work culture of investing in only the endowments of above par value? Why do the market seeking firms do not straddle their investment work culture and complement that by countertrading (i.e. following) the trading behaviors of the market making firms? And, why these behaviors persist despite the evidence that the red ocean with intense rivalry is also an opportunity-munificent blue ocean, when seen from a market making perspective? These questions about the value of the alternative help us seek the “episteme” – i.e. the impediment factors that limit the boundaries of white ocean behaviors, and constrain the firms into the shrinking world of blue oceans with the entry of additional competition. We refer this seeking step as the ontological step.

The epistemological step, sought through the process of comparative inquiry, clarifies how diverse subjective aspirations function. With critical and comparative awareness of the subject, the metaphysical method then helps us transcend from a taker realm into a maker realm. If growing red ocean and shrinking blue ocean are both part of a grand invisible white ocean, then how should a market seeking firm fulfill its aspirations for a sustained growing blue ocean? If one red ocean is growing by making white ocean visible, then should a market shaping firm limit itself to that one ocean, or seek to transform other red oceans as well? What should a market taker firm do when the market values begin transforming very rapidly? Should it still persist with capability-munificent investment, or should it reorient itself for opportunity-munificent servicing? These questions about the value of the hypothetical helps us shape the “axios” – i.e. the freedom decision factors that define the value of white ocean behaviors, and enable the firms to self-transform from market seekers to market shapers.

The axiological step, shaped through the process of freedom rationality about value choices, deconstructs the varying effectiveness of diverse subjects in fulfilling specific objectives. For making integrative sense of the ontological, epistemological and axiological steps, the metaphysical method finally takes us on a path of scientific investigation.

The first step in the investigation path is ontological – which entails discovering desired objectives under varying endowment conditionality: limited endowment conditionality, munificent endowment conditionality, and sufficient endowment conditionality. We codify these desired objectives as inquiry questions, as the path to each objective is hidden and not visible at the time of forming the inquiry. The second step is epistemological - which entails seeking the norms of behavior essential for realizing the desired objectives, from the knowledge of science or physics of causative factors and effects. We conceptualize these norms of behavior as propositions. The third step is axiological - which entails shaping the behaviors of market making value, and surfacing those without. The purpose is to help discover the sequences that have desired market making effects, and descend the costs of behaviors guided simply by bounded rationality. This purpose is realized and authenticated through a unifying metaphysical step – which entails deconstructing the behaviors of entity that is taking an alternative decision rationality, and demonstrate the inherent costs of such rationality.

In this paper, we review Vipin Gupta’s (2018) self-perpetuating market making entity model to form ontological inquiry questions. Then, we form epistemological propositions, and axiological hypotheses. Thence, we explain the purpose of choosing Tusksys in the Kenya retail sector as the subject of inquiry and Nakumatt in the same sector as the comparative subject of metaphysical inquiry. We make sense of the evidence on the nine catalyst factors, identified by Vipin Gupta (2018) as the parameters for distinguishing and differentiating market seeking, market shaping, and market discovering firms. Our findings show
Tuskys shaped value of all its relationships to above par, and consequently was able to freely trade the growth value to become a leader market maker. Through this market shaping, Tuskys endogenized market seeking. Nakumatt, on the other hand, sought only the above par relationships, and ran into trouble when foreign rivals found a window of opportunity to enter the market and transform its blue ocean of premium niche into red ocean. We discuss an alternative interpretation of Tuskys market making, based on the discovery of the power of present linkages for servicing additional linkages – authenticating Vipin Gupta’s (2018) trinity model of market making firm. We conclude by discussing additional implications for practice and for research.

Ontological

Inquiry Vipin Gupta’s Model of Firm as the Self-Perpetuating Market Making Entity

Vipin Gupta (2018) shows how the firm as a market making entity endogenizes three types of institutionally mediated and time-dependent rationalities: resources mediating forming, relationships mediating functioning, and routines mediating fulfilling. Consequently, it exercises freedom cultural or decision rationality when acting on its subjective work culture experiences.

First, Resources Mediating Forming: when resources vary over time in their sufficiency for its objectives, the firm need not continually change its strategic approach from market seeking to market shaping, or from market shaping to market seeking. Instead, it can become a continuous – or perpetual – market discoverer, by forming objectives in a form that is feasible to fulfill with available resources. Most firms form objectives that stretch beyond their resource power. They then either wait to discover how they may fulfill their stretched objectives, or seek networks of relationships that could provide the catalyst power for fulfillment. In the first case, they end up at any point with excess resources waiting to be traded; and in the second case, they end up at any point with constrained resources waiting to be serviced. As a market discoverer, the firm is devoted to continuously trading its resources for purposeful objectives, and for servicing by its network of relationships. This improves exchange within the market, and breaks the value parameters taken for granted. For instance, if a firm may service those who are designing machinery for it, by trading/sharing with them the unique knowledge method insights of its human resources. It may then seek training services from the machinery designers to empower its human resources to adapt to the enhanced power of the machinery. Thus, the value of its machinery power and its manpower rises, as a function of a proficient exchange of its method power.

Second, Relationships Mediating Functioning: when relationships vary over time in their catalyst power for fulfilling its constrained objectives, the firm need not change its strategic approach. Instead, it can become a perpetual network discoverer, by transcending beyond the subjective private cause for forming the relationships. The network discoverer breaks the institutionalized boundaries of relationships and forming new relationships. It is stable in responding to the varying work power of its relationships over time. It does not need to substitute existing relationships, or limit its dreams within the power of its existing relationships. Instead of letting relationships mediate its functioning, it empowers its relationships through creative linkages with additional networks. This requires appreciating how relationships help ascend social benefits – the benefits for both network partners as well as for the firm. Relationships empower network partners to dream beyond the constraints of their resources, and catalyze the firm to help fulfill those dreams. The same human resources, that dare not dream and move to fulfill their dreams with agility, suddenly become energized when the firm adds relationship with the machinery designers.
Third, Routines Mediating Fulfilling: when routines vary over time in their cost-effectiveness for functioning it munificent objectives, the firm can become a perpetual community discoverer. A community discoverer breaks the values that create distances among communities. It does not let the values of a single community regulate and mediate its functioning. Instead it endogenizes the value variations of communities it engages over time. The community discoverer affirms private interests and benefits for each community, in order to engage valuable resources and unique relationships from diverse communities. Most firms develop their resources and empower their relationships only until they are ready to fulfill their objective. Once their resource system and relationship system are ready, they expect to accrue incremental value from their functioning. The objective of a firm need not just be to develop a community system ready to function as a routine, and become a protector of this institutionalized system. Instead of living a destiny of a protector, the firm can envision pathways for resource development and relationship empowerment that ascend private social benefits—the benefits for not only the creation (the firm) and the creatures being empowered (the network partnerships), but also for the community creator of the entire species of firms.

The greatest challenge firms face in endogenizing their decision or cultural rationality, by transforming bounded rationality into freedom rationality, is one of value integrity. Each community of creators normally values its values as superior to the value of other communities, and expects the firm to disproportionately value the resources developed and relationships empowered within its boundaries. A firm who seeks freedom from this institutional mediation may be completely excluded from that community, or treated as second citizen with limited access to its resources and relationships. Limited access escalates its costs of resources and relationships, and limits its growth. If a community espouses a “self-interest” seeking theory of action, then the firms are forced to either disengage or strive to ascend private benefits—the benefits for its own limited community of creators who are invested in them. Their functioning is further limited where the community also espouses “shared value” seeking theory of action that forces the firms to seek only those private networks where members are willing to disengage from the diverse values of their respective communities. When the community espouses “value integrity” seeking theory of action that further limits wait-free fulfilling by the firms. To fulfill the criteria of value integrity, a firm needs to attribute value only to the values of its community, and reject the values of alternative communities. However, when the firm values only the resources developed and relationships empowered within its own private community, it entrains—i.e. programs—its’ mental software to limit linkages with alternative resources and relationships. It expects others to be willing to recognize its power as the omnipotent mediator of desirable institutional values, regulations, and routines. Value integrity conditions the firm to seek dominating power in the market and the networks, in order to be able to regulate the values, and to force all entrepreneurs in the market and linkages in its network to conform to the dominating values of its community.

In this research, we inquire how firms form, function, and fulfill aspirational leadership objectives, in alternative communities, if they choose not to be governed by the values dominant in the mainstream community.

**Epistemological**

Inquiry How should firms value resource contributions of different relationships, without necessarily evaluating those contributions from a shared yet singular perspective? To answer this, we connect three espoused theories of action—self-interest seeking, shared value seeking, and value integrity seeking—in a forward sequence as follows: the firms should form an interest in sharing value with integrity. This sequence is an ontological subjective pathway, because the firm as a subject decides on its criteria for integrity. This heuristic sequence can be tested by norming an objective rankorder measurement for the subjective pathway of value integrity. This gives rise to the following proposition:
Proposition 1. A market making firm should strive to share value with integrity, instead of rank ordering the value of their different relationships using a singular, shared perspective.

How should firms value the power of different relationships in making valuable contributions, in ways that further private social benefits for the entire community, instead of furthering private benefits of only the participating members? To answer this, we connect the three theories in an ascending sequence: the firms should share value with those who share value with integrity. This sequence is an epistemological pathway, because each subject shares the same knowledge method of sharing value with integrity. This heuristic sequence can be verified by making the objective pathway of private interest-seeking as the measurement yardstick.

Proposition 2. A market making firm should strive to share value with those who share value with integrity, instead of prioritizing on ascending their own private power at the cost of others.

How should firms regulate different institutional expectations about the unconditional and uncompromising value of their respective communities, without compromising their own integrity in working with additional communities carrying similar institutional expectations? To answer this, we connect the three theories in a horizontal sequence: the firms should unconditionally fulfill the institutional expectations of each community to be of highest value, by helping each to become highest value community. This sequence is an axiological pathway, because each community realizes highest possible integrity in its respective values, and fulfills its purpose of forming the firm. This heuristic sequence can be verified by making the subjective pathway of shared values as the measurement yardstick.

Proposition 3. A market making firm should strive to make each relationship the highest value community, at par with its other strategic relationships.

As a product of epistemological inquiry, these propositions are about the aspirations of the firm – what a firm should aspire for in order to become an intentional market shaper? Next, we conduct an axiological inquiry into the objective pathways for fulfilling this intentionality – under conditions where the intentionality is guided by freedom rationality for guiding behaviors, not bounded rationality.

Axiological

Inquiry A firm guided by market seeking pathway values different relationships using the objective criteria of their market exchange value. The relationships that are valued more in the market are accorded higher valuation, and other relationships are valued in the descending rank order of their market value. The market defines the criteria for highest valuation, by giving highest value to one relationship. Other relationships are valued in relation to their value for that predominant relationship. The market accords highest value to the relationships that make irreversible investment of monetary value, as equity, in the firm. The value of these relationships is enhanced if they also facilitate investment of proprietary knowledge methods and physically capitalizable asset machinery in the firm. Thus, sharing value with integrity implies two things. First, the firm shares ascending value with those who act as a catalyst power for its monetary power, method power, and machinery power, and who are willing to do so because of its value within the alternative community. That is, they enable firm to do freedom trading of alternative powers, because of its value-munificent power base. Second, the firm shares descending value with those who instead seek investments based on the capability-munificent power base within the firm. Thus, we operationalize proposition 1 as follows:
H 1a – A market making firm makes its market power through freedom trading of value-munificent power base.

H 1b – A market making firm does not make its market power through investment seeking capability-munificent power base within the firm.

A firm guided by market shaping pathway values different relationships using the subjective criteria of their private networking value. The relationship that accrues highest subjective value for the firm, in terms of opening the relational path with other high value relationships, is accorded higher valuation and identified as being of highest integrity. The integrity of other relationships is valued in relation to the subjective value of this predominant relationship. The private networking value for the firm is highest for the subject firm when it has power control over the manpower of the entity. The private networking value is enhanced if the manpower unlocks power control over the entire supply system material power, and the entire customer system marketing power. Thus, sharing value with those who share value with integrity implies two things. First, the firm shares descending value with those who act as the catalyst power for its manpower, material power, and marketing power, and is able to do so because of their low control of their servicing power value within the networking community. That is, the firm is able to do freedom trading of alternative powers, because of its value-munificent power base that endows it with the power to shape the valuation of each entity’s servicing. Second, the firm shares ascending value with those who instead discover opportunity-munificent servicing power base without the firm. Thus, we operationalize proposition 2 as follows:

H 2a – A market making firm makes its market power through freedom trading of value-munificent power base.

H 2b – A market making firm does not make its market power through servicing based on the discovery of opportunity-munificent power base without the firm.

A firm guided by market discovering pathway values different relationships using the entrepreneurial criteria of their private social work value. The relationship that accrues highest social work value for the firm, in terms of social benefits for the alternative community within which the firm operates, is accorded higher valuation, and identified as having parity of integrity with the other relationships that accrue incremental social benefits. The private social work value, i.e. private social benefits, is highest for the entrepreneurial firm when it unlocks operating power of each and every entity within or without the alternative community. When the entrepreneurial firm’s power to manufacture its future is energized, then work is generated in the society of the alternative community. The private social work value is enhanced if the energized operating manufacturing power activates the infinite motivating power of servicing leadership and freedom manipulating power of servicing governance. Thus, making each relationship the highest value relationships with value parity implies two things.

First, the firm shares full value with those who act as the catalyst power for its manufacturing power, motivating power, and manipulating power, and is committed to do so because it identifies them as servicing the alternative community as a whole of which it is a part. That is, the firm is able to do freedom trading of alternative powers, because its value-munificent power base includes those entities as part of its power base. Second, the firm shares zero value with those who commit to the freedom countertrading of its value-munificent power base, even though they are not its whole power base. Thus, we operationalize proposition 3 as follows:
H 3a – A market making firm makes its market power through freedom trading of value-munificent power base.

H 3b – A market making firm does not make its market power through freedom countertrading of value-munificent power base.

Purpose and Subject of Inquiry

The purpose of scientific method of inquiry is seeking to validate a hypothesis by investigating if a group of diverse subjects shares the hypothesized constant factors, as their behavioral traits or as sequence of behaviors. The purpose of metaphysical inquiry, on the other hand, is to discover factors that are not constant across subjects, but instead are unique within each subject. The scientific method of inquiry assumes all subjects share some common institutional characteristics that are linked to their varying effectiveness on an outcome value factor. This outcome value factor is what is deemed desirable by the observing scientist, but it may not be the same as what is actually desired by the practicing subjects. Metaphysical inquiry recognizes each subject has 100% freedom rationality to develop own subjective pathway for fulfilling objectives. Most subjects choose the path of bounded rationality – where the rationality is mediated and bounded by the values institutionalized by one dominant community. The scientific method of investigating the constant factor across subjects is a way to surface this institutional objective – the values that the institutions espouse as the objective path to fulfillment, and this path is exclusive of the criteria of market making entity. The objective pathway of a market making entity is instead surfaced through selection of a qualified subject who operates within the subjective space of alternative community, and evidences the power of self-perpetuating over a sustainable period of time. A leader firm within alternative community behaves like a self-perpetuating entity, because it functions, grows, and becomes leader, without any objective resources or subjective catalyst force of the firms from the mainstream global community. Therefore, a leader firm within alternative community is an appropriate strategic subject for testing the hypotheses on the forming, functioning and fulfilling of the firms who choose not to be governed by the values of the dominant global community.

The challenge of a single subject case study is the subjective investigator bias in deconstructing the pathway. Based on the subjective disciplinary lens, investigator may interpret the subject’s pathway in diverse ways. Only one of these pathways is objective, in the sense that it represents the scientific sequence of decisions that a leader firm has to take seeking to become a self-perpetuating entity within an alternative community.

For authenticating the findings based on a single-subject case study, the metaphysical inquiry needs to go beyond one subject. However, instead of objectifying additional subjects, the investigator must recognize the value of each subject in designing objectively unique but strategically constant pathway of each subject. In other words, authentication is provided by a comparative approach that clarifies the effects of the conditionality experienced by a subject with alternative value objective. Based on their value objective, the subjects may form, function and fulfill their self-perpetuating power in different sequences. For instance, a leader firm from the global community has strategic freedom to become a part of the alternative community, or to become one with the alternative community. The former implies a coping behavior characterized by continuous freedom countertrading of one’s private community values with the alternative community’s values. The latter implies a holistic behavior characterized by continuous freedom trading of the alternative community’s values, with or without one’s private community values. If the value objective of the firm is to become self-perpetuating market maker, then it will evidence freedom trading; but if the value objective is market discovering community legitimacy, it will evidence freedom countertrading.
For investigating the hypothesized effects, we choose Tuskys of Kenya as the primary subject of inquiry who shares holistic identity within the community of servicing, and Nakumatt of Kenya as the subject of comparative departure who shares partial identity within this community. These two firms have been the top two leaders and pioneers of the modern retail sector and supermarkets in Kenya. They share unique correlation of social network friendship as well as market rivalry, over a period of more than 25 years. Even though both are home-grown within Kenya, Tuskys has been founded, owned and managed by a native Kenyan family, while Nakumatt has been founded and effectively owned and managed by a family native of India that migrated to Kenya in 1947 seeking better life opportunities.

Traditionally, scientific method works by testing the validity of a theoretical hypothesis, instead of testing the boundaries of the theoretical hypothesis. This introduces an affirmative bias in scientific method, since the sample, constructs, and investigation are all designed to affirm the theory – rather than to investigate the conditions under which the theoretical hypothesis is falsified. From a metaphysical perspective, an integrative theory needs to be tested at its boundaries to surface the conditions where it does not work.

Accordingly, we integrate three sets of hypotheses into following four hypotheses:

H 1 – Blue Ocean Hypothesis (taking an espoused theory): A market making firm does not take its market power through servicing based on the discovery of opportunity-munificent power base without the firm.

H 2 – Yellow Ocean Hypothesis (seeking a grounded theory based on dynamic capability): A market making firm does not seek its market power through investment seeking capability-munificent power base within the firm.

H 3 – White Ocean Hypothesis (discovering a metaphysical theory): A market making firm discovers its market power through freedom trading of value-munificent power base.

H 4 – Red Ocean Hypothesis (shaping an integrative theory): A market making firm does not shape its market power through freedom countertrading of value-munificent power base.

Hypothesis 1 pertains to the boundary of traditional Blue Ocean Hypothesis, recognizing that once a blue ocean opportunity has been exploited, there is no more opportunity left to take market power. Hypothesis 2 pertains to the boundary of the traditional Dynamic Capability Hypothesis (or what we refer to as Yellow ocean hypothesis), recognizing that if there is unused capability within the firm, then that capability is no longer dynamic. Hypothesis 3 pertains to the boundary of Vipin Gupta’s (2018) metaphysical model of self-perpetuating firm. Such a firm does not pursue any of the three paths – the investment path, the servicing path, or the (counter) trading path of sharing its own knowledge. When all these paths have been exploited, then the only option left for the firm is to activate the white ocean hypothesis – discovering the power of market that does not exist, i.e. is not visible to anybody.

Hypothesis 4 pertains to the boundary of the classical economics demand-supply mantra for market power, recognizing that simply capturing the market value known to other entities will eventually generate red ocean and descend market power – not ascend it.

We operationalize market power as the power of various catalyst factors that a firm has. Vipin Gupta (2018) groups nine catalyst factors of a metaphysical firm into three categories. First, technological – monetary power, method power, and machinery power. Second, organizational – manpower, material power, and marketing power. Third community ecosystem – manufacturing (operational) power, motivating (leadership) power, and manipulating (governance) power. He shows that under constrained conditionality, these factors are connected as a forward sequence. Technological factors represent the
forming sequence, organizational factors represent the functioning sequence, and the community ecosystem factors represent the fulfilling or failing sequence.

Using Tusksys as the subject of inquiry and taking each of these nine catalyst factors, we investigate if the prior catalyst was sufficient to service the blue ocean opportunities presented by the subsequent catalyst, and if there was sufficient capability in the form of the subsequent catalyst to justify investment into the focal catalyst power. We also investigate if the white ocean opportunity for freedom trading of the focal catalyst power was present and was activated. Finally, we investigate if the red ocean transformation opportunity for freedom countertrading was activated by a rival subject – Nakumatt – who operated on a different subjective pathway.

Findings

Founded in 1990, Tusksys is Kenya’s largest supermarket chain, dealing with a wide range of products, including food, groceries, beauty, household products, electronics, and furniture. As of January 2018, it had 6,000 employees in Kenya and another 900 in Uganda, and operated 64 branches. It intended to more than double its size, with 100 new branches over the next three years (Amadala, 2018). Tusksys origins are linked to the regulatory institutions and network of relationships, more so than the resources in the market. These institutions and relationships created conditions for Tusksys to receive seed money beyond imagination, and to distinguish itself from numerous other small native own family businesses in Kenya.

Making of Tusksys Monetary Power

In 1979, Mangalal Shah, who had migrated to Kenya from India in 1947 and had settled in the town of Nakuru in 1965 as a clothing retailer, approached Joram Kama, owner of a general store and a friend, to lend him the title deed of the commercial building, to use as security to get a bank loan to pay off his brother. As the business thrived, in 1989, Shah bought two business premises in Nairobi, and offered one located near the bus OTC terminus to Joram. He mentored Joram to start “Tusker Mattresses” (now Tusksys) in 1990, with an arrangement where Shahs would supply Joram goods nearing expiry on generous credit terms, which Tusksys would sell at very low prices (Some, 2017). Shah had sent his fourth child, Atul Shah, for education in the US, and he was interning on the shop floor of Wal-Mart. Atul shah returned to transform the other space into the first Nakumatt superstore in 1992. Nakumatt rapidly grew to become the largest retailer and supermarket chain in Kenya. As of 2015, Nakumatt had assets valued at 11 billion KSH, i.e. about $150 million (Some, 2017).

Tusksys in Nairobi quickly wrote its name in people’s hearts with its fair pricing practice. In the early 1990s, there were frequent shortages of flour, rice and cooking oil in Nairobi. Most customers and traders didn’t have money to stock up, so they had to pay huge prices during shortages. With their adept monetary power formula, Tusksys were able to stock up during supply season and keep the prices stable – making them popular among people. Tusksys became the second largest supermarket in Kenya, closely following the growth of Nakumatt. Joram gave his general store in Nakuru to his brother Mukuha, who renamed that to Naivasha Mattresses (now Naivas), and became the fourth largest supermarket chain (Some, 2017). Over the 1990s, these supermarkets in Kenya grew to capture 20% of the urban food market. They expanded from Nairobi to intermediate and small towns, with 44% of supermarket sales and 58% of supermarket stores located outside of Nairobi in 2003 (Neven & Reardon, 2005).

Based on the above, it is evident the monetary power of Tusksys has been made through: Neither servicing discovery of opportunity-munificent manipulating power without the firm Nor investments seeking capability-munificent method power within the firm But freedom trading of value- munificent monetary power with the firm.
As a micro enterprise, Tusky’s had little servicing power to manipulate the blue ocean opportunity presented by superstore method. It did not have experience-based capability either to execute this method. Yet, it was able to make monetary power for investing in this method, because it was willing to freely trade the growth value of this monetization method from Shah. Nakumatt, on the other hand, was willing to freely countertrade the value of this monetization method with Tusky’s, because their ideal monetization model based on the Western superstore model did not include the red ocean space of congested city centers and perishable products. Space independent monetary power was not a part of their aspirational objective.

Making of Tusky’s Method Power

Joram died in 2002, leaving his three sons, two daughters, and two siblings to own stake in Orakam, the holding company of Tusky’s. After taking over leadership in 2002, the new generation reflected on the success of their Nairobi bus terminus store, and codified their distinctive method of fulfilling as “locate supermarket near bus stations and offer low prices” (Kimani, 2012). Tusky’s focused on setting up shops at bus termini. People who rely on public transport would do their shopping at Tusky’s, then catch the bus home. Tusky’s vision was defined as becoming a “Successful Brand on Every Street and Corner” with an ambition to be ubiquitous, be everywhere in terms of presence. Tusky’s expanded into the residential estates and peri-urban areas (Mulupi, 2016)

Instead of becoming a threat to informal sellers, Tusky’s codified its own experiences with Nakumatt, to spot the opportunity for small traders to partner with Tusky’s. Tusky’s observed that some of their customers went to a milk hawker to buy milk, after shopping at Tusky’s. Tusky’s offered the hawker space inside its store, to sell milk-on-tap, and soon the hawker was generating a million dollar revenues and set up his own processed milk brand (Mulupi, 2016). Tusky’s thus showed a way to the people fearing loss of their livelihoods in a formalized retail environment.

Nakumatt pursued a modern and upmarket concept targeting urban consumers and out-of-town locations, guided by the Western retail strategies. Competing with a maxim of ‘If you need it we have got it’, Nakumatt carried a large variety catering to a wide customer base. It was the first Kenyan-based retailer to offer 24-hour shopping, so that consumers may shop at any time and sales are not lost to a competitor. Nakumatt had a share of 35% in the formal grocery retail market in Kenya in 2011, although it had a very small operating margin (Euromonitor, 2012). Following the continent leading South Asian retailers, Nakumatt aimed to become Africa’s leading retailer. After succeeding in Rwanda, Tanzania, and Uganda, it aspired to invest in the large consumer markets of DRC, Nigeria and South Sudan. To finance this method, it expected to offer an IPO on Kenyan stock exchange. Based on the above, it is evident the method power of Tusky’s has been made through: Neither servicing discovery of opportunity-munificent monetary power without the firm Nor investments seeking capability-munificent machine power within the firm But freedom trading of value-munificent method power with the firm.

Tusky’s did not have the monetary power to service the blue ocean opportunity of cooked food, bakery and dispensed milk. Nor did it have experience-based capability or machine power to make the necessary investments. Yet it was able to make method power to invite the successful informal entrepreneurs within its store space, by freely trading their growth value. Nakumatt did not countertrade the value of this knowledge method, because their ideal method was based on growing economies of learning by replicating their Western superstore model over time. Time scale independent business method was not part of their objectives.
Making of Tuskys Machine Power

In 2015, Kenya’s formal retail penetration was at about 30%. With its security-based monetary power and (co)location convenience-based method power, Tuskys began reflecting on the future of retail trade in Kenya. The dilemma that confronted Tuskys was how to reconcile the present ground reality of Kenyan retail market and distinctive customer needs, with the vision to be on every street and corner. It concluded, “The only way we convert the 70% market into formal retail is by taking shops closer to people.” (Mulupi, 2016) Tuskys thereby decided to revamp its corporate strategy to accelerate growth through a system of innovation based on partnerships and technology (Amadala, 2018).

Kenya has more than 120,000 informal shops selling fast-moving consumer goods (Amadala, 2018). These stores, located in suburbs and in rural areas, serve the needs of shoppers who are not close to a formal retailer or don’t have time to go to a mall for their daily shopping of bread, milk, vegetables, and food. They thrive by offering goods in smaller quantities, offering credit to loyal customers, and doing so quickly. How about viewing these informal shops as a new market space opportunity, instead of a threat to be overcome? (Mulupi, 2016)

With this new mindset, during the spring 2016, Tuskys formed a new first-in-Kenya franchising model to rebrand small independent shops as Tuskys outlets. It began cooperating with even small-kiosk owners in informal settlements, making their existing businesses more modern and allowing the small-kiosks to offer variety of products. This new system unlocked a much larger growth machinery, while also allowing them to strengthen their network of relationships. Without any investment in own method power, it boosted the capability of Tuskys to be ‘closer to the client’ and serve wide client base. The concept, launched as a pilot with five stores, is being expanded now.

To support the franchising concept, Tuskys has also decided on extensive information technology adoption, both back-end as well as front-end through ecommerce, as well as extending deep into the value chain. The purpose is to reduce operating costs, deliver enhanced customer experience, and promote sustainable scalability (Amadala, 2018).

Tuskys growth machinery departed from that of Nakumatt, who prided itself for intra-organizational professional and talented manpower. Unlike Tuskys, Nakumatt was managed by professionals and attracted the best talent; it had only one family member in the firm who held the position of the CEO.

Based on the above, it is evident the machine power of Tuskys has been made through: Neither servicing discovery of opportunity-munificent method power without the firm Nor investments seeking capability-munificent manpower within the firm But freedom trading of value-munificent machine power with the firm Tuskys did not have the method power to service the blue ocean opportunity of franchising machinery of informal retailers. Tuskys method was not based on modernizing an informal store, rather it involved creating a new store with a method intended to compete with the informal stores. Nor did it have experience-based capable manpower for investing in the franchising machinery. Yet it was able to realize the value of franchising machinery, by freely trading its growth value. Nakumatt was not able to countertrade the value of this machinery power, because the causative factor in their growth machinery was ascending economies of scale and scope within their superstores. Causation-independent growth machinery was not a part of their aspirational objective.
Making of Tuskys Man Power

In order to roll out its new corporate strategy of innovation based on partnerships and technology, Tuskys recognizes a need to significantly strengthen its reputation for professionalism and modern organization above current industry standards. Kenya lacks workforce trained in professional retail management concepts, and has a growing amount of unemployed youth. Instead of considering this skill gap as a weakness, Tuskys envisioned it as an opportunity. In 2015, it launched the Joram Komau Leadership School to provide academic and practical skills training covering both elementary and management level retail studies.

The school started an internship program in July 2016 to train 1500 graduates every year over the next five years, branded as “next generation retail management leaders”. The training consists of one-month classroom training, followed by practical training at various stands within the firm. Upon completion of this 6-month internship, Tuskys absorbs up to 50 per cent of the interns as its own employees. In 2017, the fourth semi-annual cohort attracted more than 10,000 applicants, many the cream of the academics. A majority 60% had a bachelor’s degree and a majority was females (Capital Business, 2017).

Based on the above, it is evident the manpower power of Tuskys has been made through: Neither servicing discovery of opportunity-minificent machine power without the firm Nor investments seeking capability-minificent material power within the firm But freedom trading of value-minificent manpower with the firm Tuskys did not have the machine power to service the blue ocean opportunity of professionalizing the untrained manpower for the entire sector and the entire nation. Neither did it have in-house experience with professional training through contacts with third-party vendors, to be able to make such investments. Yet, it was able to make the value of professional manpower, by freely trading its growth value from the available labor market pool. By shifting the frame of the learning period of new graduates into six months of structured internship, it was able to strengthen the quality of its recruitment pool and the reputation for professionalism. Nakumatt did not countertrade this value of manpower, because as a market leader following Western strategies and offering premium compensation, it was able to attract the best talent with a high sense of professionalism.

Making of Tuskys Material Power

In January 2018, Tuskys decided to refocus its growth strategy to sustained partnerships with locally based suppliers, and invest an additional Ksh 3 billion for upgrading its supply chain technology and innovation. This includes joint investment in automated solutions with suppliers to cut supply chain shrinkage rates from five percent to less than one percent. CEO, Daniel Githua, observed, “The calls for prompt payment have been loud and clear and we shall strive to ensure that we do not erode value for this business... we are glad to confirm that we have reached a decision to foster closer relations with a suppliers and related stakeholders in our quest to advance a homegrown retail sector to the next level.” (Amadala, 2018). By the end of 2019, Tuskys plans to expand its Ksh 3 billion supply chain finance facility to Ksh 4.5 billion, covering all its suppliers. Tuskys is working with KCB and DTB Bank Kenya, who in 2017 covered trade credit for 40 percent of the Tuskys’ suppliers (Amadala, 2018).

A principal consideration for Tuskys is to defend the local formal retail market segment against encroachment by multinational retailers, for whom partnering with and developing small local vendors is a significant barrier. On the other hand, if the local market moves to embrace big multinational suppliers and gets hooked to their trade credit, then it is much easier for the multinational retailers to penetrate – since they have deeper monetary reserves and are able to secure preferential arrangements with multinational suppliers through prompt payment.
Based on the above, it is evident the material power of Tusksys has been made through: Neither servicing
discovery of opportunity-munificent manpower base without the firm Nor investments seeking
capability-munificent marketing power base within the firm But freedom trading of valuemunificent
material power with the firm Tusksys did not have the manpower to service the blue ocean opportunity of
strengthening the financial and technological base of its current and potential suppliers. Neither did it
have experience- based capability for investing in marketing of such a service. Yet it was able to make the
value of qualified and capable suppliers, by freely trading their growth value from the banks and securing
servicing and investment credit for its suppliers. Nakumatt did not countertrade the value of this material
power, because as a market leader following Western marketing strategies, it was able to partner with
suppliers having sufficient material power to get trade credit on their own.

*Making of Tusksys Marketing Power*

Tusksys developed a concept of establishing small convenience stores inside Shell service stations, and
inside hospitals. In 2017, it signed a partnership with oil marketing company Vivo Energy, the Shell licensee
in Kenya, to open 75 Tusksys at Shell service stations within three years. It set up three in 2017, and is
opening another twelve in 2018. It also approached a private hospital to open a Tusksys inside. The CEO
Daniel Githua observed, “Wherever there is a catchment of people who need services near them, we are
going to set up there.” (Umitha, 2018)

Based on the above, it is evident the marketing power of Tusksys has been made through: Neither servicing
discovery of opportunity-munificent material power without the firm Nor investments seeking capability-
munificent manufacturing power within the firm But freedom trading of valuemunificent marketing
power with the firm Tusksys did not have the material power to service the blue ocean opportunity of
improving the purchasing power of citizens of Kenya. Neither did it have the experience-based capability
to operate within other organizations, to better engage those with purchasing power. Yet it was able to
make the value of inclusive and engaged customers, by freely trading their growth value with other
organizations interested in servicing the same customers with their servicing and investments. Nakumatt
did not countertrade the value of this marketing power, because its clientele was upmarket and affluent
customers who was willing to travel distances to shop at mall and had the money and technology to do
the shopping on a weekly or monthly basis.

*Making of Tusksys Manufacturing Power*

To benefit from the rising local purchasing power and customer brand equity, Tusksys is now diversifying
its operational capability to raise its footprint in the premium niche as well. Tusksys is moving to expand,
upgrade, and relaunch some of its earlier convenience stores to a premium market-focused full-fledged
supermarket. The premium supermarket concept, first launched in November 2017, carries an expanded
selection of imported and local premium Fast Moving Consumer Good (FMCG) products such as
chocolates, frozen foods, alcohol free wine cellar, sauces and food condiments, cheese, cosmetics, lotions
and shampoos and pet food. The concept includes energy efficient lighting systems, island freezers,
chillers and shelves consistent with the market segment. In 2017, Tusksys was adjudged an East Africa
Superbrand Top 20, and received Kenyan Supermarket Brand of the Year award at the 4th World Branding
Awards. CEO Daniel Guthia noted, “At Tusksys, we are actively rolling out a strategy to deepen our market
presence across the delivery segments.” (Umitha, 2018)

Based on the above, it is evident the manufacturing power of Tusksys has been made through: Neither
servicing discovery of opportunity-munificent marketing power without the firm Nor investments seeking
capability-munificent motivating power within the firm But freedom trading of valuemunificent
manufacturing power with the firm Tusksys did not have the marketing power to service the blue ocean
opportunity of customers willing and able to demand premium store. Neither did it have experience-based capability to invest in motivating premium experience within its current channels. Yet it was able to make the value of diverse and premium operations, by freely trading its growth value with increasingly prosperous customer base in Kenya. Nakumatt did not countertrade the value of this marketing power, as it already operated in the premium segment. It in fact had a first mover advantage in what was very limited premium market opportunity, and had been very agile throughout its history to fully saturate this niche. This suggests that if Tusksys had even tried to enter the premium niche, it would have turned that niche into a red ocean. What then has been the motivating power for Tusksys to enter this potentially red ocean niche that is prone to significant competition from even the foreign multinationals?

**Making of Tusksys Motivating power**

In May 2015, Tusksys appointed its first non-family chief executive officer – Daniel Githua, through internal promotion. The decision signaled its intention to get ready for public listing in 2020. The family observed, “Tusksys’ shareholders have decided to leave active management to the professionals in order to gain from a wider pool of resources. We intend to prepare this company to be great for generations to come.” (Gachiri, 2015) Towards that end, the new CEO has helped form a new fiveyear strategy “Tusksys 2.0 From good to great” for the period 2016-20. The thrust is on strengthening the brand in Kenya and neighboring nations, and furthering professionalism.

On the other hand, Nakumatt ran into trouble, as it financed its rapid growth outside Kenya – six in Tanzania, four in Rwanda, and ten in Uganda – through debt. Its debt surged from Ksh 4.7 billion in 2012 to Ksh 18 billion in 2016, and then spiraled to Ksh 30 billion ($290 million) in 2017 (Wasuna, 2017). As the market growth failed to meet its projected expectations, creditors refused to raise the debt limits – jeopardizing its gearing and liquidity position and making it to default on its debts. Unable to pay for its expensive mall leases and for restocking suppliers, it was forced out of a dozen of prime locations – dislodging its leadership position in the market. It had to close its branches in Uganda and Tanzania. In 2017, after failing to offload 25 percent equity valued at Ksh 7.7 billion ($75 million) to a foreign fund (Guguyu, 2017a), it agreed to sell 51% of equity to Tusksys for Sh650 million in capital and a pledge to guarantee Sh3 billion in debt (Guguyu, 2017b). While awaiting approval from the Competition Authority of Kenya, it sought protection under the new 2015 Insolvency law intended to bring troubled firms back to life.

Based on the above, it is evident the marketing power of Tusksys has been made through: Neither servicing discovery of opportunity-munificent manufacturing power without the firm Nor investments seeking capability-munificent manipulating power within the firm But freedom trading of valuemunificent marketing power with the firm

As a traditional African family-owned business, Tusksys did not have the operating power to service the blue ocean opportunity of professional leadership willing and able to shape its future. Conflicting interests among the family owners meant that Tusksys accumulated little equity. Most of the equity was taken out by two managing partners in the form of dividends, inflated prices and subsidized loans to related firms, and fraudulent accounting. It did not have the experienced-based capability to manipulate an endogenous investment into professional leadership. Yet it was able to make the value of motivated professional leadership, by freely trading its growth value when the alternative option for continuing the hold of dominant family owners quickly closed. Nakumatt did not countertrade the value of this motivating power, because it considered and positioned itself as a professionally run organization. This was despite the fact that the CEO of the firm was a member of the family who founded and owned the firm. What then is the manipulating power available for Nakumatt for turnaround its situation?
Making of Nakumatt’s Manipulating Power

With the troubles facing Nakumatt, Choppies of Botswana declared its intentions in late 2017 to invest Ksh 2 billion for expanding its network to 22 stores across major towns in Kenya (Guguyu, 2017c). French retail giant Carrefour followed touting its platform of elite shopping experience in May 2016, and doubled its outlets to four in late 2017, by acquiring two of the prime spaces available from eviction of Nakumatt. The Arabian chain, Souq Bazaar took over another Nakumatt evicted prime space (Guguyu, 2017c). Shoprite of South Africa was eyeing the other evicted spaces to enter. Additionally, mid-tier locally-owned supermarkets like Eastmatt, Tumaini and Chandarana were also thriving in the niche market of residential areas (Kamakya, 2018)

In this doomsday condition, institutions came to the rescue by distancing powerful lenders and suppliers with secured claims, and affirming the manipulating power of the founding owners through owner-recommended independent administrator, independent manager, and independent co-owner. Designed to protect Kenyan family entrepreneurship, Kenya’s 2015 insolvency law gave power to the owners of an insolvent firm to appoint the administrator, with a view to raise the power of the unsecured creditors and diminish the power of the banks and other secured creditors. Nakumatt appointed Peter Kahi of a local consulting firm as its administrator. In October 2017, while still waiting for a regulatory approval for a majority stake in Nakumatt, Tusks was appointed as its operating manager. That meant responsibility for day to day management oversight, procurement, finance, inventory and human resource management, under stringent performance terms and conditions (Kenyan Wallstreet, 2018). Under the management agreement, Tusks provided Sh650 million to support Nakumatt’s operations, and up to Sh3 billion additionally for restocking Nakumatt’s branches. In exchange, it received a management fee of one per cent of Nakumatt’s sales (Fayo, 2018).

Tusks describes its collaboration with Nakumatt as a “strategic corporate nursing exercise” (Tumo, 2017). The collaboration offers an opportunity for strengthening its relationships with the key suppliers, demonstrating Tusks commitment to national development and entrepreneurship, and endearing itself to hearts by saving the livelihoods of thousands of employees and smaller suppliers connected with Nakumatt. The move also aims to connect with the upmarket customers inconvenienced by the closure of Nakumatt’s stores, since there were no good alternatives for them in the market. Tusks CEO Daniel Githua observed, “As responsible players in the local formal retail sector, we are duty bound to facilitate the recovery of our market peer and we are glad that key suppliers have responded positively.” (Tumo, 2017) The two companies are looking at additional options for synergies, co-operation and business integration, including by way of strengthening and streamlining management, acquisition of assets and eventual merger.

Based on the above, it is evident the manipulating power of Nakumatt has been made through: Neither servicing discovery of opportunity-munificent motivating power without the firm Nor investments seeking capability-munificent monetary power within the firm But freedom trading of value-munificent manipulating power with the firm As an insolvent firm undone by the rapid transformation of its blue ocean opportunities into red ocean threats, Nakumatt did not have the motivating power to service the alternative “white ocean” opportunities discovered by Tusks. White ocean opportunities imply the opportunities that did not exist, or rather were not visible to anybody except Tusks. Neither was Nakumatt’s experience-based capability workable for generating monetary power to get out of its spiraling debt crisis. What worked in this situation of drowning within rapidly vanishing oceans is the discovery of the value of citizenship manipulating power. Nakumatt is on a path to freely trade the growth value of this manipulating power, based on its history of commitment to social benefits for the community that Shah family has made home and friends since 1947. There is no need for Nakumatt to countertrade the value of private interest seeking model of the foreign entrants.
Discussion

Summary of Findings

In this investigation, we identify three alternative models of sense making practices for strategic learning theory taking, theory seeking, and theory making, and sub-classify theory making as theory shaping and theory discovering. We contrast metaphysical method of theory discovering from the integrative method. The integrative method seeks to sequence multiple disciplines and best practice prototypes, attributing horizontal value to each of these – with or without mediation of a single dominating perspective. Metaphysical method, on the other hand, seeks to discover why theory taking as well as theory seeking practices fail to explain the causative factors and their effects in the context of a grand challenge. It challenges the purpose of theory taking and theory seeking that offers solutions intended only for those privileged to have access to the expert Ivy League masters from multiple disciplines, and masters from multiple best practice prototypes. Consequently, it attributes zero value to all espoused theories.

If espoused, grounded, as well as integrative theories have zero value in resolving grand challenges (such as how can entrepreneurs from 70% of the world’s working age population owning just 2.7% of world wealth, achieve wealth parity with 1% of the population owning 50.1% of world wealth: Credit Suisse, 2017), then how can one make sense of these challenges and conceive everlasting solutions? To discover a theory that stands to the rigorous standards of value under the metaphysical method, we conduct an ontological inquiry into Vipin Gupta’s (2018) metaphysical model of firm as a self-perpetuating market making entity. We find value integrity as the major challenge to metaphysical method, because it is not possible to be authentic in sense making if the institutions bind one’s rationality with sacrosanct values. We identify three such values – private interest seeking, sharing value with integrity, and sharing value with those who share value with integrity. We observe potential contradictions among these values: If a firm must seek private interest, then how can it be fair in sharing value; and if has to be fair in sharing value, how can it exclude those who contribute value but do not share value with integrity?

Using epistemological inquiry, we then form three propositions on how a firm may achieve all these three values with integrity. These propositions are based on a simple heuristic - if a firm ascends the value of each relationship to par, then it can exchange 100% value contributed by a relationship with that relationship.

Then, using axiological inquiry, we form two hypotheses for each of the three propositions – one constant, and another varying. The constant hypothesis emphasizes that when a firm with virtually zero endowments ascends the value of each relationship to par, then it unlocks the opportunity for trading the value contributed by each of its relationships. The variable hypotheses emphasize that a zero-endowment firm is unable to service opportunity-munificent blue oceans; invest into capability-munificent yellow oceans; or (counter) trade value already captured by other entities.

We investigate evidence for four distinct hypotheses using Tuskys, the leading supermarket chain that is a family-owned business in Kenya, as the subject of inquiry. The Joram family owning the entire equity of Tuskys and responsible for founding and managing it had little wealth, before the events that gave rise to the formation of Tuskys emerged. However, the Joram family formed at par relationship with an immigrant entrepreneur’s (Shah) family. The power of this relationship helped family discover the resources, as Shah sought protection from the asset appropriation by a nationalist government. The institutional power offered opportunity for the Joram family to service its relationship at par. As it built wealth through this servicing, normal family sustained at par relationship with their community and national institutions – showing commitment to develop human capital, supplier credit power, and customer purchasing power. The power of this relationship helped them discover unique resources that did not exist in the market, the market that was formed and pioneered by Shah family by trading of the
Western retail model into Kenya. Tuskys discovered new monetary, method, and machinery power, that propelled them to leadership role – despite very weak corporate governance and conflicts among the family members. Shah family failed to countertrade these newly discovered resource endowments, because its decision rationality was bounded by the Western practice and the Western theory of retail leadership.

Shah’s belief in the espoused theories seemed irrefutable for a period of 25 years, since the founding of the first supermarket store in early 1990s. However, governance failures at Tuskys and other Kenyan family-owned supermarkets opened a window of opportunity for the foreign firms to start invading the Kenyan market, using the same espoused theories that had underpinned the leadership of Shah family. Suddenly, what seemed like blue ocean for 25 years turned into red ocean for Shah family’s Nakumatt and other Kenyan firms who were practicing the same espoused theories. On the other hand, under the first professional CEO internally promoted in 2015, Tuskys doubled up on discovering ways to ascend all its relationships to be of at par value, seeking to put its governance failures behind and make a bright future with an initial public offering planned for 2020. And, Tuskys even committed to nurse the insolvent Nakumatt back to solvency, by becoming its operating manager and inspiring the suppliers and other stakeholders to discover and make at par value for Nakumatt.

**Additional implications for Research**

We have identified two alternative paths for inquiring how a firm might become market maker – a practice path of market discovering and market shaping, and a sense making path of theory discovering and theory shaping. In the scientific method, sense making path is accorded above par value, because it enables making of a theory that can be taken as the espoused theory of action in practice. However, sense making path itself is influenced by the practice path. A scientist constantly seeks to make sense of new markets being discovered and shaped. The scientist is less interested in making sense of the present market value, except to seek insights on the expected future value. The power of the scientific method is in its predictions about the value in alternative causation, space, and time conditionality. Each practice path has its own unique conditionality of causation, space and time. By sampling a random set of practice paths, the scientist desires to develop a market level sense of the effects of causative factors of at par value.

At par value it is an institutional artifact of the population that the scientist samples from. If the institutions and the stakeholders bonded to these institutions expect a firm to invest in brand building, then greater marketing expenditures will be correlated with greater sales and profitability. On the other hand, if marketing is perceived to be wasteful expenditure, and value is instead accorded to sharing information through networking relationships, then variable marketing expenditures will not be correlated with variable sales and profitability. Thus, the value of the espoused theory can be taken only in correlation with the specific population that shares the same institutional values. The value of any theory is not generalizable without those institutional boundaries.

In the present research, we found evidence supporting our hypotheses in the institutional context of Kenya, which as a Sub-Saharan African nation has peculiar cultural characteristics (House et al., 2004). It is possible that in alternative cultural contexts, these hypotheses are not supported. Further research is needed to investigate these predictions, and to validate findings of the present metaphysical investigation under alternative conditions.
References


VALUE CHAIN AND AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN NORTHERN GHANA – OBODAI TORTO

Introduction

The global development aid industry (bilateral and multilateral institutions) is constantly in search of solutions/alternatives to the failed past programs and policies. As St. Clair (2006) and McNeill (2006) explain, the dominant aid actors such as the World Bank and the United Nations define themselves as knowledge intensive institutions that provide solutions to the daily challenges of poverty and inequality in developing countries. Correspondingly, most sub-Saharan African countries through their unequal and weak conditions within the global economy depend on the aid industry for key policy direction. A notable example is the structural adjustment program whereby the Bretton Wood institutions foisted market bias neoliberal policies and practices on most countries in SSA. Despite the monumental pursuit of the structural reforms, most countries barely achieved sustained and balanced growth (Rodrik, 2016, Mkandawire, 2005, and Stiglitz, 2007).

It is critical to note that persistent failure triggers a constant search for solutions by the aid industry and heavily driven by the same linear thinking or rational/hyper-deductive logic. Notably, the rise in geographically and fragmented production networks driven by Transnational Corporations through value chains has been adopted by major donor institutions and countries. In particular, within the UN system, seven of its agencies formed the UN Value Chains Development Group, which is an unmistakable privileging of value chains. According to the World Bank (2013) close to 80% of trade relative to global intermediate goods are undertaken through Global Value Chains (GVC). Further, UNCTAD 2013 Investment report attests that 60% of global finished trade are mediated within GVC. From a firm centric point, Mayer and Philips (2017) argue that the rise of the apparel, footwear, automobile and electronics gave significant appeal to GVC as a worthy approach to stimulate growth and poverty reduction. The export-oriented industrialization of the East Asian economies, plus China and Vietnam recently, that the World Bank deems as market driven tends to support the vitality of value chain. The markets primacy notion had been challenged by Chang (2001, 2013) and Amsden (1999), that the east Asian miracle was driven more by activist state driven industrial, and technological policies to mention a few, rather than mere pursuit of liberal market policies.

Evidently, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) Investment report in substantial terms recommended developing countries actively participate in the value chain industry as a panacea to their industrialization and underdevelopment conditions. However, the bulk of the recommendations outlined in the UNCTAD report are mimicry of the neoliberal policies of the Washington Consensus framework. This raises fundamental problem about the potency of value chains underpinned by market-oriented policy orthodoxy within this global capitalist corporate system to unlock development conundrums of most SSA countries. A cognate progenitor of value chain approach was the filière concept, which was developed by French economists in the early 1970s. Stamm (2004) avers that the essence of the filière was to fundamentally understand in linear and disaggregate terms the various actors behind a product, from input to transformation and final output.

Indeed, following the filière, as a predecessor of the value chain approach was commodity chain, which was coined by Hopkins and Wallerstein (1977, 1986) to explain the workings of the World System Theory (WST). In effect, the WST seeks to unravel the exploitative unequal global division of labour, whereby countries former colonies in the Global South export natural produce to the final consumption countries in the Global North within the context of global capitalism. The reversal policy ramification of the WST is to push for global reforms on the principle of fairness, equity and justice. Additionally, the WST pushed for an active role of the state to pursue protectionist policy measures as a way to reduce dependence on
the global north, and above all forge strong organic ties amongst countries’ of the Global South. However, in the process of adopting the value chain concept by the aid industry, this activist stance of the original was and has been stripped off in favour of market policy imprimatur (Neilson 2014). Bair (2011) also notes that the shift from commodity chains to value chains depicts a major conceptual reversal of the WST overriding orientation. This surreptitious rebooting of value chain invariably brings to the fore the aid industry’s ability to transform and own approaches for the left.

Policy interest in agriculture has waned and waxed over the past decades. However, in recent times, especially after the 2008 food crisis, there is a renewed interest in agriculture in SSA countries. This focus on agriculture is grounded on two factors: first, the dwindling output in manufacturing, mining and services sectors, and secondly, the contribution of agriculture to economic growth and poverty reduction is firmly established (Altenburg 2007, Mitchell, 2009). Thus, an important policy focus within the aid industry and amongst most governments in SSA countries is to adopt value chain development in agriculture. The key argument of this paper is that the fulsome promise of application of value chain approach in the agricultural sector is far from reality in a typical agrarian sector experiencing chronic poverty. Most importantly, application of value chain in agricultural practice is premised on two fundamental grounds. The first premise is that poor/smallholder farmers lack market access. Hence, the logical inference is that with increased access to market, the income of smallholder farmers will rise. Significantly, the value chain rests on upgrading as key driver of market access and increased production. This paper uses the Northern Rural Growth Program (NRGP) as a case to illuminate the complexity underpinnings to the agriculture-poverty reduction nexus.

The central purpose of this paper is to expose the contradictions, contestations and significant shortcomings of the value chain approach to development of a chronically poor region, which is symptomatic of Africa’s historically marginalized poor regions. Furthermore, this paper seeks to lay bare the complex socio-economic and cultural context in which most agricultural systems are embedded. Therefore, this paper pushes for the urgent need to adopt a much broader approach to address the complexity of social, institutional, technical, economic and political forces that produced and reproduce the mired development condition in Northern Ghana (NG).

Value chain approach foregrounds linkage among diverse actors across several domains and spatial scales. Gereffi (2005) notes that value chains connect actors at both production and exchange ends. Mitchell (2009) categorizes the actors as primary and secondary. Among the primary actors are: suppliers, production, processing, storage, wholesale, retail, and consumption. The secondary actors include transportation, brokerage, service processing. Another significant actors are state agencies and international development institutions, which syndicated the value chain project in Northern Region of Ghana. It is from these array of actors that Kaplinsky and Morris (2001, p.4) define Value chains as “the full range of activities which are required to bring a product or service from conception, through the different phases of production (involving a combination of physical transformation and the input of various producer services), delivery to final consumers, and final disposal after use”. However, it is pertinent to note that this normative definition is silent about the inherent exploitative relational processes and practice in the value chain approach.

Significantly, the sub-areas for this paper are: brief development account of Northern Ghana, theoretical perspectives, empirical case, limitations of supply-side interventions and concluding remarks. Thus after this introductory section, the subsequent sections proceed as follows. The next section will discuss upgrading a critical domain of the value chain, together with its theoretical foundation and economic justification or rationale. Theories include Growth poles, Forward and backward linkages, and Porter’s competitiveness chain concept. Essentially, Porter’s chain approach focuses integrated linkages between
firms and its suppliers. The overall effect is to maximize opportunities and minimize constraints inherent in their interaction in order to enhance a firm’s competitiveness in the market. These theoretical groundings point to the firm-centered foundation of value chain. This further problematizes the applicability and viability of a firm bias framework to agricultural development, which we argue depends on wider socio-cultural, power relational, institutional, economic and historical context. Importantly, the next section focuses of assessment of the NRGP. The final section of this paper summarizes the adumbrated issues and tease out critical considerations for the way forward.

**Upgrading, theoretical basis and economic rationale for Value chains**

Upgrading is the major trope of value chain that determines the success of actors in the chains. In addition, upgrading is the acquisition of technological, commercial and financial capabilities to enhance the competitiveness of an actor. Humphrey and Schmitz (2002) distinguished four types of upgrading: process, product, functional and inter-chain. Amongst the four types, it is the product upgrading that is most crucial for the smallholder farmers in most SSA economies. Primarily, product upgrading denotes upward improvement in the quality of the existing products and developing of new ones to enter new markets in order to diversify the market base and improve competitiveness. As Ravenhill (2016) suggests, for successful upgrading three interdependent crucial instruments must be in place. These are infrastructure, institutions, and education. Requisite infrastructure for upgrading such as roads, reliable energy, transportation, and storage facilities would necessitate state investments due to the high sunk costs, which is obviously beyond the scope of the private sector. Regulatory institutions would be necessary as well to provide productive incentives to ensure allocative efficiency and inspire producer confidence and protection. Educational institutions would be the supply side for building capabilities to enhance productivity and engaging in research to facilitate viable information dissemination and facilitate knowledge diffusion. Most importantly, these three prerequisite supporting systems for upgrading are significantly lacking in the NRGP. And the explanatory reason for this lacuna is that the overwhelming market primacy of the NRGP dwells on short-term input-output measure to address a complex problem. Thus, the short-term focus obviates any holistic critical measures that get to the catacombs of the problems.

**Theoretical Perspectives of Value Chains**

There are several theoretical perspectives that undergird value chains, namely outsourcing, clusters, forward and backward linkages, growth poles, and Porter’s chain competitiveness. For this paper I will briefly discuss growth poles and forward and backward linkages. Perroux (1955) growth poles suggests that there are some sectors or industries that have reached high level of scale and with increasing investment through viable industrial policies tend to stimulate the emergence of other industries. In this case the lead firms constitute the growth pole that becomes the pivot around which other industries are supported to forge strong and dynamic linkage. Hirschman (1958) forward and backward linkage suggests the interdependent relations between and among industries. In this case the establishment of mega or main industry may necessitate the formation of other dependent industries to form a cluster community. The forward and backward linkages make it critical to promote and implement sound regional planning and development policies to ensure the emergence of the correlating firms.

The underlying economic rationales of these theoretical perspectives is that formation of such clusters and linkages in itself and of itself yield significant economic returns both in the short and long terms. Importantly, it is suggested that such clusters will ensure optimal economies of scale and scope for participating firms because they depend of each others outputs, thereby providing reliable market that would facilitate expansion and minimize transaction and search cost. Clusters are deemed to generate knowledge diffusion, information and technological spillover to participating firms and thereby enhancing firm competitiveness. However, it should be noted that absorption of technological spillover and
knowledge is not given, because it is also on the firm’s learning capabilities. As Stiglitz (2014) suggests information asymmetry within the market is a vital encumbrance to firm growth, for which justifies state interventions to correct the market failure. This strikes a cautionary tale about the obsessed faith in the market as the source of vital information, especially in the case of developing countries where there are missing and incomplete markets. The same applies to knowledge transfer to peasant or smallholder farmers’ in which case one should not expect automatic knowledge assimilation and increment in output.

Brief Development Profile of Northern Ghana

The Northern Ghana, which comprises three regions, namely: Northern, Upper East and Upper West, has consistently been bedeviled with the highest poverty incidence rates in Ghana, with an average of 70% (GSS, 2017, and Korboe et al, 2011). Additionally, the level of extreme poverty is very high in the region of 65%, and from my perspective, NG constitutes a chronically poor region and characterized my multiple deprivations. To understand the complexity of the existing high rate of poverty and underdevelopment in Northern Ghana, it is pertinent to appreciate that these dismal conditions straddle both the colonial and postcolonial eras. To address the development challenges of this historically marginalized spatial area of Ghana would certainly require an imperative need to get to the catacombs of the problems. I argue that the promising agricultural resources of NG were identified in 1896 by George Ferguson (Arhin, 1974); however, the colonial government neglect of the then Northern Territories contributed to its poverty quagmire. Furthermore, Northern Ghana suffers significant ecological and climatic disadvantages that have rendered the three regions vulnerable to seasonal flooding, short hydrological cycle, and low crop yield.

On the other hand, Northern Ghana is endowed with enormous agricultural resources to the extent that it is tagged as the food basket of the country. As a matter of fact, the Northern Region alone constitutes 40% of Ghana’s landmass, and given its savannah vegetation, the region is ideal for rice, yam, shea-nuts, horticultural cultivation, and cattle in addition to other viable crops. Indeed, from official standpoint, agriculture is conceived as the key to unlock the development and poverty challenges in northern Ghana, and thus the interventionist rationale behind the NRGP

Empirical Case: The Northern Rural Growth Program

The NRGP is a donor funded agricultural sector intervention program, and its overall goal is to promote sustainable agricultural growth, and food security for the rural poor in NG. The targeted beneficiaries of the program are small-scale farmers, and the four-year program is due to cost $150 million. The program was funded by the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), Agricultural Development Bank (ADB), European Union (EU) and German International Development in collaboration with the Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MOFA).

The NRGP was conceived of through the Government of Ghana’s (GOG) request to IFAD and the European Union concerning the feasibility of transforming agricultural productivity in Northern Ghana. This request was the product of the GoG’s recognition of the funding capabilities and expertise of the two international bodies to support the proposed program. The first stage of the proposed program was series of dialogues and negotiations between the European Union & IFAD and GoG representatives, meetings that also included various technocrats from the MOFA. Furthermore, the aim of these meetings was to identify the problems and determine the priorities and operational plans moving forward. According to Mr. John Seidu, a key informant of NRGP, it was the government’s overarching desire to reduce the chronic poverty condition of the citizens of Northern Ghana precipitated it to submit a formal proposal for funding to IFAD and ADB. (Mr. J. Seidu, interviewed on August 10, 2013). Experts from the aforementioned donor agencies were sent to evaluate the proposal and later streamlined the technical and operational
details. Furthermore, Mr. Abdul Alhassan, who is a senior official of NRGP, revealed to me that the donor agencies, have, from the start, exercised significant control of the program. Key areas of control by the donor agencies are expenditure disbursements and the determination of experts. With these areas of control under the influence of the aid agencies, Mr. Alhassan notes that the program has to rely on foreign experts who wield the power to determine which crops to fund.

According to Mr. Alhassan, the rationale behind this top-down program is to reduce conflict in NG. He testified that, “we have noticed over the years an increased level of conflict during the lean season because most farmers become virtually unemployed. The unemployment then degenerates into violent robbery which escalates the conflict and tension in the region.” To curb the conflict eruption, Mr. Alhassan notes that the government has “introduced this innovative tri-cycle planting season that will keep the farmers productively engaged throughout the year.” (M. Alhassan Interviewed on August 12, 2013). The causal linkage between lean season and conflicts, from my perspective, is not conclusive, because the complexity of conflicts in the Northern Region is conditioned by multiple factors. Therefore, the primary focus on economic motives behind the conflicts may possibly defer the conflict but will not address the root causes in a constructive manner.

A scrutiny of the program’s components reveals an overwhelming focus on the narrow supply-side priorities. These include: commodity chain development (another buzzword in the agricultural sector), rural infrastructure, and access to rural finance and program management and coordination. Largely missing from the program are the demand-side constraints that reflect the intricate priorities of the farmers. Mr. Alhassan reiterated the dominance of technical advisors recruited by the donor agencies in each step of the process: problem definition, concept development, infrastructure prioritization and crop selection. I asked why the notion of the value chain has become a priority aspect of the processes of agricultural sector intervention. Specifically, my curiosity was piqued in the following grey areas: the source of value chain policy discourse, its nature and how it impacts the famers both individually and collectively to optimize their livelihoods. Mr. Alhassan response is as follows: “the value chain has become an operative strategy which was adopted from the FAO. Through the value chain, farmers will be integrated with all those key actors from retailers, seed companies, agro-processors, the financial industry and export firms to mention a few. We are yet to know the real impact on the farmers.” (M. Alhassan. Interviewed on August 12, 2011). The problem with this view is that most farmers have complained bitterly about these actors in the supply line of tools, equipment and the high interest rates charged by banks. As a result, the farmers are further exposed to poverty and an unregulated value chain. This policy depicts an unyielding faith in the market to solve a complex problem. I suggest that given the weak policy advocacy and state support for these small-holder farmers, further exposure to the market will not transform their lives.

In its concept note, the NRGP affirms that rural communities constitute the poverty hub of the region because of the low level of productivity on the part of the peasants. The NRGP blames the poor sahannah vegetation for this low level of productivity. I must stress that their a spatial categorization of poverty farming, defined as holding land between 1ha and 5ha in size, problematizes the vital search for reasons why poverty is chronically persistent in the region. The salient effect of such a categorization has led to the conflation of poverty with the characteristics and correlates of poor person (Harris, 2007, Green and Hulme, 2006). This unacceptable correlation ignores the vital relational causal factors of poverty in the region. In the end technocratic and simplistic approaches become the remedial option.

Technocratic solutions dominated the core activities of the NRGP. The program provided prioritized areas for inclusion, including: water-pumping machines, the supply of improved seeds and the construction of roads needed to improve productivity and marketing. In view of the prevailing vital policy neglect and land tenure challenges of the peasants, these restrictive input-driven interventions are unlikely to reduce poverty. I would add that the NRGP might succeed in instituting disciplinary and regulatory
constraints against targeted farmers. In fact, the regulatory constraints are already in place and are composed of imposed new farming practices and sanctions meted out to farmers who fail to adhere to the guidelines. An instance of this has occurred when farmers were unable to constitute groups of at least five members to gain further support.

It is critically important to note that output during the initial 2 years of the intervention was not significant, as suggested by Mr. Alhassan. The intriguing issue, however, is the continuous indictment of the poor farmer as the source of challenges to implementation. This example of blame being placed on the poor is part of a scheme on the part of aid agencies to subject peasants to deeper technical reforms and keep them from questioning the rationales and assumptions of these aid interventions. Under the NRGP, Mr. Alhassan attributes the program’s poor outcome to three main factors. He explained that it was difficult to change the mentality of farmers, their poor organizational skills, and a difficulty in coordinating stakeholders. With respect to the mentality of the farmers, Mr. Alhassan’s position is that the long years of subsistence practices have made it difficult for peasants to adapt to change. In my view, this is a reductionist position; my discussion with some of the farmers suggests a contrary opinion. Some of the farmers revealed to me that there was no assurance on the part of the government that there would be a significant yield if they joined the program. In fact, this element of uncertainty – part and parcel of technocratic programs – creates, in my opinion, a disincentive for peasants to join.

A growing trend in the aid industry relative to value chain is an obsession with faith in the formation of groups as a route for poverty reduction. Virtually all the agencies that were interviewed for this study have rolled out schemes that require group formation to benefit from the NRGP. This preference for group formation as an approach to funding is linked to the entrance of social capital onto the development aid thinking. However, the conditions under which a group functions to the collective benefits to its members are not given thoughtful consideration. Due consideration, in my thinking has not been given to the macro structural, political and economic conditions of group formation. Also not given critical attention is the micro socio-cultural issues involved in the region, including kinship structures, ethnic relations and rule-making systems. Secondly, this consensus-oriented strategy tends to perpetuate donor hegemony, as evidence from my interview did not suggest any effort towards the structural change that is an inevitable factor for poverty reduction. In fact, in similar interviews I conducted with an official of Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) in relation to the Sustainable Development of Rain-fed Low Land Rice project, it was revealed that the program was to focus mainly on technical issues rather than on structural issues. According to Alhaji Tanko (senior official of JICA), the technical packages of the project are land preparation, an extension support system, rice cultivation and post-harvest management. The JICA program also focuses on group farming, in which Alhaji Tanko identified the formation of cohesive groups as one of the key challenges of the project.

An intriguing issue relates to the assumption behind this notion of group formation and its implications on poverty. The producer groups established by the NRGP within communities are based on an untenable assumption that group consensus is a precondition for group success. This shortcoming confirms Cooke and Kothari’s (2001) and Fine’s (2007) skepticism about the poverty reduction prospects of group formation. In fact, a group of farmers that I interviewed in Tamale expressed their disdain for production groups. The leader of the group, Mr. Abraham Yakubu stated: “we have had bitter experience with this group work because our first time membership of a group formed by one of the aid agencies rather impoverished us. So what is the point in joining groups only to be worse off? We cannot gamble with our future like that.” (Interviewed on August 21, 2013). He attributes their impoverishment to the dominance of ‘middle class’ members who drove the group’s collective interests to foster their own personal interest. This shows that little consideration on the part of aid agencies is given to the unequal power relations within such small groups. The multiplicity of interests does not make groups formation an easy all-inclusive strategic framework to boost productivity of peasants.
The possibility of remaking groups to be productive must instruct the administrators of the NRGP who develop working group norms, values and rules to maximize efficiency, but this is not an overnight process. The presence of diverse socio-cultural beliefs, an imbalance in power relations and multiple identities do not allow for the easy formation of a viable group. Further, Thorp, Stewart, and Heyer (2005) and Fine (2007) assert that the values that drive groups to work equitably and efficiently are a politically demanding task. The logical implication here is that it takes time for effective group dynamism to be nurtured and enforced. The axiomatic, seamless, group dynamism thinking of the NRGP demonstrates a limited appreciation of what (2008) calls the ‘chaotic’ socio-cultural and political economic relations within communities. Hence, smooth formation of cohesive group cannot be taken as given.

The aversion on the part of the aid agency to diversity and dissent is another reason for their unyielding faith in group formation. A more significant issue is that even a theoretical link between group cohesion and productivity is not firmly established as suggested by Fine (2007, p. 262-265). In the absence of any clear theoretical linkage between group formation and productivity, it becomes crucial to question the basis for such a belief within the aid industry. Based on the findings in relation to the NRGP, I contend that simplistic interventionist assumptions of desirability and possibility of change significantly explain the reasons why aid agencies pursue ‘programmed to fail’ interventions.

Another vital issue to consider is that the NRGP’s goal of linking peasants to the financial market to access loans, however, ignores important questions regarding the terms on which the peasants are being linked to the banks. In the absence of any special subsidized interest rates set out for peasant farmers who are accessing loans, especially after the SAP terminated the hitherto subsidy regime, it may be impossible for peasants to secure loans. This is not to suggest that subsidies are the main bane of agricultural productivity but rather to suggest that the removal of loan subsidies compound the complex structural and institutional challenges. In addition to the issue of subsidization, there is only one national bank for agriculture (specifically the Agricultural Development Bank (ADB) that, as of June 21, 2016, has a lending base rate of 33 % per annum. The ADB offers concessionary loans to farmers as part of its core mandate. However, this concessionary facility has only been secured by the commercial food and cash crop farmers and a few others operating at a high scale in the animal sector. The sum effect is that the peasants remain crowded out of any access to the state’s financing program because they are invisible not only to the banks, but also to policymakers and politicians. An ironical issue is that the NRGP is unable to advocate for concessionary facility for the peasants, because the dominance of powerful political forces and business elites remains unchanged.

The crux then is that participation in a value chain is not a guarantee for success. This uncertainty in outcomes reflects what DuToit and Hickey (2007) term as ‘adverse incorporation’, in which the intended beneficiaries of a particular program become worse off, and this is due to the imbalance in power relations amongst the diverse actors. It is therefore imperative to examine the inherent risks, vulnerabilities and exploitative conditions in which farmers are exposed to within the chain. Hence, it is vital to assess the peculiar circumstances of farmers, especially to determine their diverse and multiple livelihood options in order to support diverse activities beyond the monolithic value chain activities. Indeed, most farmers attested to their diverse livelihood options, especially the non-farm employment practices they engage in to counter-balance their seasonal farming occupation. Significantly, it is from this context that Stoian et al (2012) suggests the need for additional conceptual frameworks broad enough to capture the diverse life worlds of people. Clearly there is necessity of investment of different livelihood strategies.
Limitations of Supply-side Driven Agricultural Interventions

The pertinent nature and quality of socio-economic and political relations between broad actors within the agricultural sector remains a non-issue to aid agencies operating in the area. In my view, it is essential to engage with the complex and chaotic relationship between actors in the agricultural sector to avoid simplistic interventions that have been proven ineffective. The complexity in this situation extends beyond merely the set of relations between agrarian classes and highlights unequal relations between different sets of peasant farmers and capital-intensive commercial farmers. There are also other active actors involved in the value chain situation: banks, seed companies, commodity chains, capital circuits, agents of technical change and agro processing firms all have a stake in the aid situation of the study region. Globalization processes have also had adverse implications for most deprived farmers. I will contend that crises of production and labour evident in capitalist globalization processes constitute a significant factor in the pauperization of the peasants in the Northern Region. This is evidenced by numerous complaints by informants in villages that they have become meager wage earners instead of producers because large-scale farmers have acquired their lands. The loss of productive lands demonstrates that securing land tenure for peasants alone is not enough to guarantee them improved livelihood. Thus, the nature of the international and domestic capitalist practices and its implications on the well-being of peasants need to be considered.

A cursory look at the Food and Agricultural Sector Development Policy, a donor-financed report, shows the policy practices that neglect crops from the Northern region:

Crops such as mango, cashew, oil-palm, rubber, plantain and citrus, as well as small ruminants (sheep and goats), poultry and vegetables will be promoted on the basis of the comparative and competitive advantage of agro-ecological zones and availability of markets. Indigenous staple crops and livestock species produced by the poor can be commercialized through linkages to industry. Research on these crops and livestock species to identify genetic material with desired qualities and to improve productivity along the value chain will contribute to poverty reduction” (FASDEP, p. 34, 2007).

The official preference for selected crops typifies the continuation of the colonial government’s prioritization of exportable crops. The selectivity of crops excludes the products of the poor farmers in the Northern Region. According to the World Bank (2007), the most prominent products of small-hold farmers in the Northern Region are sorghum, millet, rice, and yams. This report is also suggestive of an imbalance in power relations in terms of representation of the needs of the poor, with the scale balanced towards donor priorities. The Food and Agricultural Development Policy predilection for specific crops is based on the international and regional market appeal of particular crops. The primacy of this market appeal was supported by the national Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS), an over-arching national development policy framework that promotes export competitiveness as means for poverty reduction. Export promotion, in and of itself, is not a bad practice, but pursuing an export-driven growth strategy to reduce poverty must, however, be attentive to the policy space that would ensure that the products of poor farmers are accommodated. It would also be worthwhile to support the production systems of the poor, not necessarily for export promotion, but to explore domestic opportunities. Given the scale and magnitude of poverty challenges in the study region, impose an urgent need for multi-leveled sustained interventions. These interventions must be broad enough to accommodate the interests, priorities and needs of the poor farmers as a specific group, rather than as an aggregate or homogenized group.
The Northern Region is endowed with at least four major crops of enormous commercial value that could be the initial catalyst for poverty reduction in the region, which has a single rainy season that lasts from July – October. There has been a failure on the part of the past governments to invest adequately in the Northern Region to generate sustained livelihoods beyond the agricultural sector. Because of this, there is minimal diversity in the socio-economic base of the region. The implication of the limited rainy season is the need on the part of the government and aid agencies to search for strategies that would create and sustain non-agricultural employment in order to diversify the economic base of the region. Importantly, the piecemeal interventions being rolled out by donor agencies essentially downplay the complexity of poverty reduction. There is also a need for production costs of agriculture to be low in order not to impinge on the return on output, and it is imperative to ensure that fair and guaranteed prices are offered to peasants in exchange for their products. This pricing issue has been raised by the various farmers I interacted with, who blamed the exploitative practices of transport owners, wholesalers and other middlemen from Southern Ghana for offering them low prices of their products.

The privatization of agricultural services has not been in the interest of peasants in the Northern Region. According to Owusu-Baah (2008), the privatization of extension services gave disproportionate accessibility to commercial farmers within the forest belt of the southern regions. This privatization of extension services limited most farmers in the savannah belt of the Northern Region to extension support due to financial and geographical reasons. The discriminatory privatization practice reflects a continuation of colonial practices, which denied citizens in the Northern Region their legitimate state support. This adverse situation was so because the government believed that the region was not endowed with cash-exportable crops.

Indeed, some farmers complained bitterly to me about the agony they undergo attempting to secure farm implements because they lack any kind of financial resources to do so. Many of these farmers out rightly rejected various loan offers from many of the NGOs, because, according to the group leader, Seidu Mumuni, they have had “dismal experiences with similar NGOs that only make us sign binding contract agreements that we did not understand. They only pursue their interest by demanding a 40% share of our declared output. This 40% entitlement as claimed by the NGO was as exorbitant as the official commercial bank lending rate.” (S. Mumuni, Interviewed on August 28, 2013). Significantly, exploitative practices are still in vogue, especially in relation to role of Northern middlemen who mediate between the farmers and traders from the south. The result of the use of these Northern intermediaries, according to the farmers, is that minuscule prices are offered for their produce. The farmers attributed their weak control of the prices to the lack of government protection since the SAP practice and post Highly Indebted Poor Country era.

Concluding Remarks

From the foregoing, it is quite evident that value chain approach has gained tremendous acceptance by the international donor aid community. Its application to address core reasons for low agricultural productivity rests on two key market primacy arguments. These two key arguments are that: poor diffusion of knowledge, and weak capacity constraints undermine output and competitiveness and poor farmers have minimal market access and unexplored markets as a result of non-linkage. And that given the globalization potential to generate diverse markets for different products for expansive consumers, market access is a veritable source to improve the well-being and income of the poor farmers. Also, the implicit assumption is that pursuit of value added production activities and processes would improve the productivity of poor farmers. Further, market access is conditioned upon upgrading of processes and practices through the participation in the chain. Hence, upgrading becomes the shibboleth for farmer competitiveness. Additional key thrust is that trading in external markets stimulates productivity growth and learning. Taking cue from the narratives of the key informants’, contrary outcomes resulted from the IFAD’s financed value chain project, especially marred by exclusionary and exploitative features.
The overwhelming shortcomings of the NRGP evidently requires an inevitable need for a broader focus that depicts the fact that agricultural success is deeply embedded in the local social relational processes. Further, these relational processes determine the empowerment, resource access and institutional quality necessary to guarantee equitable support to the smallholder farmers. In effect, context matters which implies that donor agencies must give due consideration to the spatial, temporal and institutional, and social context within which the chain is articulated (Staritz, 2012). Furthermore, the substantial exclusionary and structural challenges of these smallholder farmers and the peasants denote a market failure, which urgently demand activist state intervention. The inevitable role of the state is crucial to ensure allocative efficiency of finance, land, technical support and regulation of agribusiness as well as other actors in the chain. Also the role of the state is needed to guarantee pro poor market mechanisms, provision of productive infrastructure, legal protection, environmental protection and production subsidy.

Finally, there is an urgent quest to revisit the critical foundation of the value chain as espoused by Hopkins and Wallerstein. The major thrust is to pursue a pan-African agenda in particular and Global South in general to reverse the historical unequal relations within the global capitalist system. It must be noted that the well-being of the smallholder farmers are putatively affected by the ramifications of this exploitative global system, hence addressing local constraints without due attention to the external unequal relations would be counterproductive.

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Key words: Upgrading, development, poverty, and value chain.
MAKING SENSE OF THE CSU-UG “GHANA CALLS” SEMINAR – RICHARD R. MARCUS

The California State University and The University of Ghana have enjoyed a long and productive relationship. The 2018 Seminar provided an opportunity to strengthen and grow this relationship by bringing more than three dozen faculty members together to present on panels together, debate critical issues, and forge new bonds. The five themes – Teaching Africa; Economics, Development & Governance; African Art, Image, and Literature; African Diaspora; and, Africa and the United States – each led to the vibrant discussion and rich textual contributions. Participants debated such challenging issues as the role of neo-liberal and new globalization; African-ness, pan-Africanism, and Africana identity; how we think about Africa in teaching Africa and African issues in the California classroom; shifting visions of the U.S. and its role in Ghana; Ghanaian intellectual contributions to theory and philosophy; life, livelihoods, and the production of Africana literature and poetry; and, practical applications of knowledge in technical fields such as engineering, nursing, and environmental science.

These proceedings offer copies of the papers presented at the seminar. The following is a written version of comments made at the closing panel in an effort to summarize the contributions and the panel discussions. While the seminar was originally designed around five themes, it became clear there was overlap of themes. By the end it was clear it is possible to summarize the contributions into two broad themes, one more conceptual and the other more practical: How do we redefine history, decisions, application, and outputs by African concerns, examples, and thought? And, Study Abroad, Teaching Practices, and Student Experiences.

How do we redefine history, decisions, application, and outputs by African concerns, examples, and thought?

The first theme can be divided into four sub-themes:
The role of Ghanaian voice and Ghanaian knowledge
“Authentic” and “Inauthentic”
Neoliberalism and Market-Driven Growth; Postcolonialism and power
Intercultural Pan-African experiences

The Role of Ghanaian Voice and Ghanaian Knowledge

Prof. Dzodzi Tsikata argued that “Ghana Calls” resonates with UG and the history of Kwame Nkrumah. From the beginning of the seminar he argued that teaching Africa broad as well as in Africa is important. It is nonetheless a work in progress driving the importance of reflection. The theme is consistent with the six interdisciplinary areas for Institute. The timing is propitious as it coincides with 70th anniversary of university and celebrates partnerships. Institute celebrations.

Prof. Ken Curtis continued on this thinking arguing that Ghana’s influence is greater than its size; we need to do more to teach Ghanaian voices as part of world history. We can trace of genesis of Modern Africa from 1800-present to find a fundamental transformation taking place. From a World History standpoint we usually start with end of Slave trade, scramble for Africa – as if they happened simultaneously. We should, rather consider, Africans responding to changes in the world around them. How, then, do we redefine history, decisions, application, and outputs by African concerns, examples, and thought?

For Dr. Samuel Ntewusu, even the documents themselves are under threat. We must protect them to secure the history of Ghanaian voice and knowledge in guiding the future. He gives the example of historical documents used to wrap roasted plantains. There is a connection between the British invasion of archives looking for material against Kwame Nkrumah who gave materials to food vendors. The lesson
is that today officials don’t want to attract attention by burning documents so they find ways of creatively disposing of them through cleaners and food vendors. Yet, these are important documents. Common to go to archive only to find out materials are gone. Especially chieftaincies pay people to go and collect documents that are unflattering or unsupportive. Form of censoring or destruction. Historians need to try to fill in the gaps and help protect against willful destruction. Teachers of Africa must take advantage of Ghanaian voices and thoughts to put forward Ghanaian perspectives; to do requires protecting archival sources.

“Authentic” and “Inauthentic”

Prof. Peri Klemm discussed how curators of African art have done a disservice by creating a dichotomy between the “traditional” and “precolonial”. The challenge of objectification or traditionalization in the creation of, especially, coffee table books. Recognizing the evolution of art and its marriage to historic relationships and communications. She notes that the concept of “authenticity” has become popular with market forces appropriating tradition for economic ends. Through a careful analysis of Ghanaian art – Kwame Akoto and Kente cloth – she compares to the ways in which “traditional” art has influence everything from sign painting to clothing. Kente cloth, for instance, has different meanings with different patterns. The meanings of patterns change with historical moments. Detailing some examples she then asks: what is Obama Kente? The modern showroom in Africa and the west often blurs the indigenous and the foreign for the nouveau riche and collectors.

Prof. Douglas Taylor walked through Maya Angelou and her experience in Ghana in his argument that black people ran the country reaffirmed her view that blacks can have self-determination. It creates a tension between history and metaphor. He gives the story: in All God’s Children Angelou finds a challenge - that black people ran the country reaffirmed her view that blacks can have self-determination. She saw how many thought that an airline ticket alone would erase the past. Comparing skin tones to childhood treats. It was consumed to nourish her. Here too we see a tension between history and metaphor. Seeking a connection to the continent and by referring to herself as prodigal children who has been sold from the land of fathers, it doesn’t make sense to refer to us as having strayed.

Neoliberalism and Market-Driven Growth; Postcolonialism and Power

Robert Jackson, the US Ambassador to Ghana, argued in the opening panel that there is much to celebrate. There is a significant role for the U.S. in Ghana and Ghana is a place of opportunity and prosperity. For the U.S. the priorities in Ghana are to partner in Economic, Health and Education, Peace and Security, and Good Governance. The U.S. has invested $498m in electricity to build opportunities for investment, diversified markets – not just gold and cocoa but, through the African Growth and Opportunity Act, garments, Frozen Oj, dried mango. Ghana has become an entry point for the U.S. in Africa with companies of the new economy such as Uber and Pinkberry. All of this adds to jobs, revenue, and opportunity in Ghana.

Professor Vipin Gupta continued with a market analysis. It is an inspirational story when taken from the perspective of social costs of theory taking. How do we increase strategic performance to maximize private sector outcomes to Ghanaian benefit? He focuses on bread and eggs and the role of markets to come to the conclusion that an improved management system will lead to improved economic outcomes. He further questions: are we taking responsibility for ourselves? If you are doing trade with exploiting companies then is it the foreign or the domestic? There is an epistemological reality of the rich engaging in this world market.
Caesar Atuire challenges this perspective that the U.S. and other wealthy countries are necessary contributors to the economy and that this is positive for Ghana and Ghanaians. He goes further than just economic impacts to argue that Ghana has created political parties, an electoral code, and the like to attract foreign assistance but should be challenging this because in so doing it is undermining Ghana’s own identities and entrenching internal divisions. It is a question of postcolonialism and power creating barriers to economic growth and institutionalization. The primary barrier is poverty because the domestic structures are insufficient, relying instead on institutions formed to serve the resource-based global market.

Professors Scheld and Frehiwot further challenge the assumptions from different perspectives. For Dr. Frehiwot, the global economic system works against Africa. Why can’t someone work instead in Togo or combine goods for trade? Defining Pan-Africanism as both internal to the African continent and external, she argues that you can’t teach Africa without discussing Pan-Africanism. Pan-Africanism necessarily changes the priorities of the global economic system and can “solve all of the challenges Africa and African people face”. Professor Scheld considers not Pan-Africanism but rather “ungoverned” spaces. She argues that “public space” is ambiguous because land practices are ambiguous. Many people need basic incomes so public space is not part of civic identity. Rather, public space is a tangible resource for survival. She comes to three conclusions through her analysis of public space: first, design and layout limit exclusivity; second, views of public space are not acknowledged; third, for many people lacking basic incomes public space is not a part of civic identity as a neoliberal interpretation would portend but rather public space is a tangible resource for survival.

**Intercultural Pan-African Experiences**

Professor Frehiwot’s work continues to inform the theme through the sub-theme of intercultural Pan-African experiences, arguing that it seeks to “...eradicate the colonial mentality which our contact with Europe has induced in us and rediscover ourselves with confidence and a distinct world outlook.” CSU student Alesia Miles continued from her a reflection of her own experience. She discussed how important this was for her own identity and growth. She argues: people around me look like me. In Ghana I don’t feel like my life is at stake walking down the street. In the U.S. I was so angry. I don’t have a choice about how I look but I am a target back home.

Dr. Ben Amakye-Boateng continues on this sub-theme with his analysis of cultural hybridity of Afro-Brazilians in West Africa. He traces the story of former slaves (Tabom-Ga/Ghanaian) settling in Togo, Benin Nigeria, and Ghana. The word “Tabom” comes from Portuguese. They bring with them occupational baggage (artisans, agriculturalists) and cultural baggage (language, music), informing ritual such as funerals and ceremonies. The music of the Ga/Ghanaian is thus a reflection of the hybridic experience of slaves in the diaspora returning to the African continent. Both song texts and tunes encode memories of places people and events past – intentionally constructed.

Finally, Dr. Cyrelene Amoah-Boarmpong and Dr. Nana yaw Sarpong bring interesting data into the conversation through a comparative study of California and Ghanaian students at the University of Ghana. From this this find that the African California students derive a notion of homeland – a dream of return. But, they note, physical relocation became romanticized. In contrast, Ghanaian students don’t tend to study post point of extraction. This point of difference – the study of point of extraction – is the most marked in the study, leading to constructed prejudices. California students feel rejected and ignored while Ghanaian students feel condescending to. Of particular tension is the use of the term “obroni.” Ghanaians will often refer to black Californians as “obroni” (a Twi term originally meaning “white” but often used for “foreigner”) whereas California students take offense and identify as “African.” The conclusion, Amoah-Boarmpong and Sarpong reach, is that African American and African history need to be taught together in order to bridge the divide.
Study Abroad, Teaching Practices, and Student Experiences

It is important to incorporate research into study abroad as a high impact practice. Opportunities to develop cultural competencies, Professional development, and Identity development. (Prof. Tiffany Jones) There is further Importance of incorporating global health into the curriculum to promote through practice, study, and research to achieve Equity of health, Socio cultural, political and economic, Diversity, and Cultural competency ends. Nursing is universal, but global competencies are not. (Prof. Faye Mitchel-Brown) By incorporating global learning into even technical fields like engineering is critical – not only to create global competencies for American students but to recognize the importance of “African knowledge” and contributions from African engineers? (Prof. David Bowen)
APPENDIX: ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Dr. Martin Odei Ajei is Senior Lecturer in philosophy and head of the Department of Philosophy and Classics of the University of Ghana. His academic research focus and interests include African philosophy, applied ethics, political philosophy, and philosophies of liberation. He obtained a doctorate degree in philosophy from the University of South Africa.

Dr. Ken Curtis is Professor of History and Interim Director of the International Studies Program. He has served as Assistant Vice President for International Education and Global Engagement, Director of the Liberal Studies Program, and in numerous other leadership roles at CSULB. Dr. Curtis earned a Ph.D. in African and Comparative World History from the University of Wisconsin and has been a member of the faculty at California State University, Long Beach since 1990. He has taught at the University of London School for Oriental and African Studies and at John Cabot University in Rome, and has published numerous books and articles. Most recently, Dr. Curtis co-authored Voyages in World History, Second Edition (Houghton Mifflin, January 2013), an introduction to the field for college undergraduates. Having served as a President’s Fellows of the Association of International Education Administrators (AIEA), a member of the Executive Committee of the World History Association, and as a Faculty Consultant for the College Board, Dr. Curtis has been a leading advocate of efforts at both the local and national level to develop a more global understanding of the human past.

Dr. David Bowen earned B.S., M.S., and Ph.D. degrees in Industrial Engineering and Operations Research from UC Berkeley, where he conducted research as part of the Competitive Semiconductor Manufacturing Program and later served as visiting faculty. He taught graduate business courses at the University of San Francisco and St. Mary’s College of Moraga. He was the corporate-wide Education and Training Manager for TEFEN Ltd., an International Industrial Engineering consulting firm and later founded and served as managing partner of BOPTIMAL Enterprises consulting firm. His consulting experience includes projects for State and Federal government agencies as well as private industry. Dr. Bowen has expertise in: Engineering Education; Creating, Training and Facilitating Improvement Teams; Capacity Modeling; Cycle-time reduction; Overall Equipment Effectiveness; Human Factors Engineering; Engineering Economic Analysis; Mathematical Modeling and Optimization; Process Reengineering; and Sustainable Development. He has international experience in Africa, Asia, Europe and the Middle East, including teaching, consulting, conducting research, and academic accreditation evaluation. He has also served as a US Peace Corps Volunteer, a university researcher, an outside accredditor, a representative to The National Council on Science and the Environment’s Council of Environmental Deans and Directors, an Encore Service Volunteer and a Faculty Fulbright Scholar.

Dr. Samuel Aniegye Ntewusu holds a PhD in History from the University of Leiden, The Netherlands, and an MPhil in African Studies from the University of Ghana. Since August 2011, Ntewusu has worked as research fellow at the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana. He teaches Chieftaincy and Development in Africa (undergraduate course), and in collaboration with other lecturers, handles the following post-graduate courses: The Slave Trade and Africa, African Historiography and Methodology, Colonial Rule and African Responses and Pan Africanism. His research focuses on chieftaincy and development, the history of Accra with special attention to Muslim settlements, social transformations in Northern Ghana, and the impact of German colonialism in Northern Ghana.

He is a recipient of the 2016 Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW) Fellowship. The award is intended for top-notch researchers working outside The Netherlands who have shared their knowledge and experience with researchers in Dutch institutes and universities. A promising scholar in his field, he has developed himself as an all-round scholar of international repute, with invitations for collaborative engagements in his field from universities nationally and internationally, including The
Netherlands, Norway, Canada, USA, Germany, South Africa, Portugal, Nigeria and Cameroon. His interests are the reformulation of the field of African studies, in particular African history, on a global scale.

Dr Caesar Atuire joined the University of Ghana in January 2014 as a Lecturer in the Department of Philosophy and Classics. He began his university education in Civil Engineering at the Imperial College of Science, Technology and Medicine (London). He branched off to Philosophy where he obtained a BA (*Summa cum laude*) in 1992. He earned a *Licentia Philosophiae* from the Gregorian University (Rome) in 1994. In 2005, he obtained a PhD in Philosophy with An Enquiry into Suicide at the Athenaeum Regina Apostolorum (Rome). Dr Atuire also holds a Master’s degree in Theology and Diplomas in Bioethics and Pedagogical Sciences. Dr Atuire is a member of the Scientific Committee of the MEMATIC programme of the University of Rome, Tor Vergata. He is a 2018 AfOx Visiting Fellow, at All Souls College, University of Oxford. His publications cover ethics, politics, metaphysics and religion.

Dr. Tiffany F. Jones is an Associate Professor of African History and Department Chair at the California State University, San Bernardino. She is currently finishing a book entitled *Embodying the Past: Contextualizing Bodies, Death, and Memorialization in South Africa from the 19th Century to 2015* (Lexington Press, forthcoming). She is also the author of *Psychiatry, Mental Institutions and the Mad in Apartheid South Africa*, published by Routledge in 2012 and co-editor of *Africa and the Wider World*, published by Pearson in 2010. Her work has also appeared in many international journals. She is the book review editor of *Notes and Records: an International Journal of African and African Diaspora Studies* and the copy editor for the *Journal of Retracing Africa*. Each year she runs a summer study abroad program to South Africa, where she was born and grew up, with a colleague from the Department of Psychology at CSUSB.

Dr. Fay Mitchell-Brown earned her bachelor’s and master’s degrees in Nursing from George Mason University in Virginia. She received her PhD from Medical University in South Carolina. Her dissertation research focused on diabetes education in Hmong Americans living in Northern California.

Dr. Mitchell-Brown has close to 30 years of nursing experience in clinical and academic settings. She has worked in clinical settings with a focus in medical/surgical, pediatrics, critical care and case management. In academia Dr. Mitchell-Brown teaches both at the undergraduate and graduate level.

Having a wanderlust for global opportunities, Dr. Mitchell-Brown has participated in conferences in South Africa, China, Cuba, and Mexico. For the last two years Dr. Mitchell-Brown has led nursing students on service learning projects to offer health care in a small medical clinic and villages in Oaxaca, Grand Cayman Island, Jamaica, and Mexico. This year, Dr. Mitchell-Brown teaches a class on Global Health and Culture in Costa Rica.

At California State University, Chico, Dr. Mitchell-Brown teaches health policy, and pathophysiology in the undergraduate nursing program and nursing research and pathophysiology at the graduate level.

Dr. Suzanne Scheld received a B.A. in American Studies from Yale University, a M.A. in TESOL from Teachers College, Columbia University, a M.A. in Anthropology from Hunter College, CUNY, and a Ph.D. from the Graduate Center, CUNY. In between undergraduate and graduate studies, she served in the U.S. Peace Corps in Paraguay for two and a half years. She has taught Anthropology at Queensborough Community College (CUNY), Queens College (CUNY), Humboldt State University, and California State University, Northridge (CSUN). Suzanne’s publications include the co-authored book *Rethinking Urban Parks: Public Space and Cultural Diversity* (Texas University Press, 2005) with Setha Low and Dana Taplin, and numerous articles on urban life in Dakar, Senegal and public space in the U.S. She was the former editor of the journal *City & Society*, and currently the Chair of the Department of Anthropology at CSUN and the Coordinator of the Interdisciplinary Studies of Africa minor’s program at CSUN. She is also the
President-elect for the Society of Urban, National, Transnational and Global Anthropology (SUNTA), which is a section of the American Anthropological Association. Currently, her research is focused on the politics of public space in Dakar and on U.S. beaches, the “last frontier” of American public space.

**Professor Kodzo Gavua** is an Associate Professor of Archaeology and Heritage Studies and Dean of the University of Ghana’s School of Arts. He holds a PhD and a Master of Arts degree in archaeology and African archaeology respectively from the University of Calgary, Canada. He also earned a second Master of Arts degree in International Affairs, and a Bachelor of Arts (Honours) degree in Archaeology and Philosophy from the University of Ghana. His research focuses on relationships that may be found between cross-cultural interactions and Africa’s cultural heritage and economic development. He engages in public archaeology and cultural advocacy and is currently investigating the legacies of international trade and cross-cultural exchanges at the inland port of Akuse in the Eastern Region of Ghana.

**Dr. Douglas Taylor** is an Assistant Professor of Multiethnic Literature at Cal State East Bay, specializing in African American Literature. Prior to joining the faculty at Cal State East Bay, Dr. Taylor served on the English Department faculty at Howard University and The University of Texas at Austin. He earned his Ph.D. in English from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Dr. Taylor’s current research interests include African American Autobiography, the Black Arts Movement, Race and Masculinity, Critical Theory, and the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning (SoTL). He co-edited *Richard Wright’s Black Boy (American Hunger): A Casebook* (2003). He also has published several articles and essays, such as “Prison Slang and the Poetics of Imprisonment” (2005). Taylor was awarded the Tony Hilfer Prize for his essay “Three Lean Cats in a Hall of Mirrors: James Baldwin, Norman Mailer, and Eldridge Cleaver on Race and Masculinity” (*Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, S2.1) in July 2010. He is currently at work on a book scheduled to be published with the University Press of Mississippi, titled, *Outlaws, Nationalists, and Revolutionaries: Race and Masculinity in Black Power Autobiography*.

**Dr. Benjamin Amakye-Boateng** has been an Assistant Lecturer and a faculty member of the Department of Music at the University of Ghana since 2009. He holds a Diploma in General Music (1997), Bachelor of Music (2003), MPhil in Music (2006) and a PhD in Ethnomusicology (2017) all from the University of Ghana. He has since taught courses in Music Studio, History of Western Music, and Music in African Cultures, as well as given instructions on the atenteben and voice. He has also been in charge of the Department of Music’s Choral Ensemble and African Ensemble. His interest in choral music and the youth in particular has led him to several schools in the regional capital where he builds and directs schools and colleges choirs. He is also the founder and Director of the Lapaz Community Youth Choir, a non-denominational community-based choir formed to promote the appreciation of choral music among the youth. In addition to this, he has served as an adjudicator for several singing competitions including ‘Celebrations’ - A Television reality show for singing groups and choirs organised by TV3. Benjamin has been researching into the Music of the Tabom - Afro Brazilian settlers in Ghana and has served at the University of New Hampshire for the 2014 fall semester as a visiting scholar. He has presented a number of papers and workshops in Ghana, Germany, China and the United States of America.

**Dr. Cyrelene Amoah-Boampong** is a Lecturer in the Department of History, University of Ghana. She holds a PhD in History from Southern Illinois University Carbondale, an MA in History from Central Michigan University and an MA in International Affairs from the University of Ghana. She is a member of the African Economic History Network at Cambridge University and the Centre for Gender Studies and Advocacy at the University of Ghana. Her current publications focus on cocoa producers and women’s activism in Ghana.

**Dr. Nana Yaw Sapong** is a Lecturer in the Department of History, University of Ghana, Legon. He earned a PhD in Historical Studies from Southern Illinois University Carbondale (SIUC) and is an alumnus of the Institute for Humane Studies, George Mason University. His recent publications include a volume on the
state of historical research in Ghana. His current research explores the complex question of democratic transition in Africa.

**Dr. Emmanuel Iyiegbuniwe**, PhD, MSPH, MBA is the Director and Associate Professor of the Department of Public Health at California State University San Marcos (CSUSM). Professor Iyiegbuniwe has over 25 years of academic, administrative, and consulting experiences and currently provides vision, leadership for the new MPH program that comprises of two concentrations in Health Promotion & Education and Global Health. He received both MSPH and PhD degrees in Environmental & Occupational Health Sciences from the University of Illinois at Chicago and MBA from Western Kentucky University. He teaches courses and conducts research in environmental & occupational health science and global health. He currently teaches a number of MPH courses including Environmental Determinants of Health and Community-Based Participatory Research. He has led students on study abroad and international service learning programs to Belize and Vietnam.

He has published many peer-reviewed journal articles and book chapters as well as directed and/or mentored numerous public health students’ capstone projects and theses. For 12 years, he served on advisory role as a Steering Committee member for the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health’s Pilot Research Project Symposium at the University of Cincinnati’s Education and Research Center. He is currently conducting research studies on noise exposure assessment and activities documentation for university police officers during firearms qualifications. Additionally, he is leading the effort by collaborating with MPH faculty at CSUSM to develop competencies and completing the requirements for accreditation by the Council on Education for Public Health for two concentrations (Global Health and Health Promotion & Health Education).

Professor Iyiegbuniwe is a Thomas Jefferson scholar, a fellow of the following organizations: American Industrial Hygiene Association’s Future Leaders Institute, the Centers for Disease Control & Prevention’s Environmental Public Health Leadership Institute, and Japan Studies Institute/American Association of State Colleges and Universities (sponsored by Nippon Foundation).

**Dr. Vipin Gupta** (Ph.D. Wharton School) is Professor and Co-director, Center for Global Management at Jack H. Brown College of Business and Public Administration, at the California State University San Bernardino. He has been an Associate Dean and MBA director at his current college, a Chair professor in Strategy at Simmons College, a family business fellow at Grand Valley State University, and India Program founder at Fordham University. He was a Japan Foundation Fellow and an exchange research scholar at the University of Tokyo, 1994-95. Prior to his Ph.D., he received his Postgraduate diploma in management with a gold medal from IIM-Ahmedabad.

During 2015—16, he was the American Council of Education Fellow, the nation’s most prestigious academic leadership program, and spent the year with the President of Arizona State University and Secretary General of European University Association. He visited about sixty university campuses in the US, Europe and India, and met university presidents and other leaders. He has been a global advisor to India’s Amity University, assisting with entry in the US.

Dr. Gupta has published 175+ articles and presented in 50+ nations. He is the co-editor of the seminal GLOBE book on culture and leadership in 62 societies, receiving the Society for Industrial Organization Psychologists’ “Scott M. Myers Award for Applied Research”. He has published 15 edited books on organizational transformation and regional family business models, one research manuscript on Multinationals in China and two textbooks on strategy and global leadership. He is presently working on a path-breaking manuscript, “White Ocean Strategy – Beyond blue ocean of opportunity value and red
ocean of opportunity cost”. He is on the editorial board of several international journals. In 2017, he served as the academic program chair for the 52nd CLADEA Assembly.

**Dr. Mjiba Frehiwot** is a Research Fellow in the History and Politics Section of the Institute of African Studies. She holds a PhD in African Studies from Howard University, a Master of Social Work from California State University Sacramento and Bachelor of Social Work and African-American Studies from San Jose State University. She is currently teaching in the History and Politics section of the Institute with a focus on politics specifically the development discourse.

Dr. Frehiwot’s research primarily focuses on Pan-Africanism, Kwame Nkrumah and Education. Specifically, the use of formal and informal education as a vehicle to expose Africans to Pan-African Consciousness and as a foundation for development.

**Dr. Obodai Torto** is both a Development Sociologist and Political Economist. He obtained a Bachelor’s degree in Sociology from the University of Ghana, an MPhil degree in Development Studies from the University of Cambridge, and a doctoral degree in Sociology from the University of Waterloo, Canada. He is currently a Research Fellow of the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana. His research interests are: international political economy, critical security and conflict studies, political sociology, critical development studies, rural and agrarian development and qualitative methods. Dr. Torto currently teaches the following courses: Africa and the Diaspora, Qualitative Methods of Public Policy, Contemporary Issues in Forced Migration, Development Issues in Africa, and International Security and Migration.

**Dr. Richard R. Marcus** is Professor and Director of the Global Studies Institute and the International Studies Program at California State University, Long Beach. He has a BA in Great Books (New York University), MA in African Studies/Political Science (University of California, Los Angeles), PhD in Political Science (University of Florida), and Certificates in French Language and Civilization (University of Paris), KiSwahili Language (University of Nairobi, Kenya), and Malagasy Language (University of Antananarivo, Madagascar). He completed dual postdoctoral studies in Globalization and Environmental Studies at Yale University.


Prof. Marcus has served as Chair of the CSU Academic Council for International Programs and on the CSU-CCC Statewide Core Team for Global Studies. He is currently the Principal Investigator on grants from the National Science Foundation, U.S. Peace Corps, and the U.S. Department of Education, has served as an “expert” interviewee for diverse media outlets, and has been a consultant or advisor for the World Bank, SSRC Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum/UN DPA, United Nations Development Program, SwissPeace, US Department of State, US Agency for International Development, Swedish International Development Agency, and various non-government organizations.
Dr. Brenda Faye McGadney, a social gerontologist, holds degrees from the Universities of Chicago (PhD) and Michigan (MSW & BA). A Fulbright recipient in 1979, Dr. McGadney began her international scholarship in the West Africa countries of Sierra Leone, Senegal, Ivory Coast, and Haute Volta (now Burkina Faso). She is known for innovative applied student-focused teaching and research informed by social work and advocacy for indigenous and minority communities in social work, nursing, and physician assistant study programs in the U.S., Canada, and Ghana.

McGadney has served as an editor for peer-reviewed journals including Reflections: Narratives of Professional Helpings’ special issue on Ghana – AKWAABA: Welcome to Challenge and Achievement in Ghana; And, as Principal Investigator of grandmothers’ indigenous knowledge about care giving and decision-making processes in the survival of their severely protein-deprived, Kwashiorkor-inflicted, grandchildren; and indigenous peace-keeping strategies used by internally displaced women from competing ethnic groups to arrest violent conflict, emanating from the Guinea Fowl War, in Northern Ghana. McGadney, as Visiting Professor, fall 2018 at the University of Ghana for a USA-based University Study Abroad Consortium (USAC) program continues to share her scholarship through teaching.