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PERCEPTIONS OF CONTEMPORARY EFFECTS OF COLONIALISM AMONG EDUCATIONAL PROFESSIONALS IN GHANA

A Dissertation Presented

by

KINGSLEY ATTERH FLETCHER

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May 2013

Social Justice Education

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PERCEPTIONS OF CONTEMPORARY EFFECTS OF
COLONIALISM AMONG EDUCATIONAL
PROFESSIONALS IN GHANA

A Dissertation Presented

by

KINGSLEY ATTERH FLETCHER

Approved as to style and content by:

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DEDICATION

To my patient and loving wife

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my advisor, Barbara J. Love, for her guidance, support and encouragement. I would also like to extend my gratitude to the members of my committee, Patrick Mensah and Ernie Washington, for their helpful guidance and suggestions throughout all stages of this process.

I wish to express my thanks to my research assistant, Nancy Quick, for her tireless efforts. Thank you to Frank Afari for his work in recruiting participants and transcribing interviews. A special thanks to all those who encouraged me to stay focused and see this project through to the end.

ABSTRACT

PERCEPTIONS OF CONTEMPORARY EFFECTS OF COLONIALISM AMONG EDUCATION PROFESSIONALS IN GHANA

MAY 2013

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This research study examined perceptions of contemporary effects of colonialism among education professionals in Ghana, and the extent to which education professionals express awareness of colonialism in Ghanaian school systems and contemporary Ghanaian society. An overview of literature in Critical Race Theory, Social Justice Education Theory, Oppression Theory and Post-Colonial Theory provided the theoretical foundation that was used to guide this study. Five factors emerged from this literature review as a framework for analysis of study data. These five factors included discourse, cultural imperialism, linguistic hegemony, racism and internalized racism, and oppression. The study participants included education policy makers, administrators, counselors, teachers, and teacher educators in the educational system of Ghana. A set of thirty-two individual interviews and six focus groups comprised of twenty-seven participants were conducted in which educators described their perspectives of Ghanaian society and Ghanaian educational systems in their own words in response to a

predetermined set of twelve questions. A document analysis established a baseline of data regarding the curriculum of Ghanaian schools as presented in curriculum guides, textbooks, and policy statements, handbooks and reports that describe the educational systems in Ghana today. Ghanaian educators expressed the most awareness of colonial legacies related to cultural imperialism, linguistic hegemony, internalized oppression and discourse. The findings suggest that educational professionals in Ghana demonstrate limited awareness of colonial legacies of racism and internalized racism, sexism, classism, ethnoreligious oppression and neocolonialism.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Overview of the Problem

The goal of this study is to examine evidence of colonialism in the educational systems of Ghana, and the extent to which education professionals express awareness of colonialism in Ghanaian school systems. A second goal of the study is to identify evidence of colonialism in contemporary Ghanaian society. The effects of colonialism are manifest in the daily lives of people living in a post colonial society. The sets of attitudes and behavior patterns which reproduce the effects of colonialism are learned by each new generation of Ghanaians living in a post colonial society and are passed along to the next generation. Schooling is one key mechanism through which the attitudes and behavior patterns which reproduce colonialism are learned.

Though Ghana gained independence from Britain in 1957, the educational structures of contemporary Ghana continue to derive from those put in place by the former colonial powers (Crowder, 1978). Contemporary educational systems in Ghana continue to use European perspectives and world views as their foundation and thus effectively perpetuate British cultural imperialism and neo-colonialism. Sir Gordon Guggisberg, governor of the Gold Coast in 1920 concluded:

> One of the greatest mistakes of education in the past has been this, that it has taught the African to become European instead of remaining African. This is entirely wrong and the Government recognizes it. In the future, our education will aim at making an African remain an African and taking interest in his own country. (Boahen, 1985, pp. 800-801)

Governor Guggisberg was removed from office before he could enact significant changes in the educational structures in Ghana. Colonial education perpetuated the universal normality of Western cultural expressions while defining differences in Africans as lack or negation, with Ghanaians being marked as "Other" (Young, I. 1990). The Ghanaian educational system, developed under colonial rule to specifically serve the purposes of domination, effectively served that purpose, and according to Sir Guggisberg, served to alienate Ghanaians from their culture, from each other and effectively, from themselves. Rogoff (2003) emphasized that colonial education was "central to empire building" (p. 344). The educational systems developed under missionary and British colonial rule promoted inequality by limiting participation to an elite few, marginalized indigenous ethnic groups through dominant discourse, were exploitative and unjust, and limited the overall economic development of native African societies. Crowder (1978) notes that colonial powers "saw as the basic objective of educational policies the training of Africans for participation in the colonial economy and administration" (p. 378). For Britain, this meant adapting the educational system to specifically serve the purposes of domination.

The contemporary educational system continues the curriculum, policies, and practices developed by colonial rulers. Consequently, the education in Ghana continues to prepare people to accept neo colonialism and to effectively participate in neo colonialism and imperialism. In order to change, the professionals who run the system would need to be able to identify the ways that the current system duplicates and reinforces the beliefs, attitudes, curriculum, policies and practices that were established

by the colonial rulers. To overcome the effects of colonialism on Ghanaian society and in the educational systems and structures of Ghana requires an awareness of those effects.

Education is a primary socializing agent of society, and has as its primary purpose to prepare people for effective functioning in society. Part of that task necessarily includes helping citizens and future citizens learn the rules, norms and operating procedures of the society, accepting those rules, norms and operating processes as appropriate, acceptable, just and equitable, and agreeing to follow them. As such, educational processes are seldom organized to prepare participants to question the existing society and to envision a different society. Freire (1970) contends that education and educational processes cannot be neutral; they either reproduce the hegemonic discourse necessary for oppression to exist, or they assist in the rediscovery and reclamation of the humanity of the oppressed. Until the people of Ghana intentionally and deliberately redefine the educational systems put in place by the colonizer, those educational systems will continue to reproduce the conditions of neocolonialism (Freire, 1970). This study is designed to investigate the extent to which education professionals in Ghana express awareness of the impacts of colonialism, and the presence of those effects in Ghanaian society and in Ghanaian educational systems and processes.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to examine the extent to which education professionals in contemporary Ghana express awareness of any continuing effects of colonialism in Ghanaian society and in the educational processes and systems of Ghana.

Research Questions

The following research questions guide this investigation:

1. To what extent do education professionals including policy makers and implementers such as teachers, counselors and administrators express awareness of the existence of any colonial legacies in Ghanaian society?
2. To what extent do education professionals including policy makers and implementers such as teachers, counselors and administrators express awareness of the existence of any colonial legacies in the education systems of Ghana?
3. What obstacles to development are identified by education professionals including policy makers and implementers such as teachers, counselors and administrators?

To answer these research questions, the following sub-questions will be examined:

1. What observations do education professionals make about the state of the education systems in Ghana today?
2. Do education professionals describe any similarities between the education systems in Ghana today and the education system established under colonial rule?
3. What similarities between the education systems in Ghana today and the education system established under colonial rule do education professionals describe?
4. Do education professionals describe any differences between the education systems in Ghana today and the education system established under colonial rule?
5. What differences between the education systems in Ghana today and the education system established under colonial rule do education professionals describe?
6. What remnants of colonial rule in evidence in Ghanaian society today are described by education professionals?
7. What remnants of colonial rule in evidence in the educational systems of Ghana today are described by education professionals?

8. Do education professionals describe any benefits of the education established under colonial rule?
9. Do education professionals describe any limitations in the education systems established under colonial rule?
10. Do education professionals describe any present day effects of colonialism on Ghana?
11. What effects of colonialism on Ghana are described by education professionals?
12. Do education professionals in Ghana describe any obstacles to development in Ghana?
13. What obstacles to development are identified by education professionals in Ghana?
14. Do education professionals identify any legacies of British colonial rule in Ghana today?
15. What legacies of British colonial rule are identified by education professionals in Ghana?
16. What changes do education professionals describe as needed to overcome any continuing effects of colonialism in Ghana?
17. What reforms or changes do education professionals recommend for the education systems of Ghana?

Significance of the Study

Colonialism had a range of significant effects on Ghanaian society, culture and the people of Ghana. Some of those effects included the displacement of Ghanaian social, religious, spiritual and cultural beliefs, practices and traditions. Colonialism resulted in the disruption of the development of governmental forms that were appropriate to the people of Ghana. Colonialism resulted in the underdevelopment of Ghana economically, politically and socially.

Ghanaians were both deprived of their history and removed from participation in the historical development of their community and culture. Through colonialism, Ghanaians were deprived of land ownership, both traditional modes of land ownership as well as western style civil land titles and claims to land use. Historical development of leadership skills, ideas, theories and experience was disrupted through colonialism.

The educational systems developed by the colonizers were designed to facilitate these varied disruptions through indoctrination. Colonialism taught Africans that they were savage, primitive, incapable and inferior. It is important for education professionals to note whether and where the educational systems and processes of contemporary Ghana reproduce those put in place by the colonizers and then seek to overcome those effects. Freire's (1970) notion that education either reproduces the hegemonic discourse necessary for oppression to exist, or assists in the disruption of those discourses and helps to create the conditions for the elimination of that oppression applies to the post colonial situation in contemporary Ghana.

This research will assist education professionals including policy makers, administrators, teachers, counselors and teacher educators to examine their practice at varied levels to determine whether changes are needed, and the nature of the changes to be instituted.

A key aspect of the significance of this research lies in its potential capacity to disrupt European hegemony in post colonial Ghana. Ramsay Muir has boasted that "one of the most remarkable features of the modern age has been the extension of the influence of European civilization over the whole world" (2009, p. 4). Unfortunately, not only Europeans make such boasts, but Africans also continue to assume that Europeanization is in the best interest of Africans.

> Africans and other parts of the colonized world have gone through a cultural and psychological crisis and have accepted at least partially the European version of things. That means the African himself has doubts about his capacity to transform and develop his natural environment (Rodney, 1972, p. 30).

Since education was the principle means through which cultural values, beliefs and assumptions of colonial powers were taught, it seems probable that it will also be the avenue through which Ghanaians will reclaim their history, reclaim their capacity to effectively participate in modernity, reclaim their capacity to effectively rule their own nation state, and reclaim effective economic, social and political participation in the modern global community.

This research is significant in its potential capacity to provide data that enables education professionals to institute those changes in the educational structures and processes of Ghana that will increase its capacity to produce citizens who contribute to the development of Ghanaian society and culture rather than mimicking western ideas, values and practices.

Conditions in contemporary Ghana are difficult. In 2010, the United States continued to express alarm over its infant mortality rate of 6.22 while the infant mortality rate in Ghana is 51.18 per 1000 live births (Central Intelligence Agency, 2010). Infant mortality rates (IMR) are considered the 'canary in the mine' indicator of the state of a particular society. IMR provides an indication of the health of whole populations on the premise that the structural factors that impact overall health of populations and of the society will be reflected in the mortality rates of infants. If the United States should express alarm over an IMR of 6.22, then an IMR that twice quadruples that rate is beyond alarming. In Ghana, social, health and educational services have been severely restricted as a result of structural adjustment policies imposed by USAID (United States Aid to International Development), the IMF

(International Monetary Fund), and the World Bank. The Se agencies of the neo colonial powers effectively dictate Ghana's economic policies and consequently, control its government (Jauch, 2009; Louis, 2010)

Free trade agreements are included in most structural adjustment policies (Mohan, Milward, & Zack-Williams, 2000, p. 52). Structural Adjustment Policies are those economic policies imposed on countries by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund as a condition to receiving new loans. While SAP policies presume to discourage spending, it is often accompanied by huge foreign currency loans from the IMF designed to encourage the purchase of imports ("Structural adjustment", 2003). Though devaluation of Ghana's currency results in Ghanaian goods being cheaper for foreigners to buy, presumably increasing sales to foreigners, SAP typically results in cuts to health care, social care, and education for local people. Currency devaluation also results in less purchasing power for Ghanaians to buy needed products, both locally produced and foreign made. Structural adjustment has had the dubious advantage of placing Ghana and the Ghanaian people under huge unmanageable debt while reducing social, health and educational services which could enable Ghanaian people to engage in sustainable economic activity.

Ghana is faced with the task of determining how to remove itself from these economic, health, and social conditions that accompany post colonialism and neo imperialism. Yet, the educational systems, based on those put in place by colonial administrations, continue to reproduce the same dependence on European powers as those produced by colonial education systems. Educational reform has the potential for

shaping economic, social, political and health reform by fostering self-generated, self-funded and self-implemented solutions to Ghana's challenges that are in her best interest. Education reform, however, hinges on the awareness of education professionals of the need for such reform. This research may provide the data that helps to increase awareness among education professionals of the continuing effects of colonialism and point the way to reform.

Limitations of the Study

Geographically, this study focuses on education systems in Ghana and may not be applicable to other areas and other communities. This study focuses on the perceptions of education professionals in Ghana and is limited by the very select and specific populations that comprise this study. Consumers of the education system might hold different perceptions. Members of the lay public might hold different perceptions about the educational systems and processes of Ghana.

This study examines perceptions about continuing effects of colonialism in the education systems of Ghana. Members of the community of ex-colonials might have different perceptions about the questions asked in this study. This study does not give voice to those who may have created the education policies, programs, systems and processes during the colonial era which might continue to effect education in contemporary Ghana.

This study focuses on continuing effects of colonialism and does not focus on other issues that might be examined related to education in Ghana or the educational systems and processes in Ghana.

Literature Reviewed

Five bodies of literature were reviewed and analyzed for this study. This includes literature on colonialism, neo colonialism and critical studies of colonialism, critical theory, social justice and oppression theory. Literature on post colonial theory and its implications for current educational development in former colonies and literature on the development of educational systems and structures in West Africa and Ghana were reviewed for this study. In addition, literature that describes contemporary educational structures, curriculum, policies and practices in Ghana were reviewed and analyzed for this study.

Definition of Key Terms

Key Terms used in this study include some of the following:

1. Colonialism: Colonialism "involves the direct territorial appropriation of another geo-political entity, combined with forthright exploitation of its resources and labor, and systematic interference in the capacity of the appropriated culture (itself not necessarily a homogeneous entity) to organize its dispensations of power" (McClintock, 1992, p. 88)

2. Neo-Colonialism: Neo-Colonialism "is concerned with the more awkward effects of colonialism in the present. The means of administration may have often moved from coercive regiments to regimes . . . But the burden of neocolonialism remains for all those who suffer its effects" (Young, 2007, p. 1). Prashad (2007) defines neocolonialism as "domination by means other than territorial conquest" (p. 10).

3. Tradition: Tradition is generational, passed down from one generation to the next. Traditions are customs which connect a people and consists of the practices of everyday life. They serve the purpose of identifying a particular group, symbolizing the identity of that group of people. Tradition consists of behavior, as well as the values, worldview and beliefs that underlie a people's behavior. Traditions connect the Sē with their ancestors. It connects us with the past, the present and serves as a guide for our future.

4. Traditional Leaders: In the African context traditional leaders are the Kings, Queens and Royal Elders. They are custodians of the land, the history, the education, the tradition and culture of the people. Traditional leaders are "Shepherd-leaders"; they protect and direct the people. They are responsible for socially benefiting the people and enforcing justice.

5. Culture: "Culture…is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (Tylor, 1920/1871, p. 1). Culture includes "shared patterns of behavior, interaction, cognitive constructs and affective understanding that are learned through a process of socialization" (Center for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition, 2011).

6. Religion: Religion has three "facets": religion as belief, religion as identity and religion as a way of life.
    a. Religion as a belief refers to the "convictions that people hold regarding such matters as God, truth, or doctrines of faith" (Gunn, 2003, p. 200).
    b. Religion "as identity emphasizes affiliation with a group. In this sense, identity religion is experienced as something akin to family, ethnicity, race, or nationality. Identity religion thus is something into which people believe they are born rather than something to which they convert after a process of study, prayer, or reflection. Identity religion, in this basic form, understands co-religionists to be a part of the same group (perhaps even regardless of their personal beliefs). Identity religion is less likely to emphasize shared theological beliefs and more likely to emphasize shared histories, cultures, ethnicity, and traditions." (Gunn, 2003, p. 201)
    c. Religion as a way of life "is associated with actions, rituals, customs, and traditions that may distinguish the believer from adherents of other religions" (Gunn, 2003, p. 204).

2. Imperialism: "The tendency of one society or state to control another, by whatever means or for whatever purpose" (Fieldhouse, 1981, p. 1).

3. Cultural Imperialism: "To experience cultural imperialism means to experience how the dominant meanings of a society render the particular perspective of one's own group invisible at the same time as they stereotype one's group and mark it out as the Other. Cultural imperialism involves the universalization of a

dominant group's experience and culture, and its establishment as the norm" (Young, 1990, p. 58).

Outline of Chapters

In Chapter One, I provide an overview of the dissertation, including its purpose, questions, significance, limitations, literature review and key terms. In chapter two I present a review of literature on the history of colonialism and education in Ghana, in addition to the theoretical foundations of critical theory, social justice, oppression theory, and post-colonial theory. Chapter three describes the research methodology and five factors that provided the framework for analysis of the study data. Chapter four presents the data from interviews, focus groups and document analysis. Chapter five presents a summary of the findings of the study, conclusions, and implications. Chapter six presents a conclusive summary and recommendations for further study.

Summary

Colonial education was established to meet the needs of the colonizer by indoctrinating Africans in Western culture and values to fulfill subordinate positions in the colonial administration. The goal of this study is to examine evidence of colonial legacies in contemporary society and educational systems of Ghana and the extent to which educational professionals demonstrate awareness of these colonial legacies. The primary research questions addressed by this study are 1) the extent of awareness among educational professionals in Ghana of colonial legacies in contemporary society and 2) the extent of awareness among educational professionals in Ghana of colonial legacies in the educational systems of Ghana. Research from five bodies of literature

are reviewed for this study including: 1) Colonialism, Critical Studies of Colonialism and Neocolonialism, 2) The Development of Education in West Africa and Ghana, 3) Critical Race Theory, Social Justice Theory, and Oppression Theory, 4) Post-Colonial Theory and its Implications for Education, and 5) Contemporary Structures, Curriculum, Policy and Practice in the Educational System of Ghana. Data from this research will assist education professionals in Ghana to examine their own practice as well as the curriculum, policies, and practices of the educational systems of Ghana in order to determine whether changes are needed and the nature of the changes to be instituted.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A review and critique of five bodies of literature provide the theoretical and conceptual foundations for this study. The literature on colonialism, neo colonialism and critical studies of colonialism provides a historical framework for understanding legacies of colonialism from both traditional and critical accounts. Literature examining the processes by which those legacies are perpetuated in contemporary Ghana is also reviewed. Second, I review and critique literature on the development of educational systems and structures in West Africa from the pre-colonial to contemporary period, providing a chronological framework and rationale behind educational expansion and policy formation in Ghana. Through a review of critical theory, social justice and oppression theory, I explore alternative lenses for framing an analysis of colonialism and its wide range of impacts. Next I review and examine literature on post colonial theory and its implications for current educational development in former colonies. Finally I review the literature that describes and critiques contemporary curriculum, educational structures, policies and practices in Ghana.

Colonialism, Critical Studies of Colonialism and Neocolonialism

In September 2006, two ethnic associations in France demanded the recall of the 2007 edition of the French Dictionary, *Le Petit Robert,* incensed by one of its long-standing definitions of "colonialism": "valuing, enhancing, and exploiting the natural resources of foreign territories" (Lange & Dawson, 2009; Tomas, 2006). The dictionary definition of colonialism which is written and produced by the former colonizer also

adheres to the traditional perspective of the colonizer; Colonialism imbibes values that celebrate and add value to its political trustee, thereby justifying any extractions of material and human resources or impositions of political rule. In his defense of colonialism, Sir Winston Churchill described the alleged "value" and "enhancement" of colonialism:

> There has been no lack of critics, at home and abroad, to belittle Britain's colonial achievement and to impugn her motives. But the record confounds them. Look where you will, you will find that the British have ended wars, put a stop to savage customs, opened churches, school and hospitals, built railways, roads and harbours, and developed the natural resources of the countries so as to mitigate the almost universal, desperate poverty. They have given freely in money and materials and in the services of a devoted band of Civil Servants; yet no tax is imposed upon any of the colonial peoples that is not spent by their own governments on projects for their own good. (Tregonning, 1960, p. i)

In contrast to the colonizer's perspective, is that of the colonized that challenges the notion of a beneficial colonial legacy posited by *Le Petit Robert*. Colonialism is perceived as bringing value and enhancement to the colonizer alone through the exploitation and oppression of the colonized. Ugandan historian T. B. Kabwegyere challenges European claims to colonial development:

> The argument suggests that, on the one hand, there was exploitation and oppression but on the other hand the colonial governments did much for the benefit of Africans and they developed Africa. It is our contention that this is completely false. Colonialism had only one hand – it was a one-armed bandit" (As quoted in Boahen, 1987, p. 95).

Rather than seeing value and enhancement, critical essayists identify a host of debilitating legacies from colonialism including war, cultural extinction, underdevelopment, resource exploitation, imposed poverty, and overall corruption and abuse.

Critical studies of colonialism characterize colonialism not on the basis of stated intentions for development but imposed power for domination and exploitation:

> Colonialism "involves the direct territorial appropriation of another geo-political entity, combined with forthright exploitation of its resources and labor, and systematic interference in the capacity of the appropriated culture (itself not necessarily a homogeneous entity) to organize its dispensations of power". (McClintock, 1992, p. 88)

The development of a colony is seen as purposeful restructuring for the most efficient and productive extraction of its resources to the colonial power:

> Colonialism is a "thoroughgoing, comprehensive and deliberate penetration of a local or 'residentiary' system by the agents of an external system, who aim to restructure the patterns of organization, resource use, circulation and outlook so as to bring these into a linked relationship with their own systems". (Brookfield, 1972, pp. 1-2)

In essence colonialism involves a forced transfer of power and control, resulting in significant changes in land ownership, use of resources, systems of labor, political entity, and cultural expression. The colonizer considered these imposed changes as necessary in order to fulfill its mission: to civilize, modernize, and missionize. Memmi (1991) proposes that the colonizer defends his mission and highlights the merits of his culture in order to absolve himself as well as "[transform] his usurpation into legitimacy" (p. 52). Memmi further describes that due to the belief in his supremacy, the prerogative of producing the "reality" of colonialism belongs to the colonizer alone, irrespective of the perspectives or experiences of the colonized. This section juxtaposes the British defense of colonialism in Ghana with an African critique of colonialism, examining both the 'claimed mission' of British colonialism as well as the historical and contemporary outcomes of British colonialism in Ghana.

Civilizing Mission

One of the 'claimed missions' of colonialism was its "civilizing mission" with the goal of importing Western Europe's highly developed society and culture. During the late nineteenth century there were many in Britain who took pride in imperialism as a conduit of enlightenment and of civilization (Johnson, 2003). Yet as the Nigerian writer Chinua Achebe has noted, "African People did not hear of culture for the first time from Europeans…their societies were not mindless but frequently had a philosophy of great beauty…they had poetry and above all, they had dignity" (Achebe, 1973, p. 8). British colonialism did not recognize African history, the people groups who had inhabited for over 1000 years the regions that became Ghana, or the rich and complex varieties of language and culture (Bush, 1999). Contrary to Western thought, the region of West Africa did not remain undeveloped in isolation, but had a long and successful history of being a center of commerce, trade and diplomacy (Bush, 1999). Ghana in particular was a thriving trading center by 800 AD and was considered one of the most powerful empires in the world by 1070 AD due to its wealth and military prowess (Clark, 1991). Contrary to Churchill's self-serving but false claim, parts of Europe "had actually been invaded and subjected by people both darker and more highly civilized than themselves" (Jordan, 1968, p. 6).

According to Churchill, the advent of European civilization brought peace and an end to wars in Africa. In truth the European "civilized" wars introduced far more destruction and carnage:

> Consider the difference between the method and motive employed in the so-called savage tribal warfare and those employed in the modern

> warfare waged by the "civilized" tribes of Europe, and in which the Africans who have no part in the quarrels are forced to fight the so-called democracy. Take the case of the Great War, 1914-18, in which tens of thousands of Africans lost their lives. The reward for this was taking away the best lands from the Africans….Another example is the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, where the wholesale massacre of the defenceless population took place to demonstrate European civilization….It would have been much better for the Africans to continue with their tribal warfare, which they fought with pride, and with the loss of a few warriors, rather than to receive the so-called civilizing missions. (Kenyatta, 1971, p. 212)

Africans were not only conscripted for participation in European warfare but became targets themselves. In Ghana, resistance to the imposition of taxation resulted in the British navy bombardment of coastal towns, almost completely annihilating them, and frequent military wars with inland tribes such as the Asante (Anquandah, 2007; Gocking, 2005). In truth, European colonization introduced Africans to Western warfare of civilized societies, with its foreign motives of greed and unfamiliar outcomes of annihilation and devastation. Rather than promote peace between ethnic groups, colonialism provoked tension and violence between Africans themselves. Rather than promote tribal harmony, the findings of Lange and Dawson (2009) indicate that colonialism engendered intercommunal violence, especially British colonialism. In Ghana, this has resulted in present day tensions with "Northerners", the region that benefitted the least from Britain's colonial presence (Kuyini, 2005).

The arbitrary partitioning of Africa by European powers resulted in colonial legacies of increased ethnic tensions and violence (Michalopoulos & Papaioannou, 2011). Some partitioned ethnicities, like those in southern Senegal, were provoked to violence in pursuit of independence or autonomy. In response to marginalization, other

partitioned ethnicities participated in coups to overthrow governments such as when the Ewe in Togo supported the overthrow of the Ghanaian government by Jerry Rawlings coup (half-Ewe) in 1979. The poorly demarcated borders established by colonial powers incited border disputes such as those between Mali and Burkina Faso. Patronage politics resulting from European designations of ethnic groups into either workforce or ruling classes, such as the British designation of the Hutus and Tutsis of Rwanda, inflamed tensions between dominant and minority groups. As heterogeneous groups were forced to unify through artificial European-drawn borders, attempts for political power exploded into civil conflicts in countries like the Democratic Republic of Congo, Chad, Niger, Angola and Sudan. Michalopoulos & Papaioannou (2011) documented that civil conflict, violence and political upheaval is most strongly concentrated in the historic homelands of ethnic groups that were partitioned by colonial powers.

Britain's paternalistic position was a natural by-product of underlying racist ideology that used the idea of importing European civilization to legitimize exploitation of the resources of Ghana. The colonizers believed that there was a natural racial hierarchy whereby the European was placed at the top and all other races were ranked as inferior and therefore beneath the Europeans. "Certain tribes are inherently backward….I agree that the overwhelming mass of Africans are still backward" (MacMillan, 1934, p. 138). Racial hostilities were further fueled by scientific "evidence" in the latter part of the nineteenth century, using Darwin's theories of evolution. The colonial experience served to strengthen and reinforce the concept of an immutable

racial hierarchy (Cooper, 2005). In 1876, Sir Henry Johnston, explorer and administrator in Africa expressed reservations about whether "Negroes would ever advance much above the status of savagery in which they exist in those parts of Africa where neither European nor Arab civilization has yet reached them" (As quoted in Johnson, 2003, p. 109). Thus in the colonial mindset, it was the Africans' lack of exposure to European civilization that had prevented development. The colonial stereotype of the African invoked images of human sacrifice, cannibalism, nakedness, witchcraft and tribal wars, which were considered to be attributes of uncivilized society. (Johnson, 2003). The development and marketing of a Western world view of the African world as animalistic was used to justify European domination of Africa. In 1888, Sir Frederick Lugard diary entry reveals the European perceptions of Africans as subhuman:

> They are, in truth, like 'dumb driven cattle'. With the slave caravan they suffer uncomplainingly starvation, the scourge, and all the painted horrors of so many writers. They meet a European safari, and they hide in the jungle and rejoin the slaves. Like cattle, they will face any misery but dread the unknown. They are brought on by us - fed, clothed, and spoken kindly to; they bolt. Why?… I think, however, it is merely the dumb brute's instinct to wander which makes them go. (Lugard as quoted inTaiwo, How colonialism preempted modernity in Africa, 2010, p. 134)

This animalistic perspective held by colonizers toward Africans served to legitimate the imposition of European rule of the African and the establishment of the European system of human bondage.

The civilizing mission of the colonizers was in part motivated by aspirations to make Africa inhabitable for the European. As Taiwo (2010) writes, "The African world had to be made livable for the European – humanized as it were – and those areas that were made livable needed to have a cordon sanitaire erected around them to make sure

they were not infested, polluted, or otherwise muddied by the disease-carrying primitive savage" (p. 138). Once again the presumed "inhumanness" of the African legitimized the colonizer's relationship of domination and control.

Colonial law, the "cutting edge of colonialism" was used to maintain order, promote capitalism, structure social relations, and enable societal and cultural transformation as the process of the civilizing mission (Page, 2003). Western law replaced traditional custom and rules. The colonizers did not view themselves as invaders or expropriators, but as the necessary agents of change for the introduction of "civilized" political and legal structures. Yet the advanced political structure of ancient Ghana was extensively documented by Al Bakri, an Arab scholar, as early as 1067 AD. In addition to great wealth, Bakri's account describes an advanced legal, tax and social system, complete with subordinate kings and governors (Clark, 1991).

Conformity to European modes, dress, standards and forms was considered an essential part of the civilizing process of domination (Fieldhouse, 1981). In the words of the colonizer, "People are apt to forget that Europeanisation is an inevitable stage in civilisation….The civilised African must be more like a European than like his brother from the bush" (MacMillan, 1934, p. 137). The process of "Europeanizing" the Native was not only assumed to be in his best interest but also to be appreciated and valued by the African himself. "Apart from any ethical or sentimental reasons, it is clearly to the interest of both races that the Native in the tropical zones should be helped to make a healthy and happy adjustment to his changed cultural surroundings" (Mumford, 1929, p. 139). This cultural adjustment did not promote symbiosis of cultures, but sought to

eradicate the culture of the colonized through the "politics of exclusion" (Haddour, 2000, p. 3). Colonial ideologues and missionaries essentially became instruments of cultural hegemony, condemning everything African and supplanting it with that of the colonial powers (Crowder, 1978). As part of the civilizing process, Africans were expected to assimilate Western culture, deemed to be superior:

> The old culture of the Natives cannot be revived, for it was only adequate under the old cultural conditions nor can a new culture be absorbed by them unless it has indigenous roots. The remedy would seem to lie in a sympathetic study of their point of view, and in assisting them to evolve their culture and gradually absorb new elements until the modified culture is adequate under the changed conditions of contact with Europe (Mumford, 1929, p. 140)

"Assisting Ghanaians to evolve their culture" essentially meant the discouragement or prohibition of all things African until they became non-existent. "The colonial process repressed traditional cultural epistemes and indigenous ontological paradigms of meaning almost to the point of absolute decimation" (Agbali, 2005, p. 97).

With the advent of European civilization in Africa, came the colonizer's language. Frantz Fanon wrote, "To speak means to be in a position to use a certain syntax, to grasp the morphology of this or that language, but it means above all to assume a culture, to support the weight of civilization" (Fanon, 1967, pp. 16-17). Missionaries, who initially established and managed the British colonial educational system, were the primary conduits of the English language. A colonial administrator wrote that missions "strengthen our hold over the country, spread the use of the English language, they induct the natives into the best kind of civilisation and in fact each mission is an essay in colonization" (As quoted in Johnson, 2003, p. 100). The use of English by natives was

seen as evidence that the European had civilized the African. Though indigenous languages were encouraged during primary schools, English became the only language of instruction for higher levels of education that produced the elite to serve in colonial administration (Thomas, 2007).

Modernizing Mission

European accounts of colonialism view it as a tool for modernization through economic, social and political infrastructure. The Western model was viewed as the only model for modernization and development with all others being considered backward (Johnson, 2003). Sir Winston Churchill describes the colonizer's assessments of Africa's resources:

> Improvident habits, slovenly systems of agriculture, sluggish methods of commerce, and insecurity of property exist wherever the followers of the Prophet rule or live. (Churchill, 1899, pp. 248-249)

Despite perceived differences in moral, agricultural and industrial development, the British saw potential in Africa's natural and human resources. Leo Amery, Colonial Secretary from 1924-1929, proposed "an imperial economic policy based on the mutual development of our common resources of nature and human skill, and on the maintenance of a standard of living which we set for ourselves" (As quoted in Johnson, 2003, p. 165). Despite stated intentions of mutual development, the colonizer essentially exploited Africa's raw materials at little to no cost while selling produced goods back to Africans with high profit margins:

> Their main function [was] to drain out of Africa its ground-nuts, palm-products, coffee, cocoa, cotton, minerals; and to pump into Africa

> European consumer goods – cloth, kerosene, bicycles, sewing machines. (Hodgkin, as quoted by Njoh, 2007, p. 40)

Few attempts were made to industrialize the African colonies and in Ghana agriculture became the economic backbone, significantly hindering development in all areas (Thomas, 2007). African development even experienced regression, as pre-existing industries such as cloth, iron tools, soap and gold were nearly eradicated by the arrival of Europeans (Boahen, 1987).

The various forms of economic development that were introduced by the colonizer provided the colonies with little benefit. Agricultural development was not intended to support stable economic development or modernization for British colonies. In Ghana, single cash crop production of cocoa was encouraged, leaving the colony's economy vulnerable to exploitation through fixed prices and market volatility. Reliance on the production of a single cash crop also resulted in a Ghanaian dependency on imports for much of the foods required for their own sustenance. The infrastructure of African colonies, such as roads and railroads, were distributed in regions that supported the exportation of raw materials (Boahen, 1987). British colonial authorities allocated a disproportionately large portion of resources for building cost-effective railroads to transport goods, effectively discouraging the building of roads that would be of benefit to the African (Njoh, 2007). The introduction of wages and social services did not improve the African's quality of life:

> African workers and peasants produced for European capitalism goods and services of a certain value. A small proportion of the fruits of their efforts were retained by them in the form of wages, cash payments and extremely limited social services, such as were essential to the

> maintenance of colonialism. The rest went to the various beneficiaries of the colonial system. (Rodney, 1972, pp. 212-213)

The true beneficiaries were the colonialists who relocated to Africa in pursuit of economic advancement and the British companies that benefitted from cheap natural and human resources:

> Its main *raison d'etre* was the ruthless exploitation of the human and material resources of the African continent to the advantage of the owners and shareholders of expatriate companies and metropolitan governments and their manufacturing and industrial firms. (Boahen, 1987, p. 62)

Thus colonialism prohibited modern economic development by exploiting African labor and resources in addition to restricting its capacity to capitalize its own economic potential.

Modernization of Africa was not achieved through the introduction of social services, as their sum total was very small. Though social institutions such as schools and hospitals were built, they were only introduced in areas and to those people who were in the employ of the colonialists. The limited social services were first established for European workers, reflecting a pattern of domination and exploitation. For example, in the 1930s the British government provided 12 modern hospitals for its 4000 European colonialists and merely 52 hospitals for its 40 million Africans (Rodney, 1972). As for schools, Bray (1993) states that they were "primarily designed to meet the conceptions and needs of the colonizers rather than the colonized, and this influenced the amount, type and availability of education" (p. 334). Rodney notes that while expenditure for social services in the British Isles was £6 15 s (1,620 pennies) per person in 1934, in Ghana it was only 7/4 d (1.75 pennies) per person. The great disparity in provision of

services exposes the difference in perceived value between the colonizer's European and African subjects. Social services were regionalized, with few hospitals, schools and roads built in regions perceived to be of little commercial or strategic interest, such as northern Ghana. Social services for the direct benefit of Africans were not included as a matter of policy until after the Second World War. At that time, European competition for power and influence between communist Russia and the capitalist West resulted in the development of efforts to encourage a more positive African view of Europeans through such measures as the Colonial Development and Welfare Act (Havinden & Meredith, 1993). These services were offered in response to the wave of resistance to colonialism that followed the European World War II which was presumably fought to end oppression and promote democracy. Of the £13.75 million approved by the British government from 1940-1943 for African social services, only £3.6 million was actually utilized because colonial officials failed to begin initiatives for the earmarked funds (p. 219). Havinden & Meredith (1993) state that colonial administrations were more interested in agricultural research which would result in greater profits from raw products for the metropole than research into social welfare problems. Thus the few thousand dollars allocated to a region for social services was pittance compared to the millions earned by colonial powers in profits.

The modernizing mission was also purported to introduce the Western political system to Africa. In 1878, The Earl of Carnarvon saw colonialist imperialism as a system that fostered democratic models of governance:

> A great English-speaking community…[with] wise laws, good government and a well ordered finance…a system where the humblest may enjoy

> freedom from oppression and wrong equally with the greatest; where the light of religion and morality can penetrate into the darkest dwelling places. This is the true fulfillment of our duties; this, again, I say, is the true strength and meaning of imperialism. (As quoted in Johnson, 2003, p. 3)

Colonialists reconciled the incongruent realities of colonialism with the idealism of democracy through notions of race and racial hierarchies. The “backward” and “uncivilized” African was also incapable of democratic self-governance and required European intervention. Ironically, as the Western world pursued democratic models of governance, autocratic and despotic governments were imposed in their colonies. Colonized subjects did not enjoy the same benefits as their European metropolitan counterparts. In Ghana, Africans were not assimilated into British citizenship but were segregated from white colonialists. The British policy of “Indirect Rule” involved the use of traditional rulers as enforcers of colonial administration policy through invitation, bribery or coercion (Lem, 2005). This in turn led to abuses in chiefly power (Lange & Dawson, 2009). Ironically, the educated Africans who were trained to serve the colonial mechanism also became vocal antagonists to the system of despotism:

> I have said that the masses are a fact and that these progressives are a factor. What makes the progressives so important in the workings of "Indirect Rule" is that, as most people forget, democracy is something more than government by brute majority; it is government by opinion. The backward masses have little or no opinion and are not vocal. The class above them is developing opinions. It is their opinions which make "Indirect Rule" so difficult to apply to them. While they are a factor almost everywhere, there are several colonies where the future quite obviously rests with these Africans who have opinions. The Gold Coast is the outstanding example. I do not think the chiefs are going to dominate the future of the Gold Coast (MacMillan, 1934, p. 138)

Colonialism effectively displaced the authority of traditional leadership while gradually empowering the educated elite to become the future leaders of the nation. Known as the "native problem", it was "Africans who think" that ultimately revealed the hypocrisy of Europe's claims to model democratic politics. Johnson (2003) states, "Many of the nationalists were educated through collaboration with a Western system, and some even studied in Britain. The adoption of Western forms of protest and opposition provided them with the means to rid themselves of colonial rule" (p. 89).

Christianizing Mission

Christian missionaries were the early emissaries of European colonialists. During the pre-colonial era Christian missionaries were sent by European powers to convert African rulers so as to secure allies for political and economic purposes (Shillington, History of Africa, 1995). The colonizer saw himself as the great libertarian, both politically and spiritually. The perceived superiority of the Western European race, culture, and spirituality were inextricably linked and therefore qualified and morally bound him to export his advancement to other regions of the world. "The Anglo-Saxen is the representative of two great ideas, which are closely related. One of them is that of civil liberty….The other great idea…is that of a pure spiritual Christianity….for this is the great missionary race" (Strong, 1885, pp. 158-159). Though few Christian missionaries acknowledged being agents of European imperialism, they operated as agents of colonialism as they appealed to home governments for protection and represented the interests of European governments in the development of education

and schools (Shillington, History of Africa, 1995). Rieger (2004) described, "*To missionize is to colonize and to colonize is to missionize*".

The British used conversion to Christianity as a mechanism of control over local Africans. West Africa did not see significant numbers of converts until the turn of the 19th century (Nukunya, 2003; Ekechi, 1971). Africans began converting in mass numbers as they witnessed that those associated with Christian missions received preferential treatment during military patrols, were excluded from forced labor (especially for those in school), and more readily pardoned for violations of colonial law. In addition, as advantages to being educated began to unfold, increased demands for schooling coincided with subsequent conversions. European missionaries demonstrated increasing intolerance for traditional African customs and practices that were perceived as violating Christian values or doctrine. "In the early days…knowing no details of the initiatory rites, African missions tended to give them a vague blessing. Later, as some of the immoral elements were discovered, missions began to look upon them with horror and attempted to have them suppressed" (Mumford, 1929, p. 148). The strict puritanical moral code of the missionaries that opposed dancing, drinking, non-religious singing and sexual freedom outside monogamous marriage denounced central elements of African culture (Shillington, 1995). Missionaries' condemnation of traditional aspects of African culture, whether or not they were forbidden by scripture from the Bible, received the backing of the colonial administration (Nukunya, 2003). In 1892, the Colonial Governor in Council of the Gold Coast enacted the Native Customs Ordinance, prohibiting all traditional customs and derogatorily labeling them as "fetish worship"

(Omenyo, 2001). These condemnations and prohibitions resulted in the displacement of many cultural practices. “As a result of the attacks of the missionaries, sometimes the Natives [SIC] dropped the outward observance of the rites and continued to practise them in secret, and sometimes the ceremonies were destroyed” (Mumford, 1929, p. 148). For example, nobility rites of passage are virtually extinct in most ethnic groups in contemporary Ghana due to the prohibitions of Basel missionaries.

Due to the close relationship between religion, kinship system, authority structure and political organization, Christianity had debilitating consequences on the entire social structure (Nukunya, 2003). New converts were segregated from their local communities, minimizing the influence of chieftaincy and inherent education of etiquette, decorum and societal form. Conflict with Christian beliefs resulted in rituals involved with chieftaincy to be modified or abandoned, and the conflict caused some chiefs to abdicate or be destooled (Nukunya, 2003). Missionaries prohibited converts from attending festivals, ancestral rites, family gatherings for ritual purposes and to pay homage to traditional authorities. Christianity challenged respect for elders and traditional authority that was formerly based on strong ties to ancestral powers.

Traditional accounts of colonialism justify European intervention on the basis of three primary missions: civilizing, modernizing and Christianizing missions. The civilizing mission included the importation of what was perceived to be superior culture, language, forms of governance, and peace-keeping presence. In reality, the civilizing mission demonized African culture, marginalized African languages, introduced despotic governance, involved Africans in European wars and promoted ethnic tensions. The

colonizer's modernizing mission was touted as bringing economic, social and political advancement but ultimately contributed to Africa's stagnation or regression. The Christianizing mission was intended to save the souls of heathen savages yet ultimately assisted the process of imperialism through the indoctrination of Western culture and submission to European authority.

Neo-Colonialism

Neocolonialism is comprised of "those influences and events in countries no longer under colonial rule that incline them towards colonial examples and features; the condition of reliving in a more subtle and complex relationship, colonial influences and experiences" (Quist H. O., 2001). In Africa, economic dependency upon global powers facilitated the continued exploitation of nation states that secured independence. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of Ghana, described this "subtle and complex relationship":

> The neo-colonialism of today represents imperialism in its final and perhaps its most dangerous stage…The essence of neo-colonialism is that the State which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside….A State in the grip of neo-colonialism is not master of its own destiny. (Nkrumah, 1968, p. ix)

Global powers that supported the transitions to sovereignty of African nations also provided funding that theoretically supported Africa's economic development but in truth served to secure Ghana's economic dependency and ensure profits for those providing assistance, similar to colonialism.

For Africa, European colonialism was essentially a “drain of wealth” as metropolitan powers extracted colonial surplus, prohibiting indigenous capital accumulation (Bertocchi & Canova, 2002). Once colonialism formally ended, Africa inherited the “empty shells” of colonial states, void of administrative structures, skilled personnel and resources needed for nation building (Cheru, 2010). “Countries…broke from the colonial fold to become independent states between 1956 and 1966;….Independent they may have been on paper, but independence dependent upon the financial largesse of their former colonial masters was the reality” (Moyo, 2009, pp. 13-14).

Foreign aid offered to newly independent states was both conditional and unpredictable, inhibiting the creation of economically independent and self-reliant nations. Medium- to long-term poverty reduction through budget allocation was unfeasible due to the unpredictability of donor flow. The quality of aid was compromised by donor disbursements dependent upon purchases of donor goods and services (Cheru, 2010). In her book, *Dead Aid,* Dambisa Moyo (2009) contends that African nations that became aid dependent saw dramatic increases in poverty while cycles of corruption and market distortion lined government coffers. Ghana became more dependent on aid with no significant reduction in poverty while simultaneously garnering high standings in Corruption Perception Index (Andrews, 2010). Africa’s development in post independence was constrained to that which benefitted the economic interests of global powers and governmental leader recipients, further perpetuating a colonial legacy.

The undeveloped colonial infrastructure and building of social and political institutions necessitated loans from former colonial rulers. These loans ensured continued profits for former colonizers and global powers through debt servicing schemes. From 1974 to 1987 Africa's debt-service ratio climbed from a manageable 4.6% to a choking 25% (McClintock, 1992). Africa currently owes more than 300 billion in debt to foreign creditors and is required to divert approximately 16% of her export earnings away from critical areas needed for development to the servicing of this external debt (United Nations, 2010). African nations find themselves spending more on debt servicing than on health care (Williams, 2003). "The debt-servicing scheme has virtually created a perpetual debtor in the less developed countries, and has dehydrated the national economy and stultified growth, which erodes the much-taunted gains of globalizations" (Aina, 2006). Ghana's extensive borrowing practices led to the country's inclusion in the list of highly indebted poor countries (HIPC) by the early 2000s (Andrews, 2010).

As countries struggled to repay loans, Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) were imposed on African nations, resulting in the implementation of a neoliberal economic package in exchange for rescheduling the debt (Tsikata, 2003). Viewed as the best solution for financial crisis, these policies require countries receiving new loans to devalue their currencies, lift trade restrictions, balance their budgets, remove price controls and eliminate state subsidies (Clairmont, 1994). These policies have failed to yield macroeconomic stability and growth with Africa's growth rate of per-capita income below the world average throughout the last 50 years (Bertocchi & Canova, 2002).

SAPs, designed to discipline debtors, have become a source of global impoverishment, with dramatic increases for basic goods and services and progressive worsening of human rights (Cheru, 2010; Jeong, 1996; Abouharb & Cingranelli, 2007). Ghana in particular has not yet recovered from the damages of SAPs to her economy, including budget deficits, real overvaluation and increased inflation (Andrews, 2010). In addition, SAPs resulted in devaluations of the cedi, internationalization of domestic price structures, restraints on wages, and reductions in state budget commitments to health, education, public transportation and agriculture (Dei, 2004).

Creditor-dominated eligibility requirements for debt-relief strategies not only remain difficult to achieve but they continue to impose unfavorable economic policies, "turn[ing] debt cancellation from a simple act of justice into a tool of control" (Cheru, 2010). Since 1992, Ghana has adopted many IMF/World Bank poverty reduction and debt relief strategies. While there has been a decrease from 51.7% in 1991 to 28.5% in 2005 of the number of people living in extreme poverty, unemployment rates remain high at 86% and per capita income remains low at $1,500 (Andrews, 2010). Thus the subordinate economic role imposed on Africa during colonialism was perpetuated during the post-independent period through her economic dependency on former colonial powers to obtain resources for her development.

During colonialism, imperialist powers benefitted from external trade through exploitation of Africa's resources while hindering development of industrialization to process those resources. Following independence, African countries were encouraged to expand export-led agriculture that "reinforced the colonial division of labor, further

condemning these countries to be suppliers of raw materials to industrialized nations while importing finished goods at much higher prices" (Cheru, 2010, p. 198). Africa's reliance on a small base of minerals and commodities left her vulnerable to price volatility and trade fluctuations. The neo-liberal economic policies that promote freedom of foreign investment and trade have created substantial wealth for global powers while decimating African economies through polarization and marginalization (Khor, 2001). The neoliberal economic policies introduced by the US and UK in the 1980's purported that national economic growth is fueled by open markets with minimal governmental influence (Vavrus, 2003). In Sub-Saharan Africa, this translated into liberalization of foreign trade, export crops promotion, currency devaluation, privatization of state-owned industries and minimal government involvement in regulating the prices of basic food stuffs (Vavrus, 2003). These policies take advantage of Africa's vulnerability through unfair and instable prices for commodities, reduced market access for African exports and agricultural subsidies by industrialized nations, ensuring that Ghana is unable to emerge as a global competitor (Cheru, 2010).

Colonialism did not merely exploit African resources, but also "repatriate[ed] the profits to the so-called mother country" (Rodney, 1972, p. 162). In contemporary Africa, this colonial legacy is perpetuated through the arms of multinational corporations. Oil-rich regions that have produced billions of dollars of petroleum often continue without access to running water, proper sanitation, electricity and hospitals (Hanson, 2008; Yohannes, 2003). Ironically, the same global powers that exploit Africa's resources also tout the doctrine of contemporary environmentalism to "save" Africa. African nations

who find themselves dependent upon Western donors concede to demands by prominent international environmental organizations rather than the voices of local inhabitants. As a result, local populations have been forcibly displaced from their historic homelands, leaving them impoverished and in worse economic condition (Nelson, 2003).

Following the Second World War, a new subdiscipline of economics of education developed that posited the "education-economic growth black box" in which education is seen as a key factor in economic development (Resnik, 2006). Critical literacy researchers challenged this supposition as nothing more than a "literary myth", arguing that literacy development did not necessarily lead to economic development and other positive outcomes (Wickens & Sandlin, 2007). Despite strong criticisms, the black box was legitimized by the United Nations, and international organizations such as UNESCO, OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) and the World Bank were financially empowered to become global education managers of education expansion, particularly in developing countries (Resnik, 2006; Wickens & Sandlin, 2007). As a result, national leaders that adopted the education-economic discourse were afforded more access to both international aid as well as imposed new world education culture (Resnik, 2006). As a result, certain models of education and educational programming received financial support because they facilitated the policy goals of Western powers (Altbach, 2006). In addition to policy motives, education was geared toward protecting the economic investment of global powers. The World Bank's interest in education was not about analyzing human capital required for overall

development of developing nations but about ensuring sufficient human capital to those areas where the Bank's infrastructure investments might be at risk. "The question was not what human capital was necessary for development – an argument full of dilemmas and debates, - but how many engineers and technicians were required if an investment in a country's agricultural fertilizer is to be sustainable" (Heyneman, 2003, p. 317). While protecting their own investment, the World Banks' faulty educational policies simultaneously resulted in wasting the resources of developing nations (Heyneman, 2003). Disastrous results occurred as countries over-invested in vocational and technical education, refrained from investing in reading materials and maintaining teacher salaries, invested in impractical and unusable workshops and laboratories, and redirected resources away from higher education (Heyneman, 2003).

The neocolonial influences of the World Bank and IMF are many-fold. As mentioned earlier, the conditions accompanying loans to poor countries result in fundamental changes in the financing of education with imposed budget cuts and increased user fees (Ilon, 1994). As privatization of schools is encouraged by global forces, disparities in finances and resources resulted in stratification of the public education system with different types and qualities of education (Ilon, 1994). The educated elite send their children to private schools outside local communities or in global power nations while the poor send their children to local public schools with dwindling resources and decreasing quality. This results in a "cultural and educational convergence" as African nations are pressured to stress Western academic culture with

colonial languages as the primary media of instruction (Quist H. O., 2001). Students are conflicted as to whether inculcate Western or African ways of knowing:

> Today secondary students in [Ghana] find themselves torn between learning and mastering their own local languages rather than the English or French languages; accepting and appreciating indigenous values, traditions and customs as against internalizing and assimilating Western counterparts; appreciating national and indigenous music, local drama and the arts and traditional forms of dressing as against Western music, forms of dressing and the arts; watching Western films, reading novels by Western writers in contrast to those by their own writers. (Quist H. O., 2001, p. 308)

In addition, curriculum is impacted as the requirements to be educated at a global level result in similar curriculum world-wide (Ilon, 1994). Globally demanded skills include information gathering, manipulation, management and creation with strengths in information sciences, logic, computer usage and theory (Ilon, 1994). As a result, schools in developing nations serve to sustain the production of educated elite.

Neocolonialism has been empowered through the increasing dominance of English as a global language, resulting in increased disparity between the already powerful and the disadvantaged (Beckett & MacPherson, 2005). This has resulted in a language shift with the progressive loss of proficiency in mother tongues by successive generations in favor of other languages (Bodomo, Anderson, & Dzahene-Quarshie, 2009). Though sub-Saharan Africa boasts one of the highest densities of linguistic diversity, this element of vitality is threatened with extinction. Linguist Colette Grinevald estimates the disappearance of 50% of the world's languages by 2011 and up to 90% in some regions (Tchindjang, Bopda, & Ngamgne, 2008). Paradoxically, African

languages are vanishing while simultaneously providing cultural enrichment for Western institutions:

> Perhaps the greatest irony lies in the fact that African literatures in translation across Europe are helping to enrich indigenous European languages by meeting their demands for new cultural expressions, while indigenous African languages are joining the rank and file of the Word's endangered languages *en masse* as a result of their growing irrelevance to the survival of their speakers. (Omoniyi, 2003, p. 140)

This form of linguistic imperialism results in the marginalization of indigenous languages and cultures through the imposition of foreign pedagogical and social culture on its learners, while affording educational, employment, business, and popular culture opportunities to those that achieve mastery of English (Pennycook, 1995). English hegemony promotes the assumption that knowledge of English is "sufficient as linguistic currency" (Childs & Williams, 1997, p. 194). As a result of this dichotomy, indigenous languages are increasingly perceived as less valuable as they are not the languages of national government. Neither are local languages widely used within the educational system, nor prevalent within mass communication.

Summary

Traditional accounts of colonialism purport to have been motivated by civilizing, modernizing and Christianizing missions; a moral impetus compelled the colonizer to transform the African from backward to civilized, primitive to modern, and heathen savage to devout Christian. Critical studies of colonialism document that the European legacy is void of ethics, morals, and human decency. As Boahen (1987) describes how critical studies of colonialism perceive it as a dismal period of African history:

> In short, given the opportunities, the resources, and the power and influence of the colonial rulers, they could and should have done far more than they did for Africa. And it is for this failure that the colonial era will go down in history as a period of wasted opportunities, of ruthless exploitation of the resources of Africa, and on balance of the underdevelopment and humiliation of the peoples of Africa. (p. 109)

The realities of the civilizing mission demonstrated cultural annihilation, linguistic hegemony, despotic governance and European warfare undergirded by racist ideology. The impact of the colonizer's modernizing mission was economic, social and political stagnation or regression. The Christianizing mission assisted the process of imperialism through the use of education to proselytize loyal subjects and indoctrinate Western culture. Ghana continues to experience political, social and economic oppression through the neocolonial influences of global powers. The mechanisms of oppression include debt structure, conditional aid, unequal trading systems, structural adjustment policies, Western educational policies, and English hegemony. These imposed policy choices by global powers essentially constitute re-colonization by challenging Ghana's sovereignty to self-determine policies, budget allocation, and political positions.

Development of Education in West Africa and Ghana

Pre-Colonial Era

Contrary to traditional Western thought, Europeans did not introduce formal education to Africa, as it had long been established in African societies (Anderson, 1970). 'Traditional' education was characterized by separate stages determined by changes in the child's developmental abilities, their community roles and members who served as educational guides (White, 1996; Coleson, 1955). Educational institutions

included games, story-telling, apprenticeship and initiation practices. A rich treasury of oral literature included folktales to entertain, myths to explain natural phenomena and legends to rehearse great events and heroes (Yitah & Komasi, 2009). Indigenous education was responsible for transmission of culture, including wisdom, knowledge, values, beliefs, and attitudes. Indigenous education determined work and place but not status in society (Mfum-Mensah, 2005). Traditional education was viewed as both a right as well as a civic duty, as sustaining the community required the participation of all (Walles, 2005). Ghanaian pre-colonial traditions approached education holistically, emphasizing the integration of skills and relational interdependence (White, 1996). Thus, compulsory, universal education was integral to African society long before the arrival of the European (Coleson, 1955).

Mercantile Era

Coastal forts of European nations that traded in human bondage brought the seeding of Western education, primarily for the sons of merchants born to African wives (Reindorf, 2007; Akurang-Parry, 2007). The first Western-type school appeared in 1529 when a Portuguese teacher was sent to teach literacy skills to African boys living near Fort Elmina (McWilliam, 1959). During the second half of the 17th century, the Danes at Christiansborg Castle supported missionary education efforts of first the Moravians, and then the Basel Mission Society (Reindorf, 2007). The curricula of castle schools included Bible studies, reading writing and arithmetic (Akurang-Parry, 2007). At the British-occupied Cape Coast, schooling received inconsistent backing from missionary societies, social clubs, castle authorities and merchants.

Missionary Era

Western educational development is generally credited to the work of 19th-century Christian missionaries who viewed literacy development as a mechanism for introducing Christianity and winning converts (Omolewa, 2007; Ofori-Attah, 2006; Kuster, 2007). The Basel, Wesleyan and Bremen Missions most significantly influenced systematic educational development in Western Africa (Hilliard, 1957). By the 1850's mission schools flourished, having overcome initial setbacks of high mortality rates, linguistic barriers and indigenous hostilities (Akurang-Parry, 2007). Day schools became boarding schools, and eventually seminaries were added to provide a select group of African boys with opportunities to become teachers or catechists (Reindorf, 2007). Christian missions remained the primary educators until the aftermath of the European World War I, when the colonial government began earnestly promoting education for economic benefit.

Contrary to the Eurocentric view, much of the success of the European missionaries' establishment of education should be credited to African agents and African communities. African converts participated in recruitment for mission schools, classroom instruction, as well as military expeditions with the missions' hopes of expanding territories that had resisted religious intervention (Quartey, 2007). Due to the inability of European missionaries to speak African languages, their resistance to African cultures and lack of resistance to tropical disease, most of the mission work of the interior of tropical West Africa was executed by Africans (Shillington, History of Africa, 1995). Many educational institutions were the result of the pressure from

African communities on Christian Missions, such as Krobos' pressure for the establishment of the Presbyterian secondary school in Odumase (Akurang-Parry, 2007). The missionaries employed a variety of strategies in their process of conversion of Africans through education. Separatist policies promoted isolation of African converts from the local population to ensure that they were removed from 'heathenish customs' (Quartey, 2007). With the aim of building a native African church, the German missionaries utilized local languages in their schools, successfully translating the Bible, the primary curriculum, into "Ewe", "Ga" and "Twi" languages (Pennycook & Makoni, 2005). When designing the timetable, Christian missionaries taught scriptures, prayers, singing and catechism during the cooler morning hours that allowed for concentration while teaching those subjects deemed of lesser importance in the afternoon such as arithmetic, reading, and writing (Ofori-Attah, 2006). In order to secure Native assistance for the furtherance of their work, missionaries organized schools to teach skills for vocations such as locksmiths, joiner's carpenters, wheel rights, shoemakers, and book binders.

The Basel mission was unique in its valuing of indigenous culture. Considering societal evolution to be negatively declining, they sought to preserve elements of African culture from imperial influence while establishing a distinct African Christian community (Coe, 2005). While promoting the use of African languages, they also objectified Ghanaian culture as a collection of static traditional elements into a classification of self-determined acceptable and unacceptable elements.

Mission schools built more boarding schools for boys than girls due to traditional societal attitudes as well as Christian fundamentalist views about the role and education of women (Tanye, 2008). The Mfantsipim school is a good example of the Christian missionary school model. Designed only for boys, it was the first secondary school in Ghana and stressed an English academic education (Quist, 2003). Nationalist sentiment among the educated elite demanded the inclusion of Ghanaian culture, values, and history while maintaining an education comparable to English standards (Quist, 2003). The demands for cultural adaptation had little effect on the curriculum. English as the medium of instruction and Latin continued to be taught, "two major foreign languages and cultural tools with great influence on the thought patterns, creativity, cultural values and norms of a people" (Quist, 2003, p. 417). Little was taught on Ghanaian history or religion. Wearing traditional Kente cloth on special occasions constituted most of the "cultural adaptation" of a Western school to Ghanaian culture (Quist, 2003).

Colonial Era

The British government was in cooperation with missionaries concerning education throughout most of the 19th century, with Mission schools primarily responsible for training and the government encouraging school construction (Madeira, 2005). Colonial curriculum content shifted when the British took charge of schooling in West Africa to assist with Britain's economic investment. Discontinuing use of local languages as the medium of instruction, (Ofori-Attah, 2006), topics focused more on European subjects, concepts and interests in order to prepare West Africans to seek

employment as clerks, teachers, missionaries, or law enforcement officers in British Colonies (Ofori-Attah, 2006).

The Educational Ordinance of 1882 was the first attempt by the British to introduce control and supervision over the educational system and provided legal recognition of the church-state partnerships that remained the basis of Ghana's educational system (McWilliam, 1959). Though vocational training was considered to be under governmental responsibility, the "formation of character was to be reinforced" in all schools through religious teaching and moral instruction (Madeira, 2005, p. 41). In addition this policy dictated English as the medium of instruction, which complemented Wesleyan traditions but countered the Basel and Bremen Missions' traditions of instruction in local languages. As the English language policy was enforced over the next four years, attendance rates dropped by 25% (Hilliard, 1957). During this time education was either elementary or industrial in nature, with the exception of two Basel Mission seminaries for the training of teachers and catechists.

The Educational Ordinance of 1887 instituted official designations of "government" and "assisted" schools, and provided the government more supervisory authority in order to monitor the standard of education in mission schools (Graham, 1971). Grants were disbursed to those institutions that satisfied conditions of non-discriminatory enrollment, minimum attendance, teacher qualifications, and curriculum. The ordinance was only designed to finance schools currently existing, with no plans to add additional schools or to open schools in remote areas. Nevertheless, significant numbers of rural African families who benefitted from cash crop wealth were now able

to send their children to school, formerly available to only those in coastal communities (Akurang-Parry, 2007).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the colonial government's increasing annual income created less dependency upon monies from the British Treasury. The colonial government's direct investment into the educational system resulted in the northern territories' first primary schools and the establishment of two secondary schools in the north (Graham, 1971). Government school grants were no longer tied to individual student achievements, but to overall efficiency of teaching, giving more professional freedom to teachers. The government also established its first technical school and teacher training college, previously only offered by the Basel Mission (McWilliam, 1959). The Rowden Educational Report of 1909 called for improvement in curriculum, introducing subjects such as music, geography, history and grammar for those schools with sufficient resources. In addition, needlework for girls and more technical training for men to become skilled craftsmen were introduced (Martin, 1976). This 'activity curriculum' was viewed by the British as a "practical economic investment" (Madeira, 2005, p. 38).

Educational setbacks occurred with the onset of World War I due to financial constraints, deportation of German missionaries, significant increases in enrollment and teacher resignations due to unattractive pay. Governor Sir Gordon Guggisberg (1919-1927) led the charge for the new educational ordinance which he considered to be the "keystone" of policy, wanting to take advantage of post-war economic prosperity (Hilliard, 1957). The governor's agenda to promote economic development through

education coincided with London's desire to experiment with the latest ideas in European education on African soil, resulting in the establishment of Achimota College (Yamada, 2009). His administration proposed 16 principles for the development of education, most of which continued to be implemented in post-independence reforms (Akyeampong, Djangma, Oduro, Seidu, & Hunt, 2007). These principles stressed gender-equal opportunities, technical and vocational education, the incorporation of the vernacular in teaching, and the importance of well-trained teachers. By stressing practical and vocational education, he sought to develop economically self-sustaining industrial and social bases for the Gold Coast (Yamada, 2005). Though the governmental expenditures for education grew by a factor of four and the number of schools doubled, Guggisberg's cautious approach limited rapid expansion in the northern territories. (Bening, 1990; Yamada, 2005).

One of the highlights of Guggisberg's reforms was the establishment of the Achimota School which sought to incorporate the English academic education model with the Hampton-Tuskegee vocational and technical education model (Quist, 2003). The goal was to produce "a type of student who was 'Western' in intellectual attitude towards life, with a respect for science and capacity for systematic thought but who remained African in sympathy and desire for preserving and developing what was deserving of respect in tribal life, custom, rule and law" (Gold Coast Committee Report, 1932 as quoted in Quist, 2003). What was considered "deserving of respect in tribal like, custom, rule and law" was determined entirely on a European perspective. The educated elite contested the vocational and technical model, as unable to develop

human resources for an emerging modern Ghana, and thus perpetuating foreign dependency (Quist, 2003). For the Ghanaian educated elite it also "smacked of racism, complicating the discrimination they were already subjected to in employment, notably issues surrounding promotions and salary" (Quist, 2003, p. 421). Though African geography, history, literature and religion were included in the curriculum, the "Winchester" academic model prevailed, incorporating an examination structure compatible to the British educational system (Quist, 2003).

In response to complaints from British officials that Western education was too "European" and irrelevant to African needs, the Phelps Stokes Fund financed a commission to study education in Africa as well as the system of minority education in the south of the United States (Omolewa, 2007). The Phelps-Stokes Report of 1921 argued for the implementation of "progressive education policies" and a curriculum that was adapted to the needs of the African population, similar to the model adopted in the United States for Black people in the South (Kuster, 2007). In reality, this "adaptation policy" prepared individuals for second class citizenship by limiting curriculum to teaching those skills needed to effectively participate in an agrarian, tenant based, sharecropping economy. The Phelps-Stokes report also recommended that there should be a balance between African and European pedagogical elements that could facilitate the transfer of 'acceptable' elements of African heritage, ensure character development, as well as enhance citizenship training (Omolewa, 2007).

The Report of the Education Committee, 1937-1941, produced the first comprehensive plan for provision of educational development from primary to

university levels but remained unrealized due to the financial constraints of the European World War II. Regular and steep increases in government expenditures met increased demands for schooling throughout the territories, along with the first sizeable attempt to provide primary education in the north (McWilliam, 1959; Hilliard, 1957). The significant expansion in primary schools mandated the first significant expansion of teacher training colleges, which increased to 17 programs.

Following the European World War II, the huge rise in the selling price of cocoa enabled the colonial government to fund nearly all educational expansion. During this period enrollment tripled and by 1950 a total of 12 secondary schools were established. In preparation for self-government, the country's first free elections in 1951 elected the first Minister of Education who was to carry out policies initiated by a cabinet. The 1951 Gold Coast constitution made plans for universal primary education. As part of the 'Africanisation' scheme, the University College of the Gold Coast was founded with the intention of producing well-educated Africans for future public positions during the process of decolonization. Like other African colleges, it had strong links to European universities that were maintained even after they were upgraded to universities with the primary objective to train human resources for the colonial administration (Hicks, 2007). By the time of independence in 1957, nearly 10% of Ghana's population was attending primary schools.

Post-Independent Era

Ghana's first President, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, initiated the Education Act 1961, Act 87, the first attempt at compulsory education. Local Education Authorities

were established with regional oversight of building, equipping and maintaining public primary and middle schools. A scholarship scheme was instituted in the northern regions that improved access yet performance rates remained low (Akyeampong, Djangma, Oduro, Seidu, & Hunt, 2007). During these formative stages, Ghana's higher education system began to thrive with the establishment of a number of institutions in humanities, social science, technology and mining (Akurang-Parry, 2007). Following independence, the primary objectives of universities included developing an academic community, developing curricula, ending metropolitan dependence, and teaching African languages (Hicks, 2007).

By 1965 government expenditures for education at 67 million cedis represented the largest single budget item of more than 25% (George, 1976). At that time students who graduated from primary school were tracked into middle schools with early employment or secondary schools; middle schools were perceived as inferior education accessible to the masses while secondary education was perceived as superior education accessible only to the children of Ghanaian elites (Akyeampong, Djangma, Oduro, Seidu, & Hunt, 2007). In response to these criticisms, a uniform 3-year Junior Secondary School for all was recommended that would result in 9 years of free compulsory education, introducing the basis of Ghana's current educational system. By 1970, Ghana was considered to have one of the most highly developed educational systems in West Africa (Akyeampong A. K., 2002).

Though enrollment rates for boys and girls were nearly equal for primary education, girls were noted to have significantly lower enrollment rates in secondary

and tertiary education (Donkor, 2002). Parents' economic status, teenage pregnancy and perceived economic returns on investment were considered contributing factors to gender inequities (Donkor, 2002). While parents took advantage of tuition free primary school opportunities, as school-related costs progressively increased girls were more likely to be removed in order to assume domestic responsibilities (Donkor, 2002).

1980s Reform Era

A sharp economic decline experienced in the late 70's and early 80's resulted in significant cuts in the government's financing of education and a near collapse of the educational system. By 1983, Ghana's education system was in a state of emergency signaled by lack of educational materials, deterioration of school infrastructure, increasing failure rates for international examinations, low enrollment levels and high dropout rates (Dei, 2004). Under mounting pressure, the Ghanaian Government became a ward of economic globalization in the 1980's through structural adjustment policies (Watson, 2009). Some results of these policies included the reduction of pre-university schooling from 17 to 12 years, the promotion of developing textbooks by Ghanaians, the introduction of a more relevant curriculum and the renewal of progress toward long-term primary education. As academic education was viewed as elitist, vocationalism was prioritized once again although teacher education was not modified to prepare for new vocational programming (Shoko, 2005; Donkor, 2002). Junior secondary school was to provide a vocational orientation while senior secondary school was to provide skills for paid or self-employment (Shoko, 2005).

Structural Adjustment Policies also introduced fees at the primary level, increased fees at the secondary and tertiary levels, and reduced funding for new secondary institutions by 30 % (Donkor, 2002). The goal of SAPs was to remove the financial burden from the public sector budgets through "privatization", by involving parents, communities and business groups in funding education. In reality, the deplorable economic conditions and widespread poverty merely produced greater inequality of access due to parents' inability to contribute more towards their children's education (Dei, 2004).

Efforts were made to open doors for females in education, but only at the secondary and tertiary levels. Girls seeking admission into higher education in science, mathematics and technology (SMT) with the same grades as boys were given priority (Donkor, 2002). However, girls were typically encouraged to pursue literature, nursing, education or lower level administration. Girls' scores in SMT lagged behind those of boys and no similar advantage was provided in other subject areas (Donkor, 2002). These initiatives did not yield increases in female enrollment, achievement, or SMT subject selection (Donkor, 2002).

The Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) initiative was launched in 1996, considered one of the most comprehensive pre-tertiary educational programs in West Africa. FCUBE aimed to provide basic education to every child of school-going age, in addition to improving quality of learning, the quality of teaching, and access to facilities (U.S. Department of State, 2010). This policy aimed to decentralize educational management through increased local community participation (Akyeampong K. , Whole

school development in Ghana, 2004). Reforms in tertiary education resulted in polytechnics being upgraded to tertiary status, the beginning of a private university boom, and the addition of two national universities (Effah & Senadza, 2008). Administrative mismanagement, hierarchical governing bodies and deterioration of infrastructures in higher education resulted in turning away qualified applicants, high levels of post-graduate unemployment, decreases in funding and student unrest (Hicks, 2007).

Summary

Indigenous education in Ghana existed long before European arrival, providing cultural and historic transmission in addition to preparing youth to occupy productive societal roles. During the mercantile era, European merchants desired Western education for their children born to African wives. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, the missionaries introduced systematic efforts in formal education. The missionaries considered education as a means to introduce Christianity and train indigenous workers for missions work in the interior. The assimilation of Western culture and disassociation from traditional culture was viewed as evidence of successful conversion to Christianity from indigenous religious forms which were considered "heathen customs". Instruction in indigenous languages was encouraged by many mission agencies as a means of encouraging proselytization. Near the end of the nineteenth century, the British government gradually increased its role in funding and supervising colonial education. The focus on Western culture and the use of English as the language of instruction was intended for the preparation of male West Africans to

be employed in lower level colonial administration. Attempts made to introduce vocational education into the curriculum and increase female participation were met with limited results. Following independence, more efforts were made to include traditional African culture and indigenous languages into the curriculum. Multiple policy shifts regarding the language of instruction and the incorporation of vocational education occurred during these periods. The educated elite have advocated maintaining an academic focus with English as the language of instruction in order to facilitate admission to foreign schools or employment overseas. Proponents of vocational education and the use of indigenous languages as the language of instruction argue that the diversified curriculum in an accessible language is needed for national development.

Critical Race Theory, Social Justice and Oppression Theory

Traditional accounts of colonialism in Ghana are shaped and influenced by the interests, perspectives, and ideology of the colonizer. This traditional discourse was disseminated to Ghanaians utilizing the colonial educational system as the primary means of transmission. Despite the advent of national sovereignty, Ghana's educational system and Ghanaian society continue to reflect colonial legacies that were initially established to support the colonizer's interests. Political and educational reform is dependent upon the ability of Ghanaians to identify and extricate those legacies that serve as a hindrance to national development. Critical Race Theory, Social Justice Theory and Oppression Theory provide frameworks for examining colonialism through the lenses of racism, hindered and inequitable participation, and oppression. These

alternative frameworks are useful for identifying colonial legacies and assessing their impact in Ghana's modern society and educational system.

Critical Race Theory

Critical theory represents a broad range of literature that is defined by William Tierney (1993) as "an attempt to understand the oppressive aspects of society in order to generate societal and individual transformation" (p.4). This critique requires "normative reflection that is historically and socially contextualized" (Young I. , 1990, p. 5), acknowledging the inability of a universal normative system to be relevant and reflective of specific contexts. Therefore critical theory begins with specific historical circumstances, while embracing a critical analysis of the social and political situation that evaluates societal events and their causes, as well as who benefits and who is harmed.

Drawing from various disciplines of this literature, Critical Race Theory was developed in response to the perceived failures of true reform through civil rights litigation (Delgado, 1989). Critical race theorists foreground race and racism in their analysis (Fernandez, 2002). Upon examination of the historical and social context, critical race theorists note that race and racism are traditionally silenced and marginalized when in reality they are deeply embedded into society and central to policy formation (Torres, 1998). As a result of culturally sanctioned beliefs of white superiority, societal structures reinforce social, cultural and economic advantages for whites (Torres, 1998). Within the realm of education, "critical race theory advances a strategy to foreground and account for the role of race and racism…and works toward

the elimination of racism as part of a larger goal of opposing or eliminating other forms of subordination based on gender, class, sexual orientation, language, and national origin" (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 25).

Applying a critical race theory framework to colonialism is useful for examining its motivations, mechanisms and outcomes. Critical race theory challenges benevolent ideologies of colonialism named by the colonizer such as evangelization, philanthropy and civilization with formerly muted but deeply ingrained ideologies of racism and white supremacy. Challenging dominant discourse requires giving voice to formerly marginalized groups of indigenous people for the purpose of constructing an alternative reality named by Africans themselves.

If racism is to be central to the analysis of colonialism, it must first be defined. Bell (2007) defines racism as "a system of advantage based on race and supported by institutional structures, policies, and practices that create and sustain benefits for the dominant white group, and structures discrimination, oppression, and disadvantage for people from targeted racial groups" (p. 118). According to Solorzano and Yosso (2002), racism is characterized by three elements: one group deeming itself as superior to other groups, the superior group has the power to carry out racist behavior, and the superior group benefits from racism while negatively affecting other groups. All of these components are easily identified within colonialism of West Africa. As described earlier, Western European powers saw themselves as superior, importing a racist ideology that viewed Africans as inferior, child-like, and animalistic or subhuman.

Colonialism consolidated racism by subjecting citizens of formerly independent nations to second and third class people whose rights and privileges were determined for them (Falola, 2005). Practices of cultural imperialism assessed African history, religions, arts, music, and socio-cultural practices as inferior. This dominant discourse of superiority and inferiority was used to psychologically influence Africans into complete submission to European colonial domination (Iweriebor, 2005). Cultural mechanisms including schools, churches, health centers, the media, and cultural events were used to disseminate these racist ideologies (Iweriebor, 2005). After being told repeatedly that they were children unable to develop themselves and required European assistance to make progress, many Africans internalized these racist beliefs as truth values (Falola, 2005). European military and technological advancements partnered well with this ideology, enabling them to take territorial control. Critical studies in colonialism have documented the political, economic and social advantages that almost exclusively benefitted the colonizer, while imposing restricted agency, poverty, cultural hegemony and ethnoreligious oppression on the colonized.

Racism is Pervasive

One of the central tenets of Critical Race Theory is that "race and racism are endemic, pervasive, widespread, and ingrained in society and thus in education" (Milner, 2007, p. 390). As a result of being so deeply ingrained, race and racism become normalized (Ladson-Billings, 1998). Critical race theorists acknowledge intersecting layers of subordination including race, class, gender, sexuality, surname and accent. Societal claims of objectivity, neutrality, meritocracy and colorblindness must be

challenged in order to fully understand the multifaceted impacts of colonialism (Torres, 1998). The intercentricity of racism within the British Empire justified imperialist expansion through colonialism:

> Racism is the psychology of imperialism, the spirit of empire, because racism supplies the element that makes for the righteousness of empire. Hence racism is not simply a by product of empire, but ... part of the intestines of empire. (Jan Nederveen Pietersie, 1990, as quoted in Bush, 1999, p. 1)

Bush (1999) identifies racism as being at the heart of colonial imperialism, serving to justify colonial exploits with what appears to be a moral-bond duty due to claims of white racial superiority:

> Racism appears then, not as an incidental detail, but as a consubstantial part of colonialism. It is the highest expression of the colonial system and one of the most significant features of the colonialist. Not only does it establish a fundamental discrimination between colonizer and colonized, a sine qua non of colonial life, but it also lays the foundation for the immutability of this life. (Memmi, 1991, p. 74)

Embedded within racist ideology is the perception of an unalterable and inevitable status quo. In the following section I examine the deeply integrated workings of racism within British society, colonial historiography, and colonial governments.

One way of examining racism in British society is through its presence in popular culture. Stereotypes about Africans were reinforced through imperial propaganda such as the scouting curriculum, advertisements of imperial products, Empire Games at Wembley Stadium, Empire Day, and children's games like "Trading With the Empire" (Bush, 1999). Messages were reinforced through radio broadcasting, staunchly supporting the monarch and empire and providing special programming to "children of the empire" (Bush, 1999). Images in Hollywood films visually portrayed imperial and

white supremacy while "inducing a deep ambivalence among colonised spectators viewing offensive representations of themselves" (Bush, 1999, p. 25). With the help of colonial governments, the movie *Sanders of the River* (1935) presented European images of Africa to the British masses who watched the white colonial officer wisely deal with cannibals and cruel savages that are illogical and believe in spirits (Bush, 1999). Another lens for examining racism embedded into British colonial society is through the empire's portrayal of itself. The belief of white racial superiority not only legitimized Europe's presence in Africa, it compelled her with a sense of duty:

> We hold these countries because it is the genius of our race to colonise, to trade, and to govern. The task in which England is engaged in the tropics – alike in Africa and in the East – has become part of her tradition, and she has ever given of her best in the cause of liberty and civilisation. (Lugard, 1926, p. 618)

Simonelli (2009) describes the deeply ingrained nature of racism in British society as illustrated by the 1924 British Empire Exhibition. The exhibition was intended to foster notions of equality between the races of the British Empire and her colonies, redefining commonwealth as combining all races into "the greatest organization of human society that man has ever known" (¶14). Nevertheless the Official Guide touted the display of "the latest marvels of Western science" along with the "simple fairs of primitive people". Exhibition highlights included "A Palace of Beauty" featuring all white models, art by whites with a Western focus, and historical moments in the history of the empire with only white participants. The exhibition showcased races at what were perceived to be different stages of development:

> Most children have seen a black man and a yellow man. They are thus acquainted with the three great stocks or types of men, viz.: (1) White or

> Caucasian, (2) Yellow or Mongolic, (3) Black or Negro, and with their personal features. …All three types are thus included amongst the peoples of the Empire, though the white type is the most numerous and the most progressive. The peoples of the British Isles have spread themselves all over the Empire; they play a leading part in all its affairs. …we find that those belonging to the warm and hot belts are often less vigorous and less capable of sustained effort than those living in cooler climes. (As quoted in Simonelli, 2009, ¶ 27).

Rather than communicate a message of equality between the races, the exhibition merely reaffirmed racial hierarchies that justified its imposed imperial expansion through colonialism. "The colonial idea was that Africans were incapable of creating and managing political and economic institutions, and whites had to do this for them" (Falola, 2005, p. 11).

Europe sought to scientifically prove the intellectual superiority of white people. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the science of phrenology purported that examination of the skull could measure the strength or weakness of pre-determined brain faculties (Bank, 1996). Phrenology was then used to substantiate theories of racial difference. As phrenologist Spurzheim explained, "It is of great importance to consider the heads of different nations….The foreheads of negroes, for instance, are very narrow and their talents of music and mathematics are in general very limited" (As quoted in Bank, 1996, p. 389). Proponents justified the institution of slavery based on the inferiority of the Negro skull (Bank, 1996). Later Darwinist principles on the biological evolution of animal species were applied to human races (Dennis, 1995). Towards the end of the eighteenth century The Great Chain of Being hierarchically organized all living organisms where the Negro was situated between man and ape (Simpson, 2007). Science was the tool used define civilized societies as those societies that developed the

mind (Simpson, 2007). The world view of these theories attributed intellect, talent and virtue solely to the European as he alone came from a civilized society (Dennis, 1995). Colonialism and imperialism became natural expressions of Darwinist principles for European existence, survival, and supremacy (Dennis, 1995). At the end of the eighteenth century theories of natural selection and racial hierarchies gave birth to Francis Galton's theory of eugenics, the "science" of selective breeding for the purposes of improving genetic composition of a population (Dennis, 1995). In an effort to prove the hereditary basis of intellect, Galton devised a series of motor and sensory tests. Other researchers furthered his efforts with the development of intelligence testing and the concept of intelligence quotients (Dennis, 1995). The scientific proof of the intellectual superiority of whites served to legitimize Britain's imposed rule in a continent of uncivilized, underdeveloped and incapable Africans.

Another key informant of societal racism can be found in the colonizer's own historiography of the colonized. As formerly noted, colonial historiography of Africa written by non-Africans espoused Hegalian and Trevor-Roperian fallacies that Africa was devoid of history (Adjaye, 2008). As German philosopher G. W. Hegel wrote, Africa was "no historical part of the world" and had "no movement or development to exhibit (As quoted in Adi, 2005, p. 76). These writers enhanced myths of Africa as the "dark continent" and highlighted the benevolent presence of the European as having assumed the "white man's burden" (Adjaye, 2008). The colonialists reduced the complex social organizations among African societies into "tribes" in order to imply they were both primitive and simplistic (Iweriebor, 2005). Colonial historians believed that any events

in Africa prior to European contact in the 19th century were not significant enough to warrant documentation by historians (Genova, 2005). Advancements of civilization prior to the advent of Europeans in Africa were attributed to a superior race of Hamites or to aliens from outer space (Iweriebor, 2005; Adjaye, 2008). According to colonial diffusionist claims, the scientific and technical achievements exemplified in Africa were the result of importing men and materials as Africa was deemed unable to have the internal resources (Iweriebor, 2005). When Cecil Rhodes was provided evidence that Africans had created the ruins of Zimbabwe, the evidence was ignored and archaeological works were censored (Falola, 2005). In the colonial mindset, to think that Africans had a rich heritage and creative minds was both inconceivable and contrary to the belief that Africans were incapable of creating or managing civilized society (Falola, 2005).

African leaders that formulated opposition to colonialism were disparaged as "reactionaries", "bloodthirsty tyrants", and "barbarians" (Iweriebor, 2005). Indigenous names for towns, regions or natural landmarks were given colonial names or distorted reproductions of indigenous names (Iweriebor, 2005). In the mindset of colonial historians, the only societies that warranted historical research were living and literate people groups in centralized states (Genova, 2005). Oral traditions were either considered illegitimate sources or were selectively acquired from only a few people (Genova, 2005). Colonial historians primarily depended upon European eyewitness accounts of how groups lived and assumed that it was representative of a history that

had never changed, developed or adapted (Genova, 2005). Racist ideology informed all accounts of African history:

> What is often referred to as the colonial historiography of Africa was simply a display on paper of European, or in any case white, racial and cultural arrogance, an ideological legitimisation of Europe's exploitative presence in Africa, in short a chastening display of the inability of a civilization (no matter how advanced) to transcend itself. (Afigbo as quoted in Adjaye, 2008, p. 8).

Colonial historiography serves as an excellent informant of "white, racial and cultural arrogance" that was used to justify the evils of colonialism and persuade African subjects to accept colonial domination and control.

Racism evidenced in mainland Europe was ultimately imported into the fabric of her colonies. Christopher (2008) identifies a variety of colonial attitudes undergirded by racism. The British concept of "race" in the eighteenth century was not limited to skin color, but also included lineage, civility, religion and dress (Christopher, 2008). There were numerous attempts to banish British convicts to Africa in the mid-eighteenth century as their conduct was considered to be more closely associated with the attributes of the "African race". Nevertheless it was the slave traders that opposed receiving convicts because of their whiteness, seeing them as a "disgrace to the very colour" (Christopher, 2008). Colonialists were staunchly opposed to bringing British women to Africa due to racist fears they would become sexual partners of African men who were believed to be more sensual (Bush, 1999). Africa was considered punishment for white men and unfit for white women, yet was deemed suitable for the black poor (Christopher, 2008). In contrast, the European colonialist was motivated to relocate to Africa because his white status guaranteed jobs, higher wages, career advancement and

increased business profits (Memmi, 1991). Colonial governors were resistant to enlisting Africans due to fears of insubordination of Africans if taught to bear arms and insulting white soldiers to serve with those perceived as "subhuman" and "animalistic". White settlers ironically insisted rule in West Africa was 'separate but equal' as inexperienced colonial officials became 'white chiefs' over large areas with inordinate power over Africans (Bush, 1999). In order to minimize 'racial pollution', racial lines of demarcation separated all rural and urban areas and both natives and Europeans were prohibited from living outside designated areas (Bush, 1999). Whites who appeared "too friendly" with blacks found themselves ostracized by the expatriate community (Bush, 1999). Over time the African educated elite who assimilated European culture recognized they were still considered inferior and would never be accepted as equal by the colonizers (Iweriebor, 2005). The African educated elite experienced job discrimination in appointments to civil service, medical service and the judiciary (Boahen, 1987). In Ghana, Africans in civil service received one-sixth of salary of their European counterparts and were prohibited from political office or higher level administration positions (Bush, 1999). Experienced African priests were denied positions of leadership in the church hierarchy (Iweriebor, 2005). All of these colonial policies reveal the significant role racism played in policy formation.

Dominant Narrative Silences Voices of Those Who are Marginalized

Another tenet of Critical Race Theory is the acknowledgement that the dominant narrative is constructed by silencing the voice of marginalized groups. Colonialism in West Africa marginalized, muted or distorted the narratives of those who were

colonized. For example, Ghanaian history during the pre-colonial and colonial period was primarily written by foreigners whose accounts were embedded with European myths, stereotypes and ideologies of Africa (Adjaye, 2008). These historical accounts focused on the history of Europeans in Africa rather than Africans themselves (Adjaye, 2008). Though first generation Ghanaian scholars emerged during the colonial period, their Western European training influenced their work as they themselves were products of colonialism (Adjaye, 2008). In addition, certain histories were purposefully eliminated. For example, despite long histories of African resistance to European presence, white settlers in West Africa minimized these accounts in order to convey sentiments of African loyalty to the imperial crown (Bush, 1999). When romantic nationalists pressed for educational reform to incorporate elements of African history and culture in the 1920s, Europeans with little or no African scholarship determined which elements of African history were "acceptable" to be included in the curriculum (Coe, 2002).

Counter Narratives Deconstruct Dominant Narrative

A third tenet of Critical Race Theory is the importance of narratives and counter narratives, as told by subordinated people themselves (Milner, 2007). White racial privilege results in the generation of "majoritarian stories" in which racial, gender, class or other forms of privilege are portrayed as normal and thereby privileged (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002; Love, 2004). British colonial administrator Frederick Lugard offers this majoritarian account of colonialism:

> By railways and roads, by reclamation of swamps and irrigation of deserts, and by a system of fair trade and competition, we have added to

> the prosperity and wealth of these lands, and checked famine and disease. We have put an end to the awful misery of the slave-trade and inter-tribal war, to human sacrifice and the ordeals of the witch-doctor. Where these things survive they are severely suppressed. We are endeavouring to teach the native races to conduct their own affairs with justice and humanity, and to educate them alike in letters and in industry. (Lugard, 1926, p. 617)

Counter narratives construct an alternate reality by marginalized groups and give them "voice" through "parables, chronicles, stories, counterstories, poetry, fiction, and revisionist histories" (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995, p. 57). Regarding the introduction of railways and roads, an African counter narrative by Cesaire contends that the European provision was not only insufficient but intentionally withheld:

> The proof is that at present it is the indigenous peoples of Africa and Asia who are demanding schools, and colonialist Europe which refuses them; that it is the African who is asking for ports and roads, and colonialist Europe which is niggardly on this score; that it is the colonized man who wants to move forward, and the colonizer who holds things back. (Cesaire, 1972, p. 25)

The European reclamation of swamps and deserts is identified by the African as the erosion of self-sustaining food production "the best land had to be dedicated to the needs of external markets, not to food or local materials" (Falola, 2005, p. 14). African historian Kenneth Onwuka Dike contends that there was nothing "fair" about trade during colonialism. "It is a matter of reflection that little of permanent value came to West Africa from the 400 years of trade with Europe. In return for the superior labor force, the palm oil, ivory, timber, gold and other commodities, which fed and buttressed the rising industrialism, they received the worst type of trade gin and meretricious articles" (Dike, 1965, p. 114).

Rather than adding wealth and prosperity, "Europe conquered Africa to primarily benefit itself, not to uplift Africa; to accelerate its own development at the expense of others" (Falola, 2005, p. 6). Famine and disease were checked for the colonialist, not the African. "In the social field, hospitals were built, though they were found mainly in the urban centers to serve the expatriate communities" (Boahen, 1987, p. 59). The counter narrative to colonialism ending tribal war contends that "colonialism gave birth to 'tribalism', with ethnic groups engaged in competition and conflicts degenerating into full-scale wars" (Falola, 2005, p. 4). The European associated African conversions to Christianity as the ending of human sacrifice and ordeals of witch doctors, while Christianity itself is based on human sacrifice which, according to the Christianity narrative, compensated for the sins of all future "believers". This witch-craft was acceptable, while African "witchcraft" was not. Christian missionaries taught the Christian practice of eating the bread and wine, "the body and blood of Christ" while routinely condemning as savage and heathen any similar African practices. Dike stated that African religions and philosophies "are often more subtle and more complex in their answers to human problems than so-called major religions of the world" (As quoted in Nwauwa, 2005, p. 324). The African counter narrative opposes the idea that colonialism taught Africans to conduct their affairs with justice and humanity:

> Without a single exception, the colonial state was governed by a small group of officers, both administrative and military. This small group did not consult their African subjects to introduce or implement policies. Postcolonial Africa has seen the same model, in military regimes, one-party states, and other non-democratic arrangements. (Falola, 2005, p. 8)

Colonial education was not designed to educate in letters and industry "but to produce trained and usable African functionaries who believed in the colonial project and would serve it unquestioningly" (Iweriebor, 2005). By "naming one's own reality", dominant ideology regarding colonialism is challenged through the lived experiences of the colonized. As Albert Memmi (1965) writes, "the negative myth thrust on him by the colonizer is succeeded by a positive myth about himself suggested by the colonized" (p. 139). As Africans emerge from the colonial state, they are beginning to name themselves and their own reality.

Social Justice

According to Bell (2007), social justice comprises both a journey and a destination, as it is both a process and a goal. The process requires social agents of change who pursue "full and equal participation of all groups in a society that is mutually shaped to meet their needs" through means that are "democratic and participatory, inclusive and affirming of human agency and human capacity" (Bell, 2007, pp. 1-2). Both the process and product of colonialism are the antithesis of social justice. Colonialism imposed governmental, political, economic and education structures without consultation or representation from its African subjects. Indeed, colonialism turned Africans into subjects. Through Britain's colonial policy of indirect rule, participation of Africans was limited to the few rulers appointed by the colonial administration whose roles were restricted to the execution and enforcement of colonial policy. Limited opportunities for participation were also extended through education to a few who were allowed to assume positions in lower levels of colonial

administration. The "civilizing mission" of colonialism purported by European powers would imply the introduction of social justice principles as Europeans then understood them and enjoyed. Ironically, colonialism introduced the antithesis of those principles as they were denied decision making power, were excluded from the benefits of society, received inequitable distribution of resources, violated physically and psychologically, refused self-determination, and prohibited from opportunities for development, and denied a sense of agency. Rather than introduce principles of liberty, equality and fraternity, colonialism propagated ideologies of slavery, racism, classism and other manifestations of oppression. The European civilizing mission resulted in over 15 million Africans being forcibly displaced through the trade in human bondage. In addition the British engaged Africans in forced labour, removed them from their ancestral homes, imposed taxation without social welfare benefits, and created disparities in the monetized economy by limiting opportunities for upward mobility. Colonialism imposed on Africa a single cash crop economy to fuel European industries, reducing self-sufficient subsistence farming and inhibiting the development of a diverse economy (Olaniyan, 2000). As Johnson (2003) explains, the rights outlined in the Magna Carta were seen as applicable to British subjects alone, and Africans were transferred from the position of subjects to "commodities" (p. 15).

According to Porteus (2008), the economic, political, cultural and psychological impact of colonialism essentially involved the imprisonment of social agency. It is the role of social justice to liberate human agency. She defines agency as "the thoughts and actions people take – individually and collectively – to change their worlds to navigate

better lives and a better world" (p. 13). While under colonialism, Ghanaians were in no position to partake in that peculiarly human endeavor of engaging in the world in order to change it (Freire, 1970). Acting with agency was specifically denied to them (Bell, 2007).

Full restoration of human agency did not manifest with the independence of Ghana. As Sen (1999) discusses, human agency requires structural support with the provision of freedoms and elimination of "unfreedoms". Freedoms allow for full participation. While these can be seen in contemporary Ghanaian society through the right to medical care and the right to basic education, economic factors inhibit equal access due to the colonial legacy of regional disparities in resources and development. Coastal areas and urban areas important to colonial trade with expatriate communities were more developed than interior communities. As documented in earlier discussions, unfreedoms such as poverty, unemployment, and illiteracy, all of which undermine the liberation of human agency are widespread in Ghana.

A critical examination of colonialism reveals the emergence of patterns of oppression such as racism, ethno-religious oppression, sexism and classism.

Racism

Critical examinations of colonialism from a Social Justice framework reveal the development and perpetuation of oppression through racism. Slavers, missionaries and European explorers imported two prevailing perceptions of Africans that undergirded systemic oppression. The "Hamitic myth" identified Africans as the sons of Ham that were cursed by Noah and therefore destined for slavery. This myth was used to justify

the Atlantic slave trade that officially lasted from 1440 to 1870 when between 18 million and 20 million Africans were transported across the Middle Passage and forced into unpaid inheritable servitude for life (Walles, 2005). This myth was further developed by Charles Darwin in his book *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection or The Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* which purported white supremacy and the need to civilize inferior races (Walles, 2005). According to this myth of "favoured races", Africans were considered a subspecies with inferior intelligence and therefore incapable of governing themselves. Secondly, Westerners denied the existence or worth of African history. As philosopher G.W.F. Hegel wrote, "At this point we leave Africa, not to mention it again. For it is not historical part of the World: it has no movement ore development to exhibit. Historical movements in it – that is in its northern part – belong to the Asiatic or European world" (As quoted in Walles, 2005, p. 402). This majoritarian story was used to justify Europe's utilization of Africa for economic benefit. It included the story of uncivilized savages who had never been properly organized or developed to contribute meaningfully and productively to society. In this majoritarian story, colonialism was seen as needed to provide a model of civilized society and to lead African towards modern development.

The European based Atlantic slave trade changed the trade in human bondage from historical phenomenon motivated by resources and power to a "racial" phenomenon justified by inferiority associated with black skin (Walles, 2005). African scholar Ajayi asserted that the same racism characterizing the slave trade moved

European powers to take control of African hinterland through colonial rule and global powers to take economic control of African resources through neoliberal policies:

> Equally fundamental is the continued dependence which indicate (sic) that at crucial points in the African saga, efforts directed at effecting change have left the legacy of slavery virtually intact, and change has thus brought no transformation. That is to say, abolition without reparation brought, not freedom, but colonialism; and independence without preparation brought, not self-government and development, but neocolonialism and dependence. (Ajayi, as quoted in Walles, 2007, p. 415)

Western imported racism was first used to justify the sale of Africans as commodities, then the exploitative use of their labor and resources for colonial profit, and now the economic subjugation to liberal economic and trade policies that benefit the Western world, compromising Africa's full and equal participation in the global economy.

Ethno-Religious Oppression

Missionary education in colonial West Africa and its continuing impacts on the people of Ghana can best be understood within a social justice framework related to Adams' (2007) discussion of "religious oppression" and "Christian hegemony." Adams (2007) defines oppression as "social structures, policies and practices that maintain systemic domination and subordination" (p. 247). Christian hegemony refers to the "pervasive cultural position of normative Christianity as it is posited in everyday life" (Adams, 2007, p. 253). Hegemony is described as the "cultural and societal level of oppression" or "society's unacknowledged adherence to a dominant worldview" that posits Christianity as the normal, appropriate religious expression (Adams, 2007, p. 253). Christian hegemony results in privileges for those who are members of the group. This includes the allocation of "unearned cultural and social assets and advantages that

come to members of the dominant religious group by virtue of their status" as members of the dominant religious group (Adams, 2007, p. 251).

Missionaries were generally negative and hostile towards African cultures, traditions, and beliefs. New converts to Christianity, discouraged from traditional beliefs and prohibited from traditional practices, became alienated from the central fabric of their communities. "It was the missionary's cultural policy that gave the enterprise a negative image in the colonial period; this may have been rooted as much in racism as in a certain way of reading the Bible. The lens was sourced from dominant culture" (Kalu, 2005, p. 139) Missionaries not only opposed indigenous religious practices but also anything from traditional or African culture (Nukunya, 2003). As a result, converts stopped attending festivals, ancestral rites and family gatherings in addition to discontinuing puberty rites, dancing, bride-wealth and polygyny. Further alienation resulted from separatist practices where Christians were encouraged to live separate from their local communities. Africans who were educated in missionary schools were qualified for better positions in the colonial administration and were viewed as superior to 'uneducated' Africans (Walles, 2005, p. 406). Christianity created divisions within African society, resulting in more privileges to those individuals that assimilated Western culture and beliefs.

There was a strong connection between the European languages and the Christian mission, particularly English (Pennycook & Makoni, 2005). According to Read, English was considered "a store-house of the varied knowledge which brings a nation within the pale of civilization and Christianity….Already it is the language of the Bible

(1849, p. 48, as quoted in Pennycook and Makoni, 2005). As a result, English became associated with Christianity while indigenous languages became associated with heathenism. Christian songs are those that originate from the colonizer in English or are translated from English. Only praying in English is considered to be civilized. Until recently, the wearing of native clothing and beads even resulted in dismissal of Presbyterian catechists. By demonizing, demeaning and belittling African traditional religious practices and requiring their abandonment, missionaries have not only established the supremacy of the Christian faith, but specifically the Westernized version and the cultural traditions associated with it.

Sexism

Sexism is defined as a "system of advantages that serves to privilege men, subordinate women, denigrate women-identified values and practices, enforce male dominance and control, and reinforce forms of masculinity that are dehumanizing and damaging to men" (Botkin, 2007, p. 174). Both imperial and African historiographies are largely silent on women and gender. As Bradford (1996) states, "women are not merely neglected; their existence is often conceptually denied" (p. 352). Female colonialists benefitted from membership in the 'superior race', though faced unique challenges as the 'weaker sex'. Women did not have the right to vote and once married, all property belonged to the husband (Bradford, 1996). Nevertheless, they carried the responsibility of upholding the cultural and moral values of the empire (Ghosh, 2004). Despite claims of "Christian egalitarian" ideology, women could not be ordained and most missionaries were strongly opposed to sexual equality (Bradford, 1996). The churches preached that

women were less than men and reinforced it through mission school policies (Ejikeme, 2010). The colonial educational system promoted male advancement while discriminating against women (Ejikeme, 2010). The education of females was considered a threat to traditional and colonial order, and thus prior to the European World War I only 1.5% of West African girls were educated compared to 5.3% of West African boys (Bush, 1992).

Colonial officers dealt exclusively with male African heads of households and tended to view African women as central to heathenism and the darkness of African culture (Bush, 1992). Despite official prohibition to liaisons with native women, evidence suggests widespread practice of sexual relations between European men and African women as white men considered black women to be more sensual than white women (Bush, 1992). With the introduction of wage labor, women were not only excluded but their work was also devalued (Ejikeme, 2010). Thus cash crop production forced women into subsistence farming and in addition they had to assist men with their cash crops without compensation (Bush, 1992). Thus in many ways women suffered greater loss than men under colonialism.

Classism

Classism is "persistent inequality on the basis of social and economic class" (Adams, 2000, p. 379). In order to perpetuate classism, the citizens have to believe "that the current economic distribution is unchangeable, has always existed, and probably exists in this form throughout the known universe, that it's "natural" (Langston, 2000, p. 397). Poverty or class position is assumed to be the result of

personal and moral merits within an individual's control such as laziness and lack of effort. In reality, poverty and class are the result of "structural, systemic institutionalized economic and political power relations" (Langston, 2000).

Prior to colonialism, Europeans viewed Africans as poverty-stricken due to the absence of a money-based economy and differences in technological advancement. As described earlier, this poverty was associated with being "backward" and "uncivilized" due to racial inferiority. Slovenly traits were also associated with this inferiority. In describing the colonizer's perception of the laziness of the African Memmi (1991) writes, "The colonized doesn't let grass grow under his feet, but a tree, and what a tree! A eucalyptus, an American centenarian oak! A tree? No, a forest!" (p. 80). These traits in turn were viewed as responsible for the African's poverty as seen in this 1889 Report on Economic Agriculture on the Gold Coast:

> The question naturally arises why, with a fertile soil, an enormous extent of forest and an agricultural population, is there not a large trade in timber and other products of the country? It is too often taken for granted that the fault lies with the natives of the Colony; that they are too lazy to work. The native of the Gold Coast is indolent because he has few wants, and these being easily gratified, he has small inducement to continuous labour. (Metcalfe, 1964, p. 436)

From the European perspective, it was natural that African had always been poor and would always be poor due to his racial inferiority and poor work ethic.

While social stratification was not highly pronounced during pre-colonial times, colonialism introduced structures promoting greater gaps between people in regards to wealth, power and prestige (Nukunya, Tradition and change in Ghana, 1992) Though representing the majority, Africans found themselves on the lowest rung of the social

ladder, surpassed in ascending order by Lebanese traders and shopkeepers, British businessmen and traders, government workers, political officers, and the governor's administration (Bush, 1999). As a colonized people, they were subject to the political and economic policies of the colonizer. Rights and privileges were those afforded by the colonizer. The colonial money-based economy imposed taxation, forcing Africans to seek wage labor harvesting raw materials destined for Europe or to abandon self-sufficient farming for cash crop production. Migrant laborers were subject to poor living conditions as European owners were "grudged" to make expenditures on accommodation and sanitation (Browne, 1964). With no political voice, the African producer was subject to Britain's economic and trade policies. As the colonizer received high profits through cheap labor and price controls, the African became less able to afford imported manufactured goods. Thus the gap widened between the colonizer and the colonial subjects.

Over time, an additional class of educated Africans was created to serve the needs of colonialism. Colonial administrators needed Africans to fill both administrative and industrial positions because there were not enough Europeans (Walles, 2005). Africans that were educated in missionary schools were eligible for these positions in the colonial administration and were more highly esteemed than the "uneducated" African (Walles, 2005). Africans learned to use early missions for social and economic advantage, as education simultaneously introduced emerging governmental and vocational employment opportunities, technical sophistication, and material advantages (Miller, 1990). This resulted in the emergence of a Western-style occupational and class

structure with the educated elite on a higher stratum than the uneducated masses. Literacy through education ensured employment in government, commerce, schools and mission churches with better wages. Literacy also offered opportunities for advancement in trade and commerce when dealing with European merchants (Nukunya, Tradition and change in Ghana, 2003). Power, prestige, public recognition accompanied these individuals resulting in segregated socialization from uneducated Africans. Many of the economic and political elite of the post-independent Ghana can trace their prominence to education received by parents from mission schools (Miller, 1990).

Education was one of the primary means of institutionalizing classism. Education was never intended for the masses, but for the educated elite. "If Indirect Rule were to work, they reasoned, the educated must be incorporated into the rest of society, but clearly incorporated in a hierarchical way and as leaders separate from, but respectful of, "the people," viewed as uneducated peasants untouched by Westernization and abiding by "traditional" customs" (Coe, 2002, p. 29). The expansion of education proceeded slowly, particularly for the rural regions, ensuring that the masses remained outside of the literacy-employment economic cycle. Opportunities for secondary and tertiary education were even scarcer, limiting the number of Africans able to qualify for higher wages offered through government, education or church missions. Those Africans who managed to achieve those positions received less pay than white workers and excluded from social gatherings.

Oppression Theory

Oppression Theory serves as a useful framework for exposing, analyzing and critiquing colonialism. Oppression is defined as the “institutionalized collective and individualized modes of behavior through which one group attempts to dominate and control another in order to secure political, economic and/or social-psychological advantage” (Mar'i, 1988, p. 6). Colonialism in Africa was essentially a system of oppression through which Europeans dominated the continent to secure economic and thus political advantage by exploiting its human and natural resources. Analysis of oppression can occur from the macro-level involving financial, political and social institutions to the micro-level involving internalized perceptions of inferiority (Prilleltensky & Gonick, 1996). The process of oppression has both political and psychological dimensions. “The term oppression encapsulates the fusion of institutional and systemic discrimination, personal bias, bigotry, and social prejudice in a complex web of relationships and structures that shade most aspects of life in our society” (Bell, 2007, p. 3). Using oppression as a framework for colonialism is useful for examining or analyzing mechanisms of oppression in colonialism.

The political dimensions of oppression began with the destruction or subordination of all existing systems and institutions in the colonized nation. “First of all overcome resistance, smash the framework, subdue, terrorize. Only then will the economic system be put in place” (Sartre, 2005, p. 11). This oppression included the destruction of local governance, systems and economies, forcing self-sustaining communities to become dependent upon the colonizer. Cesaire speaks of "societies

drained of their essence, cultures trampled underfoot, institutions undermined, lands confiscated, religions smashed, magnificent artistic creations destroyed, extraordinary possibilities wiped out." (1972, p. 43). Oppression was further institutionalized through the segregation of the colonial world into compartmentalized sectors of colonialists and natives. Fanon (The wretched of the earth, 1963) described this dichotomy as a "Manichaean world", contrasting the wealth and relative opulence of the foreigners' sector with the poverty and deprivation of the natives' sector. Freire (1970/2000) states that this institutionalized division is ultimately a reflection of a perceived hierarchy in status and worth:

> For the oppressors, there exists only one right: their right to live in peace, over against the right, not always even recognized, but merely conceded, of the oppressed to survival. And they make this concession only because the existence of the oppressed is necessary to their own existence. (Freire, 1970/2000, p. 57)

The psychological dimensions of oppression include the dehumanization of the oppressed through failure to recognize the oppressed as people. "For the oppressors, 'human beings' refers only to themselves; other people are 'things'" (Freire, 1970/2000, p. 57) Fanon (The wretched of the earth, 1963) notes that the colonized is perceived as an animal and described with zoological terms such as "stink", "breeding swarms", and "gesticulations" (Fanon F. , The wretched of the earth, 1963). Dehumanization of the colonized is further perpetuated by other forms of "ideological aggression" (Memmi, 1991, p. 91). Through exposure to the colonizer's fictional literature and educational textbooks, the African learned to associate himself with the description of the savage that was brought truth by the white man. In the Africans' mind, this ideological

oppression contributed to an inferiority complex and a desire to be like the colonizer (Fanon, 1967). In the colonists' mind, the perception of the African as an absolutely evil savage served to justify foreign "aid" and mitigate any cognitive dissonance resulting from harmful or immoral acts (Fanon F. , The wretched of the earth, 1963). Cesaire (1972) notes that the psychological oppression was reinforced through a system of fear not only to instil inferiority but to ensure that Africans perceived themselves as incapable of defending themselves.

In the process of dominating, the oppressor also becomes dehumanized, losing his capacity to be fully human. "The colonizer, who in order to ease his conscience gets into the habit of seeing the other man as an animal, accustoms himself to treating him like an animal, and tends objectively to transform himself into an animal" (Cesaire, 1972, p. 20). The acts of oppression intended to dehumanize the colonized result only in transforming the colonizer into an animal, not the colonized. The oppressed, unable to envision change and fearing the oppressor, becomes resigned to his/her status. Internalizing the dominant discourse, self-depreciation develops:

> So often do they hear that they are good for nothing, know nothing and are incapable of learning anything – that they are sick, lazy and unproductive – that in the end they become convinced of their own unfitness. (Freire, 1970/2000, p. 63)

In addition, an emotional dependency develops and the oppressed finds himself/herself attracted toward the oppressor and his/her way of life (Memmi, 1991).

Young (1990) posits five potential criteria that characterize oppression: exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism and violence. I will

use this framework to describe how Africans were oppressed by colonialism as well as the mechanisms used to wield oppression.

Exploitation

Exploitation is defined as the process by which class distinctions are produced "through the transfer of results of labor of one social group to benefit another" (Young, I., 1990, p. 49). The economic exploitation of the African colonies by the European powers was one of the primary forms of exploitation. The perspective of capitalist accumulations views the drive for surplus acquisition as the cause of imperialist interventions. Sidanius and Pratto (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) also ascribe economic surplus as a prerequisite condition of social systems of hierarchy. These authors contend that inequitable distribution of surplus value begets "arbitrary-set systems", where one socially constructed group, differentiated by characteristics such as race, clan, ethnicity and social status, has material and/or political dominance over another. These arbitrary-set systems are characterized by a great degree of violence, brutality and oppression. Rodney (1972) notes that the economic motivations of colonialism resulted in immense capital accumulation and growth for Europeans at the expense of incalculable suffering by Africans. The exploitation of African resources and labor took the form of oppression that retarded economic growth and hindered her development.

Marginalization

Marginalization results when a group finds itself dependent on others and subject to imposed authority with little to no input (Young, I., 1990). Wolf (1994) suggests that the oppressed are vulnerable to exchanging outright coercion for a

dependency bond. She further theorizes that this is a strategy of control whereby people in subordinate positions maneuver their oppressors into accepting lines of obligation toward them. Shillington (1995) describes that rapid colonial conquest in Africa was made possible in part by the European exploitation of existing African rivalries. Many African rulers accepted European alliances in exchange for 'protection' from rival groups, not fully aware of the implications of protection until they observed the brutal conquest of their enemies. Marginalization was achieved economically as the importation of European manufactured goods destroyed African industrial self-sufficiency and caused dependency upon foreign imports (Shillington, 1995). This process continues to be observed in the post-independent dependency of former African colonies on global powers. Though Ghana gained political sovereignty in 1957, the financial resources required for nation building created opportunities for former colonial powers to maintain economic hegemony through high debt servicing schemes, debt relief strategies, and structural adjustment policies. Marginalization in the form of economic dependency continues to occur through the imposition of neoliberal economic policies by global powers as conditions to Ghana's receipt of loans or debt forgiveness. Wolf's empirical analyses of various targeted groups also indicated that the greater the success, the greater the degree of dependency. Ghana exemplifies this irony; the land of gold now finds itself on the list of Highly Indebted Poor Countries.

Powerlessness

Powerlessness is another manifestation of oppression. Powerlessness occurs when individuals perceive themselves as unable to effect change to combat the system

of oppression (Griffin & Ouellett, 2007). Young (1990) highlights three arenas promoting powerlessness to include inequitable opportunities for self-advancement, limited decision-making power at work, and differential treatment due to perceptions of lower status (Young, I., 1990). In Ghana, the number of colonial schools and educational placements was extremely limited. Impeded access to colonial education promoted powerlessness as it was needed for participation in the colonial economy. The few that did receive education were primarily limited to secondary positions in the colonial administration (Altbach, 2006). By the end of the nineteenth century, it is estimated that 12,000 Africans were employed as clerks, teachers and clergymen, 50 as lawyers, 11 as doctors and a few as cocoa brokers in Ghana (Bush, 1999). The remainder remained outside the wage earning sector. These numbers highlight the fact that most wage earning employment was found in lower level administration positions with limited decision-making power, further fostering a sense of powerlessness. In addition, African government workers were paid significantly less than white workers. In the Gold Coast, Africans in the Civil Service received 1/6 of the salary paid to white workers and were not eligible for higher administrative positions (Bush, 1992). White government employees also treated their African colleagues with disdain, and socialization in white homes was considered inappropriate (Bush, 1992). The discriminatory treatment of Africans by Europeans on the basis of perceptions of lower status further reinforced a sense of powerlessness among Ghanaians.

Cultural Imperialism

Cultural imperialism is another face of oppression identified by Young, where individuals "experience how the dominant meanings of a society render the particular perspective of one's own group invisible at the same time as they stereotype one's group and mark it out as the Other" (Young I. , 1990, pp. 58-59). According to Young (1990), cultural imperialism constructs the dominant group's perspective as both normative and universal. The perspectives and knowledge of the targeted group are made inferior or at best invisible, while that of the dominant group is upheld as the golden standard. In colonial society, Western culture was dominant with Western education, culture, food, dress, language and material goods being considered superior and more desirable. Simultaneously Ghanaian culture, traditions, and practices were associated with illiteracy, backwardness, and inferiority. One of the primary means by which cultural domination and oppression of subordinates takes place is "control over ideology and the content of legitimate social discourse" (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999, p. 103). Though not as visible as the use of physical force or legal mandates, the creation of social discourse is a powerful mechanism of control. Oppressive colonial discourse was propogated by a variety of disciplines in Europe, including geography, missions, historians, psychologists and sociologists (Cesaire, 1972). Colonial maps displayed boundaries and place names appointed by Europeans, abrogating self-determined African nations and African geography. Christian missions identified African people and traditions as heathen, undermining African culture and spirtuality. Western historians described Africa as devoid of history prior to the arrival of Europeans, invalidating

thousands of years of ancient and advanced civilizations. Pyschologist and sociologists promoted differences in aptitude based on racial hierarchies, dicrediting African value and humanity. These underlying assumptions and ideologies were then reproduced in the daily activities of colonialists. In sum, notions of cultural difference readily become systems of judgment and coercion by which one group marks off and dominates others. These ideas and practices are discursive. "Through talk, tales, stories, gossip, anecdotes, messages, pronouncements, news accounts, orations, sermons, preachments, and the like definitions are presented and feelings are expressed…and a sense of group position is set" (Blumer as cited in Brown, 1993, p. 660). Jane Harvey refers to this subtle form of domination in the processes of normal daily life as "civilized oppression" (Harvey, 1999). Unconsciously, oppression becomes embedded in rules of conduct, norms and habits, as well as in the underlying assumptions of institutions, rules and procedures further supported by the media and cultural stereotypes (Young I. , 1990). Colonial education served as a critical mode of transmission for cultural imperialism. Educational policies, curriculum and practice mandated the use of English as the media of instruction, the inclusion of European history, culture and values, and conformity to Western dress and modes of standard. The Eurocentric education imposed the colonizer's history, language, and values while simultaneously denying demeaning, destroying, or demonizing that which was African.

Violence

Violence is the fifth face of oppression named by Young, in which "members of some groups live with the knowledge that they must fear random unprovoked attacks

on the persons or property which have no motive but to damage, humiliate or destroy the person" (Young, I., 1990, p. 61). Britain's annexation of Ghana, an attack of property, is one form of violence according to Young's definition. Physical violence emerged in response to African opposition to colonial authority when the British began to annex territories in the 1880's (Bush, 1999). In response to traditional rulers who refused to sign trade agreements or organized armed revolts, communities experienced punitive expeditions (Bush, 1999). There was a loss of life when the British opened fire on crowds of women in non-violent protests regarding taxation and imposed price controls of palm oil (Bush, 1999). Communities that challenged traditional rulers who abused their delegated power to take advantage of material or human resources also suffered violent consequences (Thomas, 1983). When the communities at Bongo and Kusanaba refused to follow chief orders with ensuing disturbances, the colonial administration "ruthlessly crushed" the perceived revolt, "intending to teach an unforgettable lesson" by opening fire on the settlements, destroying compounds, and seizing cattle (Thomas, 1983, p. 75). In addition to physical violence, Young (1990) also includes "less severe incidents of harassment, intimidation, or ridicule" (p. 61). British harassment of African monarchs included use of the title "chief" to diminish their status and destoolment for perceived offenses to the imperial regime (Rathone, 2000). District officers demanded payment of taxation from the poorest villagers in the form of cash, forcing Africans to market to sell goods if necessary (Bush, 1999). The educated elites were taught to view their own African culture with contempt and disdain. These various forms of non-physical violence were oppressive attempts to secure loyalty and maintain

order. Young (1990) contends that the oppression of violence is not limited to attacks themselves but also includes cognizance about the threat of attacks based upon group identity. During colonialism, Ghanaians lived in a perpetual state of violent oppression simply because they knew that their identity as Africans made them targets for physical or non-physical violence as long as the colonizer remained in power.

The five manifestations of oppression discussed by Young (1990) primarily refer to external forces and outside mechanisms. In time these overt forms of subordination can become internalized. "Oppression not only resides in external social institutions and norms but lodges in the human psyche as well" (Bell, 2007, p. 4). Psychological oppression is rooted in lived experiences of political oppression (Prilleltensky & Gonick, 1996). Memmi (1991) describes how the colonizer finds the place, people and customs of the colonized as always inferior in social discourse. "The colonized is not this, is not that. He is never considered in a positive light; or if he is, the quality which is conceded is the result of a psychological or ethical failing" (Memmi, 1991, pp. 127-128). Young (1990) asserts that even subtle daily doses are sufficient to produce feelings of inferiority. These messages of inferiority then become internalized by the colonized, accepted as "truth values":

> It is possible to be oppressed in ways that need involve neither deprivation, legal inequality, nor economic exploitation; one can be oppressed psychologically-the 'psychic alienation' of which Fanon speaks. To be psychologically oppressed is to be weighed down in your mind; it is to have a harsh dominion exercised over your self-esteem. The psychologically oppressed become their own oppressors; they come to exercise dominion over their own self-esteem. Differently put, psychological oppression can be regarded as the "internalization of intimations of inferiority". (Bartky as quoted in Prilleltensky & Gonick, 1996, p. 129)

The colonizer imported violent ideologies of racial supremacy that dehumanized and waged psychological warfare against Africans. Freire (1970/2000) describes the oppressed as having internalized the consciousness of the oppressor within and therefore being resigned to their status out of fear of risks involved in liberation. The internalized oppression can be observed in contemporary sayings in Ghana that express the inferiority of the African to the "white man".

- A dead white man is better than a living African.
- When you are going to church or the House of God and you see a white man, you must go home because you have seen God.
- There is God and there are evil powers and the white man is between. (This means that the white man is the only one who can negotiate between God and the devil, and that it is necessary to submit to the white man if you want his intercession on your behalf with God.)
- Black people use their power to destroy, white people use their power to create.

Social patterns continue to thrive by beliefs that have been internalized and legitimated (Turner & Singleton, 1978). These messages are not only internalized by the colonized, but reproduced. Sidanius and Pratto (1999) describe the 'cooperative game' of oppression, whereby members of the subordinate group actively participate and contribute to their own subordination. Subordinate members cooperate by coming into agreement with myths that morally or intellectually justify group oppression or inequality. Memmi (1965) describes how the colonized reproduce dominant discourse that morally justifies colonialism, viewing the colonizer as the liberator:

> When not engaged in battles against nature, we think of him laboring selflessly for mankind, attending the sick, and spreading culture to the nonliterate. In other words, his pose is one of a noble adventurer, a righteous pioneer. (Memmi, 1965, p. 47)

The colonizer's production of racist social discourse resulted in the African's acceptance of 'truth values' for the colonizer as well as for the African himself. Over time, the colonizer's descriptions of laziness, wickedness and backwardness are internalized and manifested as self-fulfilling prophecies by the colonized:

> Willfully created and spread by the colonizer, this mythical and degrading portrait ends up being accepted and lived with to a certain extent by the colonized. It thus acquires a certain amount of reality and contributes to the true portrait of the colonized. (Memmi, 1965, pp. 87-88)

By agreeing with the discourse of the colonizer, the colonized confirm the oppressive role assigned to them. The African develops a "colonized" identity, which Fanon (1963) considers to be a mental pathology that results from oppression:

> Because it is a systematic negation of the other person and a furious determination to deny the other person all attributes of humanity, colonialism forces the people it dominates to ask themselves the question constantly: "In reality, who am I?". (Fanon F. , 1963, p. 250)

Internalized oppression results in the colonized questioning their identity to the extent that external oppression is perceived as legitimate and justified.

When utilizing oppression theory as a framework of analysis, colonialism in Africa is seen as a system of oppression through which Europeans, the oppressors, dominated Africans, the oppressed, to secure economic and thus political advantage by exploiting human and natural resources. Economic exploitation of economic and natural resources contributed to Europe's wealth and Ghana's impoverishment. Marginalization was achieved through European alliances that promised protection while creating dependency. Powerlessness resulted from Ghanaians being excluded from education and positions of authority that could initiate change. Cultural

imperialism was observed through the imposition of European standards and values and the demeaning of African traditions and customs. Violence and the threat of violence were experienced by Ghanaians through the annexation of property and imposed rule of law. In addition to these external forces of oppression, Africans suffered from internalized oppression. Repeated exposure to racist ideology caused Africans to accept the colonizer's truth values as legitimate justifications for colonial domination.

Summary

Critical Race Theory, Social Justice Theory and Oppression Theory serve as useful frameworks for examining colonialism through the lens of racism, full and equitable participation, and oppression. Racism was widespread during colonialism as demonstrated in British society, colonial historiography, and colonial government. Though colonial historiography silenced the narratives of Ghanaians through omissions, distortions, and fabrications, Ghanaians are beginning to name themselves and their own reality through the use of counter narratives. Using Social Justice Theory, patterns of oppression that denied full and equal participation were analyzed with regards to racism, ethno-religious oppression, sexism and classism. Racism established white racial superiority that was used to justify human slavery, colonial exploitation and neocolonial policies. Ethno-religious oppression encouraged converts to disassociate from African society and abandon traditional culture, while resulting in higher status and better positions within the colonial administration. Sexism was fostered by Western notions of male dominance found in colonial and mission discourse, limited female access to education and female discrimination in colonial employment. The introduction of

education, wage employment and taxation during colonialism facilitated the participation of the educated elite who were able to secure jobs with higher wages while forcing the masses to abandon self-sustaining rural communities in search of manual labor in urban areas. Finally I used the framework of Oppression Theory to examine colonialism through the lens of oppression as exhibited in exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism and violence.

Post Colonial Theory and its Implications for Educational Development in Former Colonies

Post colonial theory examines the discourse produced by colonial powers as well as by those who were colonized. This form of postcolonial critique analyzes the social histories, political discrimination, and cultural hegemony that is imposed and normalized by colonial machinery (Rukundwa, 2009). Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin (2006) contend that postcolonial studies examine colonial discursive practices and other "cultural strategies" that encompasses the time period from the beginning of colonization through the present day neo-colonial international relationships. Rather than viewing postcolonialism as an historic period of formal decolonization, theorists are more attentive to issues such as identity, representation, assimilation and migration following the process of decolonization (Nichols, 2010). As Childs & Williams contend, postcolonialism encapsulates the cultural impact of the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day. This is because there is a continuity of preoccupations throughout the historical process initiated by European imperial aggression" (Childs & Williams, 1997, p. 3). Postcolonial theory serves as a useful

framework for analyzing colonial discourse in Ghana and how it is being challenged, reproduced or transformed.

Post colonial critique analyzes both historical and contemporary events from the perspective of the subaltern, requiring complete subversion of dominant ideology (Gramsci, 1992; Spivak, 1988). This alternative perspective seeks to uncover damaging effects on identity and representation of the colonized, as well as the mechanisms of perpetuation. Edward Said (1979) proposed that colonialism is not only the result of physical domination but also ideological domination through the control of the representation of non-Western people. According to Bhabha (1994), postcolonial critique "bears witness to the unequal and universal forces of cultural representation" of global powers that seek to dominate political and economic control (p. 171). Domination of the production of knowledge removes the targeted groups representational authority, distorts their images and forms of knowledge, and justifies continued physical-military colonization (Said, 1979). The imperial production of discourse in Ghana resulted in ultimate control by influencing Ghanaian self-perception through the lens of racist and imperial ideology.

As formal education functions for the reproduction of social discourse, post colonial theory provides a framework for identifying ideological domination in the colonial and post colonial educational system of Ghana. Spivak (1988) contends that Western academic discourse was produced to support Western economic interests. "The sole purpose of the Western Christian missionary educational effort among Africans was the promotion of British commercial interests and conversion to

Christianity as a means of having them accept British cultural influence and political power" (Mungazi, 1991, p. 3). Colonial educational discourse promoted racist ideology as a means of legitimizing imperial presence:

> The colonial states and the secular and religious missionaries in their educational systems and conversion programs widely propagated the view of Africa as a land without history, culture, or civilization. Africa in this colonialist construct was religiously heathenish, spiritually evil, scientifically backward, socially underdeveloped, physically ungainly, or, more bluntly, ugly. Africa was described as located in a geographically barren and forbidding environment with harsh climate, heat, poor soil, diseases, raging rivers, cataracts, and jungles (not forests or wilderness) full of dangerous wildlife and peopled by wild and untamed inhabitants. In short, this colonizers' Africa was a wild, untamed, dangerous and unexploited landscape that was full of obstacles. (Iweriebor, 2005, p. 25-26).

The educational indoctrination of inferiority of African people, culture and resources created a sense of economic, social and political dependency. "You can see this clearly in the colonial mode of education, which for many of us in Africa makes us look to Europe as the basis of everything, as the very center of the universe" (Thiong'o, Borders and Bridges, 2006, p. 390). Thiong'o (2006) contends that colonial domination was achieved by controlling the minds of the people.

Though Ghana gained independence from Britain in 1957, the educational structures of contemporary Ghana are derived from those put in place by the former colonial power (Crowder, 1978). Contemporary educational systems in Ghana continue to disseminate European perspectives and world-view as their foundation. By maintaining the colonial structures of administration and minimally altering the curriculum, independent African states such as Ghana essentially preserved a colonial orientation towards education (Altbach, 2006). "[E]ducation…[is] considered in most

African [countries] as one of the major means of continuous Western cultural domination, imperialism, and colonialism" (Flolu, 2000, p. 25). Philosophical and discursive concepts that support imperialist assumptions and agenda which reproduce the effect of colonialism are learned by each new generation and passed along to the next. Until the people of Ghana intentionally and deliberately identify and redefine the educational systems put in place by the colonizer, those educational systems will continue to reproduce the conditions of neocolonialism (Freire, 1970). The dismantling of dominant knowledge production creates a discursive space for marginalized and targeted people groups to be given a representative voice:

> Postcolonial perspectives emerge from the colonial testimony of Third World countries and the discourses of "minorities" within the geopolitical divisions of East and West, North and South. They intervene in those ideological discourses of modernity that attempt to give a hegemonic "normality" to the uneven development and the differential, often disadvantaged, histories of nations, race, communities, peoples. (Bhabha, 1994, p. 171)

Rather than perpetuating the Western representation, Africans can participate in a self-determined representation based on their rich history, culture, and language.

First I will examine evidence of ideological domination in curriculum content, including hegemonic discourse regarding Christianity, Western culture, Western epistemes, and imperial human resource development. Next I will analyze discursive concepts regarding English as the language of instruction, colonial pedagogy of subordination and racial sameness.

Curriculum Content

In West Africa the combined educational efforts of the Christian missionaries and British colonial rule resulted in 300 years of curriculum content that was European in nature, content and focus (Ofori-Attah K. D., 2006). The European focus was the result of underlying racist assumptions of white racial superiority:

> Eurocentric education is stratifying and racist. It suppresses knowledge, distorts learning and persuades Europe and its diaspora of their putative superiority. The experience of education in the era of decolonisation indicate that socialization in neo-colonial ideas of race is still hegemonic. (Hickling-Hudson, 2006, p. 215)

A post-colonial framework will be utilized to demonstrate how "racism destroyed knowledge, socio-cultural relationships and economic patterns…in the curricula and educational institutions" (Hickling-Hudson, 2006, p. 203). I will examine colonial educational discourse in Ghana for evidence of ideological domination of Western Christianity, culture, epistemes and imperial human resource development.

The superiority of Christianity was one of the primary discursive concepts of colonial education. By the late eighteenth century, the evangelical Christian revival influenced Christian missionary curriculum content with its philosophy of education as a means to bring mankind's reconciliation with God (Coe,2002; Shillington, 1995, Ofori-Attah, 2006). After observing the close connection between African religion and culture, the missionaries determined that the only way to replace existing beliefs by the Christian faith was to banish all African customs and traditions (McWilliam, 1959). African music, dance, art and religious practices were excluded from the curriculum and children were trained to participate in minority Christian communities (Madeira, 2007;

Ofori-Attah, 2006). "The African learner thus had no hope of learning or acquiring skills of immediate relevance to the community, and curricula were aligned with the interests of missionaries and British colonial government" (Ofori-Attah, 2006, p. 412). In the contemporary Ghanaian educational system, the legacy of Christian hegemony continues to persist in the form of doctrines and religious practices. "While in theory a school may uphold the rights of multi-faiths, the practice may be different in terms of what is privileged with resources, space and official legitimation of school practice" (Dei, 2002, p. 47). In an effort to reverse this colonial legacy, Dei (2002) recommends that African educators return to African spirituality which is described as including "local/indigenous knowledge, their understandings between body, mind and soul, and the awakening of a spiritual consciousness of one's self, of individual personhood, and of the group/community to effect transformative pedagogies" (p. 40).

Western cultural superiority was another significant discursive concept of colonial education. During the Missionary Era, missionaries perceived that the best of Western culture was synonymous with Christian doctrine (Coe, 2002). European culture was presumed by the British to be the only path to promoting civilization and modernity (Ofori-Attah, 2006). "The potential intention of the curriculum planners was to lead the African to accept the European way of life as most appropriate to meet the challenges of civilization" (Ofori-Attah, 2006, p. 415). Africans who attended mission schools were required to conform to European standards of dress, language, culture and values (Coe, 2002). By disregarding all West African customs, the curriculum not only introduced a European code of behavior and new life style but also sent harmful messages that

resulted in African students being ashamed of their culture, traditions and language (Ofori-Attah, 2006). The missionary practice of requiring converts to take a Christian name was maintained as students enrolled in government schools. "This practice undermined African identity and personality and brought about a new generation of Africans who saw themselves as having the 'mind' of Europeans and, consequently, repudiated the traditional African way of life" (Ofori-Attah, 2006, p. 420). The racism of cultural imperialism "is a process of cultural, intellectual and physical violence that strips its targets of their dignity and dispossessed them of their culture and their resources" (Hickling-Hudson, 2006, p. 207). In the 1920's the British educational policy changed to "cultural dialectic synthesis" with the intention of teaching the best of both African and Western culture (Clatworthy, 1969). Putting this heuristic policy into practice was hindered by political-economic forces opposed to the compromise of a colonial economic system that was oriented to production for profit (Clatworthy, 1969). When educational reforms of the 1920's introduced more elements of African culture, the colonizer's agenda remained unchanged. The introduction of African culture was viewed as an avenue for importing Western ideas in way that would appeal to Africans. Coe (2002) described this impetus surrounding the establishment of the first government secondary school in the Gold Coast. "Founded in the late 1920s by expatriate romantics of African culture and history, Achimota sought to wed the best of Africa and the West to educate African leaders who, for the greater development of their nation, would at once be in touch with "the people" and serve as brokers of Western ideas" (Coe, Educating an African leadership: Achimota and the teaching of

African culture in the Gold Coast, 2002, p. 24). Trends of Western cultural imperialism continue to infiltrate contemporary educational discourse. "The norm for educational achievement and success for African children and students is that of Western European capitalist elitist culture, where the…internalization of bourgeois European values is seen as the index of progress" (Higgs, 2008, p. 447). There is a call for African Renaissance to reframe educational paradigms in an indigenous social-cultural context and empower African communities to participate in their own educational development (Higgs, 2008).

A third discursive concept of colonial education was the superlative nature of Western knowledge or epistemes. Local knowledge "references the norms, values, and the social, mental and spiritual constructs which guide and regulate a people's way of living and making sense of their world" (Dei, 2002). A range of African constructs were not included in the curriculum such as African environmental custodianship and certain African historical content such as the contributions of Ghanaian ancestors to world civilization (Adjei, 2007). Colonial education "privileged Eurocentric paradigms over indigenous ways of knowing" (Dei, 2002, p. 37). The colonial schools were guided by an essentialist philosophy that associated certain Western core values with civilized societies (Coe, 2002). The incorporation of these values into West African curriculum was considered necessary for its advancement into modernity. The norms and values of the English ruling class included the spirit of self-negation, spirit of courage, and adherence to school rituals (Yamada, 2009). Under the dictates of the IMF and World Bank, Ghana's contemporary educational system continues to disseminate "Euro-American cannon, world view and epistemology" while simultaneously "de-legitimiz[ing]

and de-privileging Indigenous knowledges that students bring with them to formal education" (Adjei, 2007, pp. 1047-1048). The imbibing of Western knowledge results is seen as alienating students from their African identity. "The more I consumed Western knowledge, the more I realized that I was being removed psychologically and cognitively from anything that had to do with my local upbringing and culture" (Adjei, 2007, p. 1050). Adjei (2007) notes that the Ghanaian educational system continues to endorse Western knowledge, resulting in student reluctance to learn indigenous knowledge for fear of not attaining social privilege. Centering indigenous knowledge in the Ghanaian curriculum is one recommendation for resisting Western hegemonic influence (Dei, Rethinking the role of Indigenous knowledges in the academy, 2000a). The recovery of African principles of philosophy such as "humanness" and "communalism" into educational discourse is also considered essential for empowering African communities in educational development (Higgs, 2008).

A fourth discursive concept of colonial education was the view of human resource development for serving the needs of the colonial empire rather than for the development of African nations. "The economic power structure in the colonies was not ready to accept the idea of education as an investment in human resources because the colonial economic system "was geared to production for profit" (Clatworthy, 1969). Ofori-Attah (2006) states that colonial education was intended to prepare Africans for "commercial duties". "The idea was to create an elite ruling class that would not oppose the modified position and role of chiefs in the administration of the colony" (Ofori-Attah, 2006, p. 414). Initially the curriculum focused on reading, writing and

arithmetic, utilizing British topics, interests and concepts so that West Africans could become employed as clerks, teachers or law enforcement officials for the colonial administration (Ofori-Attah, 2006; McWilliam, 1959). The academic emphasis in education created the impression that "engagement with manual work, however lucrative, was considered a breach of ethics" (Ofori-Attah, 2006, p. 419). In the 1920s, the colonial government advocated "adapting" African education to available employment opportunities primarily found in the agricultural sector. For many colonial officials the theory of "adaptation" complemented racist assumptions regarding African intellectual inferiority (Dillard, 2003). Adaptation was recommended by colonial officials as a form of educational paternalism that was designed to uplift primitive people, while simultaneously attempting to eliminate any "troublesome" political element (Jones, 1925). Underlying this philosophy of educational paternalism was the belief that Africans were an immature people that had little or no understanding of the 'well meant' plans of the Europeans who regarded themselves as protectors (Bude, 1983). Educated Africans, perceiving adaptation as a means of thwarting educational goals and higher employment aspirations, resisted its implementation and demanded that educational standards remain high to facilitate admission in overseas institutions and employment (Dillard, 2003). Following the 1980 educational reforms, the Ghanaian educational system has attempted to introduce a vocationalized curriculum to counteract the colonial legacy of an elitist education that undervalued vocational, technical and agricultural education as well as meet job market demands (Osei, Vocationalizing secondary education: The junior secondary schooling reform of 1987 in

Ghana, 2007). Vocational reform has resulted in poor outcomes due to weaknesses in conceptual framework and implementation (Osei, The 1987 Junior Secondary-School reform in Ghana: Vocational or pre-vocational in nature?, 2004). "The inability of the school system in Ghana to contextualize standards and excellence to needs and conditions of the local people has resulted in an intelligentsia with little or no relevant skills or knowledge to address needs within their local communities" (Adjei, 2007, p. 1048). Efforts are made to challenge the colonial goal of education for transforming African human resources into economic profits. Indigenous African educational discourses "view knowledge and minds not as commodities, not just human resources to be developed and exploited, and then cast aside, but as treasures to be cultivated to improve the quality of life of both individuals and societies" (Higgs, 2008, p. 455). An African conception of human resource development will empower African communities to harness the benefits of formal education for mutually beneficial development.

Language

Postcolonial theorists have suggested that colonial languages became a primary medium of oppression. "The bullet was the means of physical domination. Language was the means of spiritual domination" (Thiong'o, Decolonizing the mind: The politics of language on African literature, 1986, p. 9). In nineteenth century Britain, the study of English was perceived to be a privileged academic subject comparable to the Classics in its methodology, scholarship, philology and historical study (Ashcroft, 1989). The emergence of English as an academic discipline coincided with colonial objectives to subordinate and control. "British colonial administrators, provoked by missionaries on

the one hand and fears of native insubordination on the other, discovered an ally in English literature to support them in maintaining control of the natives under the guise of a liberal education" (Viswanathan, 1987, p. 17). Education in colonial schools was used to teach English, at times prohibiting or even punishing the use of indigenous languages. Learning the language of the colonizer facilitated the isolation of ethnic groups and enforced separation from their native culture and communities. Imposed colonial languages also served as a means of exporting westernized values of European civilization. As Thiong'o (1986) points out, language not only carries communication but culture. "Language carries culture, and culture carries, particularly through orature and literature, the entire body of values by which we come to perceive ourselves and our place in the world" (pp. 15-16). As a result, colonial schools became the primary enforcer of not only the language, but the culture of the dominant group. In Ghana, the colonial language of English became "an effective ideological weapon to disempower and disenfranchise colonized subjects from knowledge being produced and validated in their own environment" (Adjei, 2007, p. 1053).

Colonial language policies strengthened inherent racist ideologies, impacting the identity of the colonized. The colonizers denied full-language status to African languages and considered them incapable of transmitting advanced thought in various spheres such as philosophy, science and technology (Iweriebor, 2005, p. 46). Fanon theorizes that in the mind of an oppressed African, mastery of the colonial language becomes equated with humanity. As a result, "the Negro will become whiter – become more human – as he masters the white man's language" (Fanon, 1967, p. 18).

Simultaneously, the native language of the colonized has no stature and is tagged as the language of subordination. This linguistic dichotomy, or "linguistic dualism" as Memmi (1965) describes, places the colonized at psychological war with himself. To be successful in the world that matters, the world of the colonizer, the colonized must embrace the language of the colonizer. "The colonized is elevated above his jungle status in proportion to his adoption of the mother country's cultural standards" (Fanon, 1967, p. 18). At the same time, he must disdain the language of his culture, his community, his family and of his ancestors and become proficient in the language of his own domination.

Linguistic dualism continues to be present in the post-colonial era of African nations. The colonial languages remain the languages of government and commerce in most former colonial nations, excluding the majority who are not literate (Olaniyan, 2000). The hegemony of English engenders misconceptions of the superiority of English, and the superiority of native English speakers, particularly white native speakers (Guo & Beckett, 2007). It also promotes the assumption that knowledge of English is "sufficient as linguistic currency" (Childs & Williams, 1997, p. 194).Despite efforts encouraging literacy in multiple languages throughout sub-Saharan Africa, more than 70% of the students surveyed reported learning in a language other than their mother tongue at school (Omoniyi, 2003). In addition, indigenous languages are not prevalent in mass communication, with less than 49% of annual broadcast hours being reserved for the many Ghanaian languages (Bodomo, Anderson, & Dzahene-Quarshie, 2009). Indigenous African languages continue to be perceived as less valuable. In a study of indigenous

languages in Ghana, Awedoba (2001) found an "archetypal dichotomy" which highlighted the contrast where home is associated with local languages, illiteracy and the hoe, and school with English, modernity and literacy. One parent reported a truly educated person is "one that has forgotten his native tongue" (Awedoba, 2001). Bombarded by these messages, students return home having internalized the subordinate status of their local language and respond to their parents in English, refusing all requests to speak in their local language. Akurang-Parry (2007) shared anecdotes of Ghanaian university students pretending to be unable to speak local languages or dislike local food, while "everyday social theatrics and appearance connotes Westernism at its most banal and ludicrous state" (p. 48).

After many years of independence, significant debate ensues around language policies in the Ghanaian school system. Some African scholars and educational stakeholders advocate the use of English as a means for ensuring economic development and participation in the global economy while others subscribe to the use of vernacular languages as a means of promoting African culture and tradition (Mfum-Mensah, 2005). Most of the postcolonial governments in Ghana adopted a vernacular language policy until 2003, when the government implemented the language policy of English as the medium of instruction. Omoniyi (2003) contends that the debate should not be regarding the reduction of English status but about the elevation of indigenous languages in Ghana. "Multiliteracy that involves the indigenous languages is central to the pursuit of the African renaissance because it is fundamental to the liberation of the African psyche from the vestiges of colonialism and neo-imperialism" (Omoniyi, 2003, p.

148). In contemporary Ghana, colonial legacies continue to be observed in Ghanaian perceptions of English superiority in cultural and economic capital.

Pedagogy of Subordination

One aim of colonial education was the subjugation of the Ghanaian people to the social, economic and political will of the European colonizers. Rodney (1972) states, "Colonial schooling was education for subordination, exploitation, and the creation of mental confusion and the development of underdevelopment" (p. 264). The systems of education of established and maintained domination by training Ghanaians to play a subordinate role through both curriculum and pedagogy (Akurang-Parry, 2007)

Colonial school pedagogy enforced memorization and rote learning (Ofori-Attah, 2006). Colonial education policies such as "payment by results" linked monies awarded to schools with the number of children that passed standards, which encouraged 'by heart' learning without concern for comprehension (McWilliam, 1959, p. 33). Freire (1970/2000) describes this kind of didactic teaching as "banking education", where teachers make deposits of information that students are expected to receive, memorize and repeat. The focus on rote learning not only hindered West African students from making meaning of the material, but also compromised the development of critical thinking skills (Ofori-Attah, 2006). This pedagogical approach was deemed appropriate to the lower mentality and aptitude of Africans (Nwauwa, 2005). The educational focus was preparation for jobs as stenographers and file clerks, not managers or leaders. The Colonial Office affirmed that "what, at present time is wanted is not anybody highly trained, but an ordinary individual with some training, not too removed from the daily

round and the common task to be unable to take part in local life and local habits of thought" (As quoted in Nwauwa, 2005, p. 320). Remnants of this pedagogical approach continue to be observed in Ghana today. "The proverbial 'chew and pour' (learning by memorizing) has become the order of learning in Ghana with little room left for critical thinking to interrogate (Western) knowledges" (Adjei, 2007, p. 1048). Research suggests that rote learning impedes critical thinking needed for active participation in a democratic society while promoting poor academic achievement and low self-esteem (Harber, 1997; Willis, 1997; Levin, 1992; Maclure, 1997, p. 29-30).

Reindorf states that one of the goals of missionaries was to convert "natives for the purpose of making them orderly, faithful, and diligent people" (2007, p. 220). Thus missionary education practices were highly steeped in Pietist values of discipline and submission to authority (Quartey, 2007). During the colonial period, pedagogy was combined with authoritarian approaches that engendered abusive practices with the use of excessive discipline, resulting in truancy and high drop-out rates (Akurang-Parry, 2007). Colonial education was the vehicle through which Missionaries supported the European colonizing effort by 'training' or 'conditioning' Africans to play the subordinate role assigned to them in the colonial economy and political order. A rote, dictatorial teaching style accompanied the colonial opinion about the 'educable African' who was incapable of rigorous intellectual and academic exercises (Quist, 1999). Memmi (1965) described the colonial classroom as having "no communication either from child to teacher or (admittedly all too often) from teacher to child, and the child notices this perfectly well" (Memmi, The colonizer and the colonized, 1965, p. 105).

Throughout contemporary sub-Saharan Africa, several researchers have documented the prevalence of an authoritarian teaching style where the teacher exclusively imparts knowledge rather than students constructing knowledge for themselves (Akyeampong, Pryor & Ghartey, 2006; Pontefract & Hardman, 2005; Dull, 2004; Tabulawa, 1997; Kanu, 1996). African classrooms tend to emphasize extreme respect for authority and allow limited teacher-pupil interaction or active learning by students. Akurang-Parry (2007) describes "the ever-present Spartan-like tradition that armed teachers to use excessive discipline" as well as present their opinions as absolutes (p.50).

Enforcing Unity of Sameness

Anti-colonial thinkers promoted the temporary strategic initiative of nation building to engage the decolonization process of the mind and spirit (Dei, 2005). Fannon (1963) noted that the process of decolonization required unification of a people for the purpose of creating a national identity, to the extreme that all heterogeneity is removed. Nevertheless, that what was intended to be a temporary decolonization initiative has instead become a process of recolonization. "The process of achieving a shared identity based on sameness has meant silencing difference. It is this silencing that has turned the politics of shared identity into a colonial and colonizing practice" (Dei, 2005). Ghana, like other African nations, promoted a national agenda of building a Ghanaian identity by highlighting commonalities among ethnic groups. In an attempt to unify a cultural pluralistic society, ethnic differences have been silenced and diversity has been stigmatized, simulating the same hegemonic processes of Ghanaian representation during colonialism.

Colonialism created divisions in people groups of Africa, such as the Tutsi and Hutu of Ruwanda or the Igbo and Hausa of Nigeria. These divisions resulted when a divide and conquer strategy was used by colonial powers to facilitate consolidation of power. In many African nations, the colonial legacy of these regional, ethnic and religious splits were observed as a significant barrier to uniting a heterogeneous population as tension and violence ensued. Ghanaian educators have adopted the colonial discourse of sameness and suppressed acknowledging difference for fear of inciting divisions within the schooling community (Dei, 2005; Dei, 2004). Criticisms emerged regarding discriminatory policies and the slow response of the government to remove gender and regional imbalances (Quist, 1999). The denial of heterogeneity within indigenous populations subtly implies difference itself is a problem. This practice of blindness to difference hinders efforts to address disparities and inequities that fall along lines of ethnicity, culture, language, religion, gender and class (Dei, 2004).

As a result of colonial attempts to suppress differences, the culture and language of the Akans became preeminent through interplay of ethnicity, culture and politics (Dei, 2005). As the majority ethnic group, the Akans became privileged in education as the majority of colonial schools were built in the southern region of Ghana. The regional disparity in access and distribution of social goods and services is a lingering colonial legacy. In addition, the government's attempts to address northern regional imbalances in education have been met with resentment by southern students (Dei, 2005).

Summary

Post-colonial theory examines the discursive concepts and cultural strategies that are utilized to exercise domination and control. Education serves as one of the primary mechanisms for the production and transmission of discourse in society. The post-colonial framework is particularly useful in examining evidence of colonial legacies of dominant discourse in contemporary educational system of Ghana. In the educational curriculum, there remain remnants of discursive topics such as the superiority of Christianity, Western culture and Western knowledge, as well as human resource development for the needs of the colonial empire. The hegemonic influence of English continues to result in the perception that indigenous languages are inferior or less valuable. The pedagogy of subordination that includes authoritarian teaching, rote memorization and excessive discipline continues to be observed in contemporary classrooms. The discourse of sameness that regarded Africans as homogenous for the purposes of domination remains as classroom discourse for purposes of forging national unity.

Contemporary Education Structures, Curriculum, Policy and Practice in Ghana

Structures

The structure of the colonial educational system was centralized within the British colonial administration and followed the British model of education. Educational expenditure was influenced by external factors such as world wars and internal factors such as the amount of profit generated by the Gold Coast colony. By the time of independence, the established infrastructure enabled 10% of Ghana's population to

attend primary school. Nevertheless there were only twelve secondary schools two institutions of higher education, not including teacher-training colleges. In this section I will provide an overview of the educational structure, budget, and infrastructure of the contemporary educational system in Ghana by way of comparison to that of the colonial period.

The system of education is decentralized with policy formation assumed by the Ministry of Education, primary and secondary policy implementation directed by the Ghana Education Service, and traditional educational directed by the Non-Formal Education Division (Levstik & Groth, 2005). According to the Constitution of Ghana, the government is required to provide access to Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE). In addition, there is provision for the availability and accessibility of secondary and higher education by progressive introduction of free education contingent upon financial resources (Government of Ghana, 2003; Osei, Owusu, Asem, & Afutu-Kotey, 2009).

Traditionally Ghana followed the British system of education but is shifting toward a system similar to that of the United States and Japan (Agbeko, 2007; Quist, 2003). The 1987 educational reforms changed the number of years of pre-tertiary schooling from 17 to 12. The reduced number of years led to advantages in "its cost effectiveness, its elimination of financial and structural wastage and the demands for a new kind of manpower that would contribute more effectively and purposefully to national development" (Quist, 2003, p. 424). With the addition of 2 years of kindergarten in 2007, formal basic education increased to 11 years, with the expectation

of beginning at age 4 and concluding at age 15 (Akyeampong, Djangma, Oduro, Seidu, & Hunt, 2007). Currently, there is a 2-6-3-3-4 structure of education consisting of 2-year kindergarten, 6-year primary, 3-year junior high, 3- year senior high and 4- year basic university course. Further evidence of the influence of American models of education is the recent name changes of Junior Secondary School (JSS)/Senior Secondary School (SSS) to Junior High School (JHS)/Senior High School (SHS). Some view this as "an effort to remove the scum and debris of poverty and sociocultural degradations left by the edifices of colonialism on neo-colonial Ghanaian educational system" (Agbemabiese, 2010). Though secondary education is not compulsory, the six years of primary education and three years of junior high (formerly Junior Secondary School) constitute nine years of basic education, with compulsory attendance and free tuition. Graduation from junior and senior high requires students to pass West Africa examinations (Levstik & Groth, 2005).

Ghana's Gross Enrollment rate is currently 68% for pre-primary, 78.6% for primary and 60.9% for junior secondary (Government of Ghana, 2010; UNESCO, 2008). Of the children enrolled, 82% complete primary school education (UNESCO, 2008). Literacy rates in Ghana are 65.8% for adults and 79.3% for youth. Initiatives to improve female access to education have resulted in decreasing disparities in literacy rates, with significantly less gender differences in literacy rates in youth compared to adults of 13% vs. 2.9% (UNESCO, 2008). In northern Ghana, where enrollment rates are less than 50%, complementary education systems have been introduced to facilitate educational access. "Complementary education systems provide structured learning in a non-

institutional environment based on a learner-centered curriculum and flexible schedule" (CARE International Ghana/Togo/Benin, 2003, p. ii).

Insufficient infrastructure continues to be a significant factor inhibiting educational development. The rapid expansion of Early Childhood Development Education with insufficient funding has resulted in low quality infrastructure. Rural areas have been noted to hold classes under trees, or in dilapidated buildings with issues such as poor ventilation, bad lighting, or insufficient room for play (UNESCO International Bureau of Investigation, 2006). The Ghanaian Educational System currently has 12,225 Primary Schools and 6,418 Junior Secondary Schools with the total enrollment figures of 2,216,792 and 767,303 respectively (Government of Ghana, 2010). As of 2001, there were 204,000 students enrolled in 474 senior secondary schools (Republic of Ghana, 2004). The system of higher education in Ghana includes universities, university colleges, polytechnics, professional institutes and pre-service training institutes (Mangesi, 2007). Since 1990, there has been an increase in enrollment at Ghana's five universities from 10,000 to over 65,000 (Atuahene, Financing higher education through value added tax: A review of the contribution of the Ghana Education Trust Fund, 2009).

Ghana's public expenditure on education is 5.5% of the Gross Domestic Product, indicating relatively high prioritization of resources to education when compared to the average of 4.6% among nations in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (UNESCO, 2008; OECD, 2011). Though 28-40% of the national budget is allocated to education, there continue to be insufficient numbers of buildings and

trained teachers to accommodate all students, particularly junior high and senior high levels (Levstik & Groth, 2005). Due to the perceived low quality of government-run schools, a low-cost private education sector has emerged to meet the needs of low-income families, far outnumbering government schools in some regions (Tooley, Dixon, & Amuah, 2007). For example in the Ga district, over 75% of the schools are private with 23% of those unregistered (Tooley, Dixon, & Amuah, 2007). Tooley et al. (20007) did not find remarkable differences in quality between government and private schools.

Though Ghana spends a significant percentage of its budget on education compared to other sectors, tertiary education remains underfunded. In 2000, the approved budget for polytechnic schools and universities was only 56% of their operational costs (Atuahene, 2009). Atuahene (2009) identifies many variables contributing to under-funding of higher educational institutions including a struggling economy dependent upon agricultural exports and influenced by political instability and corruption. The World Bank also reprioritized primary education to the near exclusion of higher education based on its perception of education's role in human capital formation and socioeconomic development (Atuahene, 2009). The low prioritization negatively impacted the quality of educational programming, student access, and infrastructure needs of higher education in Ghana. A student loan cost sharing mechanism was considered necessary to generate additional revenues. The student loan scheme has been challenged by a high rate of defaulters due to the absence of a national database, high unemployment rates for graduates, and insufficient salaries for reimbursement. Delayed disbursements have resulted in student strikes and

interruption of studies. The most recent scheme introduced in 2006/2007 improved over former loan policies by utilizing needs assessments that improve accessibility for disadvantaged students (Atuahene, 2008). Nevertheless, high interest rates which are subject to inflation and are not income-contingent discourages many students from applying (Assuming the same rate of inflation, a student pays 435% of the amount borrowed in interest over the repayment period). No significant infrastructure development has occurred since the 1960's to accommodate the steady increases in admission, resulting in admission being offered to less than half that qualify (Akurang-Parry, 2007). These combined factors have resulted in "resurrect[ing] the elitism that informed colonial education" (Akurang-Parry, 2007, p. 44).

Curriculum represents an important articulation of the choice of 'accepted' and 'rejected' knowledge, conceptions of 'normal' and 'other', and the chosen basis for construction of both image and action of self and community in the future. Colonial education in Ghana validated Western knowledge and culture, while rejecting African ways of knowing and living. Ghanaians were indoctrinated in the Western representation of Africa, complete with racist ideology regarding their racial inferiority. In this section, I will examine curricular goals related to human resource development, indigenous knowledge, Ghanaian culture, Ghanaian history and citizenship education.

Debates over curriculum content continue between a focus on human resource development through academic education and educational adaptation through vocational and technical education (Quist, 2003). As an aid-dependent country, Ghanaian educational policies are framed by the Education For All Millennium

Development Goals as determined by international aid agencies such as the United Nations and the World Bank (Yamada, 2005). At the secondary educational level, vocational education has been encouraged by global forces "to more flexibly meet changing labor demand than traditional separate-track vocational education" (Yamada, 2005, p. 72). In contrast, the Ghanaian internal justification of vocational education is the development of contributing members of society through character development and education of proper social values (Yamada, 2005). The public response has consistently demanded more academic education for securing better employment (Yamada, 2005). Despite public demand, a vocationalizing policy has been in place since the educational reforms of 1987 (Shoko, 2005). Since 2000 educational reforms at the secondary levels have sought to more closely align with the American model of vocational education in order to address manpower needs (Levstik & Groth, 2005; Shoko, 2005). The Junior High level incorporates industrial-technical and agricultural education while including cultural studies, Ghanaian languages (Twi, Ewe, Ga, among others), environmental studies, and life skills within a Ghanaian socio-cultural context. The Senior High level, which emphasizes traditional Western academic education and its classification of subjects in art, business and science, continue to reflect original colonial models (Quist, 2003). Parents, teachers and pupils continue to critique "the relative emphasis schools placed on the preparation for further education with its focus on academic knowledge and the pursuit of success on national examinations than life in the community with its emphasis on citizenship and development of responsible attitude to life in the community" (Anamuah-Mensah, 2007, p. 133). The contemporary curriculum

in Ghana continues to be perceived as having an academic focus despite efforts to increase vocationalism in the curriculum.

At the tertiary levels, curriculum emphasis continues to be geared to a limited number of fields. Many universities established in Africa during the twentieth century reflect biases and influences of European colonial administrations with emphasis on economics, engineering and banking. The emphasis on these fields is a reflection of the colonial agenda to produce an African elite that would serve the industrial and administrative machinery of the empire (Walles, 2005). The lack of a diversified workforce across fields such as business, industry, science and technology is considered a hindrance to national development. "The over-emphasis of these models on scholarly/academic (grammar) and the Western type of secondary education has created a situation of "dependency", particularly with respect to Ghana (and for that matter Africa's) techno-scientific and economic development" (Quist, 2003, p. 414). This dependency syndrome has been further exacerbated by the educated elite who seeks employment in Europe or America after being schooled in Ghana. The massive brain drain leads to "over-dependence in Ghana…upon Western economic support, scientific and technological information, the physical sciences, engineering and medicine" (Quist, 2003, p. 414).

Ghanaian educational reforms in the 90's stressed the importance of incorporating local indigenous knowledge, culture, religion and history. These reforms sought to counteract the influence of colonial education in destroying indigenous culture by "brainwashing" Africans to discard their culture, knowledge and values (Ball,

1983). Dei (Learning culture, spirituality and indigenous knowledge: Implications for African schooling, 2002) noted that Ghanaian teachers placed importance on their role in teaching Ghanaian culture, history and languages for the purposes of developing students' self-esteem, identity, and appreciation of community values. Despite efforts to include indigenous knowledge and culture in the Ghanaian curriculum, some educationists observe internalized disdain for all things African among students. "Above all, the structural entities of the Eurocentric curriculum have informed much of the postcolonial curricula, therefore, it is not surprising that today Ghanaians look down upon home-grown ideas and products, but avidly promote neocolonial values, embracing whole-heartedly non-African ideologies and products" (Akurang-Parry, 2007, p. 43). Akurang-Parry (2007) indicates that Ghana's attempts to include Ghanaian knowledge, culture, epistemes and values in the educational curriculum has not been effective in promoting pride of cultural heritage among Ghanaian students.

The inclusion of indigenous knowledge has primarily been limited to the secondary science courses (Mueller & Bentley, 2009; Fredua-Kwarteng, 2005). Recognizing the value of indigenous knowledge, students learn about traditional fishing practices and traditional water management practices. The environmental effects of gold production are discussed along with the social and economic trade-offs. It is assumed that these discussions better prepare students to become involved in governance, policy-making and advocacy (Mueller & Bentley, 2009). In relation to science, this curriculum promotes more student engagement and potential empowerment in decision-making options as students investigate the natural world. The

Ghanaian curriculum emphasizes that the Euro-Western cannon provides just one of multiple ways of knowing in the sciences. (Mueller & Bentley, 2009, p. 58). In a study by Sefa Dei (2002), participants noted that while changes to the curriculum included more culturally relevant material, elements of colonial education remain where students learn about "things that have no direct bearing on local environments and conditions" (Dei, Learning culture, spirituality and indigenous knowledge: Implications for African schooling, 2002, p. 343). The governmental mandate to include culturally relevant material in the science curriculum has not been applied to other subject matter (Fredua-Kwarteng, 2005). The perception of successful inclusion of indigenous knowledge met with mixed reviews.

The inclusion of Ghanaian culture in the curriculum has been limited in its depth and breadth. The elementary and secondary curriculum do not include any content regarding the various ethnic groups with their unique cultures, world views, histories, and social organization (Fredua-Kwarteng, 2005). The weaknesses in the study of Ghanaian culture do not prepare students to identify the hegemonic influence of British culture embedded into other course content. "Though some teachers have attempted to incorporate the study of Ghanaian cultures and traditions in English novel studies, the result is that students are not only presented with grossly inadequate Ghanaian content but also Ghanaian culture takes a subordinate role in contradistinction to the dominant British culture for which the instruction was designed" (Fredua-Kwarteng, 2005). Teachers and students perceive cultural content as a low priority because it is not included in examinations (Coe, Dilemmas of culture in African schools: Youth,

nationalism and the transformation of knowledge, 2005). Charismatic Christians also reject culture as a subject, disparaging it as demonic and anti-Christian (Coe, Dilemmas of culture in African schools: Youth, nationalism and the transformation of knowledge, 2005). Cultural arts are not prioritized. Despite the fact that Ghana's traditional arts such as Kente cloth and the Akua'ba figure are widely recognized as a result of efforts to promote Ghana's national image and commerce, indigenous art forms continue to find little presence in school curricula or teacher training programs (Ross, 2004). As Ross (2004) states of Ghanaians, "Theirs is a struggle shared with people in other post-colonial regions of the world who are losing touch with their cultural arts because the Western educational model does not teach indigenous spiritual, social, or philosophical values along with art-making skills" (p. 132).

Efforts have been made to include Ghanaian history within the contemporary curriculum. Within Ghanaian historiography, political independence birthed a revolutionary perspective in scholarship that maintained the need for Africans to write African history from African perspectives in order to confront Western intellectual hegemony that had been used to justified African subordination (Adjaye, 2008). Despite the immense achievements of African historiography over the past 50 years, imperialist omissions, fabrications and stereotypes have yet to be fully extricated (Zeleza, 2010). These Western influences are still observed in the contemporary curriculum. Students learn about the great empires of West Africa, British colonialism, and the Asante wars against the British but do not learn the histories of other ethnic or tribal groups in Ghana (Fredua-Kwarteng, 2005). Similarly, students learn histories of governance

during the British colonial administration but little to nothing of pre-colonial administration. The Asante people are presented as great warriors, perpetuating stereotypical notions of violence and bloodshed, while trivializing the richness of their culture and social organization (Fredua-Kwarteng, 2005). The limited content of Ghanaian history combined with a European focus and perpetuation of Western stereotypes are indicative of Western hegemonic influences.

For the purposes of strengthening nation building, curriculum development has focused on understanding democratic principles and citizenship education (Levstik & Groth, 2005). As Ghanaian President Kufour stated, "Ghana needs the type of education that is not only geared towards self-development but more importantly to change the society for the better" (As quoted in Levstik & Groth, 2005, p. 565). The social studies curriculum includes history, geography, economics and environmental studies. According to the national curriculum, prominent goals include Ghanaian and African heritage, nation building, democratization, and citizenship participation (Levstik & Groth, 2005). At the senior high level, students are also to learn about Ghana as an independent nation and issues such as the challenges with democracy. Based on student responses, this study found the curriculum to be effective in promoting cultural heritage and nation building. Students expressed the idea that learning about culture and history facilitated good citizenship. They were encouraged to uphold values such as communal citizenship and social responsibility (Dei, Learning culture, spirituality and indigenous knowledge: Implications for African schooling, 2002). Students' understanding of citizenship participation was less clear (Levstik & Groth, 2005).

Though they identified the importance of self-rule in a democracy, they did not describe citizen participation outside of government, instead using the word “rule” in association with government.

Policy and Practice

One of the ways colonial education functioned as a mechanism of oppression was through its policies and practices. Limited educational access resulted in creating an educated elite with social, economic and political power over the masses. Due to notions of male dominance and sexist hiring practices, limited efforts were made to encourage the education of females in colonial schools. Academic success was dependent upon English proficiency, hindering the participation of children who spoke indigenous languages at home with parents who had not had the opportunity to benefit from colonial education. The pedagogical emphasis on rote learning and memorization created a hierarchy that enforced subordination. Western cultural hegemony, premised on racist ideology, facilitated the shame and ultimate loss of an African identity. I will examine current policies of the Ghanaian education system as they relate to human resource development, female inclusion, pedagogy, language of instruction, and national identity.

A policy of Free Primary Education was introduced in 1996, with the abolishment of tuition fees and a gradual reduction of other fees such as uniforms and textbooks by 2005 (Inoue & Oketch, 2008). Inoue & Oketch (2008) noted that this policy has had little effect on equitable distribution of resources or equity in schooling. Despite improvements in the distribution of resources, disparities in the Gross Enrollment Ratio

did not change between rural and urban areas between 1996 and 2005. Disparities in attainment levels between the poorest and richer quintiles also widened during this same time period (Inoue & Oketch, 2008). The Ghanaian educational system continues to present disparities in resources and access:

> There are numerous user fees that parents have to bear, and there is no mechanism to determine that all children of school-going age are in school or to ensure that those not in school gain access. Some rural communities still do not have schools and those that do lack basic amenities that make such areas unattractive to teachers. Beyond the basic level, education is very expensive and the choice to continue or not becomes a factor of parents' economic circumstance. (Donkor, 2002, p. 82)

Despite the rhetoric, education in Ghana is not free, compulsory or universal.

In 1997 the Girls Education Unit (GEU) was established to address gender inequities in education. The GEU's objectives include increasing female enrollment, retention and achievement, particularly in the sciences, technology, and mathematics" (Girls' Education Unit, 2002, p. xiii). Initiatives have included community workshops, female teacher role model incentives, scholarship schemes and Science Math Technology clinics (Donkor, 2002). Nevertheless, Donkor (2002) observed that disparities continue in female enrollment, achievement and subject selection at secondary and tertiary levels. Progress has been inhibited by poor collaboration between the Ministry of Education and the Girls Education Unit. The GEU is limited in its ability to tackle this problem since it is not a policy-making body like the Ministry of Education. Numerous school-related barriers have been identified as negatively impacting female access to higher education including "poor educational background, the school environment, type of school, school location, inadequate learning materials, sexual harassment, teachers' attitude and

pedagogy, inadequate supply of teachers, poor media system, and poor delivery system" (Tanye, 2008, p. 176). Quality schools have enrollment quotas that discriminate against females (Tanye, 2008). In addition, sexual harassment by both male students and teachers is prevalent at educational institutions (Tanye, 2008). Teacher's attitudes about the academic superiority of boys lead to less praise and more criticism of female contributions in the classroom (Tanye, 2008; GEU, 2002).

At the primary level, English is to be the medium of instruction from Primary One, with a Ghanaian language as a compulsory subject to the Senior High (Owu-Ewie, 2006). During colonialism, lack of proficiency in colonial languages rendered Africans incapable of benefitting from Western education. Therefore policies encouraging use of vernacular languages have been viewed with suspicion with objective to stymie social-economic progress (Mfum-Mensah, The impact of colonial and postcolonial Ghanaian language policies on vernacular use in schools in two northern Ghanaian communities, 2005). Children in urban areas often acquire English as first language either because their parents have different mother tongues or because of beliefs that English as a first language would enhance the child's intellectual, social, and economic development. Critics argue that if languages are considered an intangible cultural heritage, then promotion of local languages is an essential means of reclaiming African cultural identity (Tchindjang, Bopda, & Ngamgne, 2008). Despite the inclusion of Ghanaian languages as a subject, local languages are not widely used within the educational system. Literacy objectives of primary education remain ambiguous by not specifying the language(s) through which skills will be taught or learned, and literacy objectives regarding

Ghanaian languages do not specify a level of proficiency or the means of assessment (Omoniyi, 1999).

Summary

The contemporary educational system of Ghana has shifted its system to mirror the American system that includes preschool, primary, junior high, senior high and tertiary education. The government allocates a significant portion of its budget to education but the demands far outweigh the resources. In the curriculum, efforts have been made to reflect the needs and priorities of the Ghanaian people. These efforts, though criticized for their limited outcomes, consist of the inclusion of vocational education to meet the human resource needs, Ghanaian culture to build Ghanaian identity, African epistemes to validate Ghanaian ways of knowing, Ghanaian history to build Ghanaian heritage, and citizenship education to strengthen democratic principles. Finally, educational policies to counteract colonial legacies of unequal participation have included free basic education, the establishment of the Girls' Education Unit and English as the language of instruction.

Summary of Chapter 2

In this chapter I reviewed five main bodies of literature. First I contrasted traditional accounts and critical studies of colonialism regarding the colonizer's civilizing, modernizing and Christianizing mission. While the colonizer claimed to introduce civilized culture, language, governance and peace, in reality the civilizing mission executed cultural annihilation, linguistic hegemony, despotic governance, African involvement in European warfare and increased ethnic tensions. Though the colonizer

claimed to spark economic, social and political modernization, in reality European intervention merely resulted in Africa's overall stagnation or regression. The Christianizing mission operated under a premise of bringing salvation to heathen souls but in practice assisted the process of imperialism through training in subordination and indoctrination in Western culture. Following the formal end of colonialism, political, economic and social domination of contemporary Ghana continues in the form of neocolonialism. The mechanisms of neo-colonial oppression used by global powers include debt structures, conditional aid, unequal trading systems, structural adjustment policies, Western educational policies, and English hegemony. These measures essentially constitute the re-colonization of Ghana by fostering Ghana's economic dependency and thereby facilitating economic exploitation and political hegemony.

Second, I summarized the development of education from the pre-colonial era through the 1980's reforms, including significant curriculum and policies. Before the arrival of Europeans, indigenous education played a central role in Ghanaian society for cultural and historical transmission as well as for preparation of youth to occupy productive societal roles. Western education was introduced during the mercantile era but remained primarily for the children of European merchants born to African wives. Missionaries during the beginning of the nineteenth century initiated systematic efforts in formal education as a means of proselytization and training indigenous workers. Many mission agencies promoted the use of indigenous languages to facilitate proselytization as African students were indoctrinated in Western culture and encouraged to disassociate from what were perceived as heathen African customs. The

British government did not become involved in colonial education in an official capacity until the end of the nineteenth century. The curriculum focus on Western culture and the use of English as the language of instruction was intended for the preparation of male West Africans to be employed in lower level positions of the colonial administration. Following independence, the Ghanaian government sought to include traditional African culture and indigenous languages into the educational curriculum. Subsequent administrations introduced many policy shifts regarding English or indigenous languages as the language of instruction as well as the degree of emphasis on vocational education. The educated elite have advocated for an academic focus with English as the language of instruction in order to ensure their children are qualified for admission to foreign schools or employment overseas. Educational proponents of vocational education and the use of indigenous languages as the language of instruction contend that vocational skills in an accessible language will better meet the human resource needs of national development.

Third I utilized literature from Critical Race Theory, Social Justice Theory and Oppression Theory as a framework to examine colonialism through the lens of racism, inequitable participation, and oppression. Critical race theory purports that racism is pervasive in society and I presented evidence of the widespread prevalence of racism in British society, colonial historiography, and colonial government. According to critical race theory, the dominant narrative silences the narrative of the marginalized and therefore it is important to produce a counter narrative from the voices of the marginalized. Though historiography by the colonizer silenced the narratives of

Ghanaians through omissions of Ghanaian history, distortions of resistance, and fabrications of European contributions, Ghanaians are beginning to name themselves and their own reality through the use of counter narratives that include history before European arrival, Ghanaian historical figures and histories of resistance. Social Justice Theory facilitated the identification of patterns of colonial oppression that denied full and equal participation such as racism, ethno-religious oppression, sexism and classism. Racist ideology promoted white racial superiority that was used to justify human slavery, colonial exploitation and racial discrimination. Ethno-religious oppression imposed Western cultural hegemony and the abandonment of African traditions on its African converts, rewarding Western assimilation with higher status and better positions within the colonial administration. Sexism was imported through notions of male superiority in colonial discourse and instituted through limited female access to education and female discrimination in colonial employment. Classism became institutionalized through the introduction of education, wage employment and taxation, as the educated elite were able to secure jobs with higher wages while the uneducated majority was forced to abandon self-sustaining rural communities in search of manual labor in urban areas. Finally I used the framework of Oppression Theory to examine colonialism through the lens of oppression as exhibited in exploitation of African resources and labor, marginalization and subsequent dependency bond, powerlessness to effect change, Western cultural imperialism and violence or the threat of violence.

Fourth, post-colonial theory was used as a framework for analyzing colonial legacies of dominant discourse within the educational system that was used to exercise

domination and control. In the educational curriculum, there remain colonial legacies of discursive topics such as the superiority of Christianity, Western culture, Western knowledge and English. Contemporary classrooms continue to demonstrate remnants of the pedagogy of subordination as evidenced by authoritarian teaching style, rote memorization and excessive discipline. Originally intended for the purposes of colonial domination, contemporary educators reproduce the discourse of racial sameness for purposes of forging national unity by minimizing ethnic diversity.

Finally, contemporary structures, curriculum, policy and practice in the Ghanaian educational system were examined. The contemporary educational system of Ghana closely reflects the American system as it includes preschool, primary, junior high, senior high and tertiary education. Though a significant portion of the government budget is allocated to education, current resources are insufficient to meet demands in infrastructure, salary, programming and resources. In the curriculum, efforts have been made to include vocational education to meet the human resource needs, Ghanaian culture and history to build Ghanaian identity, and citizenship education to strengthen democratic principles. Finally, educational policies that promote free basic education, female access to education, and English as the language of instruction have been implemented to counteract colonial legacies of unequal participation.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to examine the extent to which education professionals in contemporary Ghana express awareness of any continuing effects of colonialism in Ghanaian society and in the educational processes and systems of Ghana. The primary questions addressed by this study were (1) to what extent do education professionals including policy makers and implementers such as teachers, counselors and administrators express awareness of the existence of any colonial legacies in Ghanaian society, and (2) to what extent do education professionals including policy makers and implementers such as teachers, counselors and administrators express awareness of the existence of any colonial legacies in the education systems of Ghana. An overview of literature in Critical Race Theory, Social Justice Education Theory, Oppression Theory and Post-Colonial Theory provided the theoretical foundation that was used to guide this study. Five factors emerged from this literature as a framework for analysis of study data, including discourse, cultural imperialism, linguistic hegemony, racism and internalized racism, and oppression.

The rationale, setting, participants, data collection and data management procedures are described in this chapter, as well as the researcher's role, trustworthiness and ethical considerations in the conduct of this study. A brief portrait of the researcher is provided, along with a discussion of the limitations of the study.

Research Questions

The following research questions guided this investigation:

1. To what extent do education professionals including policy makers and implementers such as teachers, counselors and administrators express awareness of the existence of any colonial legacies in Ghanaian society?
2. To what extent do education professionals including policy makers and implementers such as teachers, counselors and administrators express awareness of the existence of any colonial legacies in the education systems of Ghana?
3. What obstacles to development are identified by education professionals including policy makers and implementers such as teachers, counselors and administrators?

To answer these research questions, I examined the following sub-questions:

1. What observations do education professionals make about the state of the education systems in Ghana today?
2. Do education professionals describe any similarities between the education systems in Ghana today and the education system established under colonial rule?
3. What similarities between the education systems in Ghana today and the education system established under colonial rule do education professionals describe?
4. Do education professionals describe any differences between the education systems in Ghana today and the education system established under colonial rule?
5. What differences between the education systems in Ghana today and the education system established under colonial rule do education professionals describe?
6. What remnants of colonial rule in evidence in Ghanaian society today are described by education professionals?
7. What remnants of colonial rule in evidence in the educational systems of Ghana today are described by education professionals?
8. Do education professionals describe any benefits of the education established under colonial rule?
9. Do education professionals describe any limitations in the education systems established under colonial rule?
10. Do education professionals describe any present day effects of colonialism on Ghana?
11. What effects of colonialism on Ghana are described by education professionals?
12. Do education professionals in Ghana describe any obstacles to development in Ghana?
13. What obstacles to development are identified by education professionals in Ghana?
14. Do education professionals identify any legacies of British colonial rule in Ghana today?

15. What legacies of British colonial rule are identified by education professionals in Ghana?
16. What changes do education professionals describe as needed to overcome any continuing effects of colonialism in Ghana?
17. What reforms or changes do education professionals recommend for the education systems of Ghana?

Research Design

A qualitative methodology was selected for this study to assess the extent to which education professionals in contemporary Ghana perceive any continuing effects of colonialism in Ghanaian society and in the educational systems and structures of Ghana. Rossman and Rallis (1998) describe three approaches to qualitative research: ethnology, case studies and phenomenological studies. Quoting Gall, Borg, and Gall (1996), Marshall and Rossman (1999) describe these three approaches as (1) those focusing on individual lived experience, (2) those focusing on society and culture, and (3) those with an interest in language and communication (p.3). This study focuses on the second of these three, society and culture. Specifically, this study focuses on the effects of colonialism and neo-colonialism on Ghanaian society and culture, and the awareness of educational professionals of those effects.

This study employed three data gathering methodologies: Interviews, focus groups and document analysis. The interviews and the focus groups allowed me to determine the extent to which education professionals express awareness of any European focus and world view, both in curriculum content and other aspects of the educational processes, and in aspects of Ghanaian society. The focus groups allowed me to gather the perceptions of a larger group of education professionals and the interviews allowed me to go in-depth with a selected number of education

professionals. The document analysis allowed me to determine what aspects of curriculum materials continue to reflect a European focus and world-view.

Validation of the inferences made on the basis of data from one analytic approach demands the use of multiple sources of information. Therefore, a variety of data collection methods was employed in my study to verify findings, strengthen assumptions and develop a more complete understanding (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Rossman & Rallis, 1998). These methods included: individual interviews with educational policy makers and administrators, focus groups with teachers, teacher educators and counselors, and content analysis of curriculum guides, textbooks, and policy statements. To minimize variance, I asked the same questions within each of these methods and coded the data according to the five factors identified for this study. By utilizing multiple methods of data collection, a triangulation of data was obtained for my study. Method triangulation provides a comparative analysis of conclusions as it allows the same question to be considered from a variety of viewpoints. Thus the documentation of the awareness of the presence of colonial legacies in Ghanaian society and education was strengthened by the variety of methods across various role groups. Triangulation of data assisted me in identifying emerging themes and categories regarding awareness of colonial legacies while further developing an understanding of those findings as they were verified from multiple sources (Creswell, 1994; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Maxwell, 1996). Maxwell (1996) describes that the researcher's biases and beliefs are one of the biggest threats to interpretation validity. Maxwell (1996) states that while no specific methods in qualitative research ensure

correct interpretation of observations by the researcher, triangulation provides potential enhancement of the validity of the findings. Therefore in my study, data collected from interviews, focus groups and content analysis helped to minimize threats to the interpretation validity by verifying my interpretations and conclusions across multiple sources.

Study Participants

The participants for this study were education professionals involved in the school systems of Ghana. They included education policy makers, administrators, counselors, teachers, and teacher educators. Purposeful sampling was employed in the selection of study participants. Purposeful sampling allowed me as a qualitative researcher to select "information-rich cases" that increase the probability of gaining a greater understanding "about issues of central importance to the purpose of the inquiry" (Patton, 2002, p. 230), or in this case, the levels of awareness of continuing effects of colonialism in contemporary Ghana. The sample was stratified in order to balance the number of participants along role categories in the study and facilitate comparisons across role groups (Patton, 2002). I completed a set of thirty-two individual interviews that included three policy makers, thirteen administrators, six counselors, one teacher educator and nine teachers. The six focus groups were comprised of twenty-seven participants including eight teachers, seven counselors and twelve teacher educators. The educational settings of the various participants included fifteen urban and seventeen rural locations. These educational settings represented six of the ten regions in Ghana, including the Eastern, Greater Accra, Ashanti, Volta, Upper

East and Northern Regions. Participants were selected on the basis of their years of experience in education, with a minimum of five years to as many as 20 years. Only one participant was excluded from the study, the Minister of Education, due to concerns that his political office might influence the nature of his responses. The document analysis established a baseline of data regarding the curriculum of Ghanaian schools as presented in 7 curriculum guides, 9 textbooks, and 6 Ministry of Education policy statements, handbooks and reports that describe the educational systems in Ghana today.

Procedures for Data Collection and Analysis

An overview of literature in Critical Race Theory, Social Justice Education Theory, Oppression Theory and Post-Colonial Theory provided the theoretical foundation that was used to guide this study. Five factors emerged from this literature as a framework for analysis of study data. The five factors used to identify and analyze awareness of colonial legacies among educational professionals included discourse, cultural imperialism, linguistic hegemony, racism and internalized racism, and oppression. Colonial legacies in discourse included systems of judgment and coercion by which one group marks off and dominates others through various forms of written and verbal communication. Remnants of cultural imperialism included evidence of Western cultural hegemony and subsequent marginalization of traditional African culture. Colonial legacies in linguistic hegemony included the dominance of English and subsequent marginalization of Ghanaian languages. Legacies of racism and internalized racism imported during colonialism included documentation of belief systems regarding

racial superiority and inferiority and subsequent discriminatory practices or associated psychological perceptions. Colonial legacies of oppression included evidence of sexism, classism, ethno-religious oppression, and internalized oppression.

Interviews

According to Seidman (1998), the foundation of in-depth interviewing is the "interest in understanding the experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience" (p.3). Seidman (1998) discusses in-depth interviewing as a way for the researcher to understand the attitudes of the participants, thus giving context to their behaviors and actions. When participants describe a curriculum goal or teaching strategy, the researcher can then put that goal or strategy into context thus creating an understanding of the participant's strategy or goal from the information gained through the interview (Seidman, 1998).

According to Rossman and Rallis (1998) "talk" is an integral component of research that uses qualitative methods. "Talk" is descriptive of qualitative interviews whereby in-depth dialogue creates a discursive space for the interviewer and interviewee to participate in the co-construction of meaning. Interviewing helps the researcher gain a deeper understanding of the participant's worldview and lived experiences (Rossman and Rallis, 1998). This validation of alternative sources of knowledge that were formerly excluded from formal, academic discourse is known as giving "voice". Voice is critical to a determination of the perceptions and levels of awareness of educational professionals. Through the interviews, education professionals had the opportunity to share their reflections on Ghanaian society and

Ghanaian education processes and structures in their own voice. Through the interviews, this research was grounded in the lived experiences of study participants (Hooks, 1994; Leistyna & Woodrum, 1996; Spina, 1997). Education professionals at all levels of the education enterprise from teacher educators to teachers, counselors, administrators and policy makers through their own words described their experience of Ghanaian society and Ghanaian educational systems and processes. Utilizing the five points of analysis for a framework of this study, the data collected from the interviews provided a point of comparison to the data collected from the document analysis.

Interview Approach

Neutral locations within school grounds were arranged for the interviews to facilitate the transportation and scheduling needs of participants. Prior to commencing the interview, I reviewed the informed consent letters signed earlier and clarified any questions or concerns participants might have regarding the study. The interviewer sat across from the interviewee in individual interviews. During focus group interviews, participants formed a circle or semi-circle of which the interviewer was a part. The individual interviews ranged in length from twenty-six minutes to fifty minutes while the focus group interviews ranged in length from fifty-seven minutes to two hours and fifty-four minutes.

A paid professional transcribed the interviews conducted for this study. The transcriber was required to sign a confidentiality agreement. Seidman (1998) suggests giving hired transcribers written instructions for transcription to ensure consistency. I developed a “procedures for transcription sheet” for the hired professional to create

uniformity during the process and adherence to the exact words and meanings of the interviewees. In addition, all transcripts were given to participants to proofread before excerpts were included in the study. According to Seidman (1998) allowing participants to proofread a transcript can help the researcher present the participant's story more accurately. I kept the interview transcripts in a locked cabinet in my office.

According to Seidman (1998), the interviewer must come to the transcripts with an open attitude, seeking what emerges as important and of interest from the text (p. 100). To do this, I immersed myself in the data through reading the transcripts several times. Next I found similar topics, and organized them into categories. As researcher, I then coded the data by finding different themes among the categories. Each of the themes was reviewed and referenced by their relationship to the study questions. This analysis was written with the results, conclusions and meanings developed from the analysis (Rossman & Rallis, 2003).

To analyze the interview data I utilized Rossman and Rallis' (1998) six-stage process utilizing the qualitative software program, Atlas.ti. I read the transcripts several times and systematically coded passages that related to the five factors identified for this study (Seidman, 1998). Afterward, I reread, analyzed and further coded those passages to understand how they related to the factor and what perceptions were being presented about the identified factor. I utilized the Atlas.ti software to develop a document coding form similar to an ethnographic coding form that allowed me to collect passages from varied parts of a single interview or parts from several interviews that related to a particular factor and move those passages to one section of a

document (Rossman and Rallis, 1998; Seidman, 1998). Examples from the interview data that appeared throughout the ten interviews were categorized according to their relevance to a particular factor. Passages that appeared to relate to more than one factor were coded in as many document sections as appropriate. According to Miles and Huberman (1994) codes are "tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study" (p. 56). The codes used in this process of analysis were codes assigned to the five factors identified for this study. Though this process took several iterations, it was a useful procedure for organizing the data and making analysis of the data seem less daunting (Rossman & Rallis, 1998; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Rossman and Rallis (1998) suggest that it is important for researchers to be firm about the specific "phrases or words" that are selected to reflect the categories and themes that are identified because this will help with the credibility and trustworthiness of the study. I cross referenced the "words and phrases" that I selected from the interview data to reflect the factors identified for this study and used a 'peer reviewer' to cross check my selections (Patton, 2002).

Awareness or lack of awareness of colonial legacies related to the five factors was primarily determined by three types of educator responses or written content. At times statements by educators or authors exemplified expressions of one of the five factors, indicating a lack of awareness for that factor. An educator who stated that colonialism introduced proper dress of a suit and tie demonstrated a lack of awareness of cultural imperialism that uses Western cultural standards for defining proper dress. Sometimes educators or authors demonstrated awareness of colonial legacies by

directly identifying them. An educator demonstrated awareness of cultural imperialism when stating that Western nations imposed their culture upon Ghanaians. At other times awareness of colonial legacies, though not directly stated, was inferred by recommendations that would counteract the impact of a given legacy. An educator that recommended including more Ghanaian culture in the educational curriculum demonstrated awareness of the marginalization of Ghanaian culture that has happened through the legacy of cultural imperialism.

Quotations are cited in the text with individual/focus group numbers followed by paragraph numbers (e.g. 24:11 is interview/focus group number 24, paragraph number 11). Individual interviews and focus groups with education professionals allowed me to determine the extent to which education professionals expressed awareness of the existence of colonial legacies in Ghanaian society and in the education systems of Ghana. The guided interview approach provided systematic comparisons among professionals as well as a comparison to the document analysis based on the five points of analysis for this study.

Document Analysis

"Content analysis is potentially one of the most important research techniques in the social sciences," according to Klaus Krippendorff (2004). The researcher analyzes data as "representations" of images, texts, and expressions from which she must draw meaning in the context of the uses for which those texts were created. The epistemology of content analysis allows researchers to inquire into "human communication, how people coordinate their lives, the commitments they make to each

other and the conceptions of society they aspire to, what they know, and why they act" (Krippendorff, 2004, p. xiii). According to Krippendorff, one of the original developers of content analysis, it can be defined as "analysis of the manifest and latent content of a body of communicated material through…evaluation of its key symbols and themes in order to ascertain its meaning and probable effect" (Krippendorf, 2004, p. xvii). Content analysis is an "empirically grounded method" that allows the researcher to infer meaning from an analysis of the texts. Content analysis "transcends traditional notions of symbols, content and intents". The researcher analyzes content to determine not only the stated message, but to infer the message intended by the content as well as the probable effect of the content. If a Ghanaian curriculum guide states as its goal the learning of world history and an analysis of the content of the curriculum notes that the primary focus is on Europe or on Britain, then the researcher draws meaning both from the stated goal as well as from the relationship between the material included as a central focus and the stated goal.

Content analysis draws inferences from the channel used to communicate the message. For instance, if Ghanaian curriculum guides make claims about the significance of Ghanaian languages, but conduct all examinations in English, then this communicates content about meaning and values of the curriculum developers, or the social and educational context in which the curriculum was written. A third characteristic of content analysis, according to Krippendorf (2004) is that it has developed its own methodology that "enables researchers to plan, execute,

communicate, reproduce, and critically evaluate their analyses whatever the particular results" (2004, p. xx).

Content analysis "is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts to the contexts of their use" (Krippendorff, p. 18). The inferences and conclusions drawn by the researcher from an analysis of curriculum and other texts related to and describing the education systems and structures of Ghana today including educational policy and practices must be replicable. Any other researcher analyzing those texts and materials should be able to draw the same or similar inferences and conclusions as those drawn by this researcher. The validity of the inferences and conclusions drawn by this researcher must be able to meet the requirement of open and careful scrutiny. To meet this requirement, I asked a member of my dissertation committee to review sample texts and review the inferences and conclusions that I drew from my content analysis. Further, I sought other research to independently verify the inferences and claims I made from analysis of the texts reviewed. In particular, research that examined education in post colonial Ghana written from a critical colonial perspective was used to verify the validity of the results of my content analysis.

Used in the context of this study, content analysis allowed the researcher to establish a baseline of data regarding the curriculum of Ghanaian schools as presented in curriculum guides, textbooks used, student study materials, curriculum policy statements, and any other texts available that describe the educational systems in Ghana today. The five factors were also used to develop a table for organizing data collected from the a variety of documents including student and teacher educator

curriculum guides, social studies textbooks, curriculum policy statements and administrator handbooks. Passages from textbooks and other written materials were copied and placed into as many factors as appropriate within the table format. Multiple textbooks from the primary, middle and high school social studies curriculum were analyzed due to the wide range of content that could be significantly impacted by colonial legacies including history, culture and citizenship education. Documents were collected in Ghana from the archives at the University of Ghana, the Ghana Education Service, a variety of schools, and education professionals in the field. These educational and curricular materials were analyzed to identify any continuing evidence of colonialism in Ghanaian schools. Since all curriculum materials are either developed by educational professionals in Ghana or approved for use by educational professionals, evidence of colonial legacies in curriculum materials was another yardstick by which to ascertain evidence of colonial legacies in the perceptions of Ghanaian education professionals.

Researcher Autobiography

This researcher is a Ghanaian "border straddler" who is a product of the educational systems and processes of Ghana and who has studied in the educational systems of the former colonizers. This researcher has lived outside Ghana for more than two decades and currently maintains residences both in Ghana and outside Ghana.

This researcher is native Ghanaian and maintains contact with people in many strata of Ghanaian society and governmental institutions. This researcher is Sē and the study participants including teachers, counselors, teacher educators, administrators and

policy makers come from the many tribal and ethnic groups of Ghana. This researcher is King of the Sē people and some of my subjects occupy roles as teachers, administrators, counselors or policy makers in the education systems. As researcher, I sought to ensure that neither status nor ethnic identity became a factor in the interviews or in the focus groups. I sought to ensure that no one who has a personal relationship with me in the role of Suapolor was included in the interview or focus group sample. I also sought to devise other measures to ensure that my role and position as Suapolor has little or no impact on the interviews and the focus groups. My linguistic expertise in several Ghanaian languages including Ga, Dangme, Twi and Fante as well as English enabled me to easily establish rapport with the study participants and encourage them to share their perceptions.

Summary of Chapter 3

In this chapter I reviewed the methodology of the present study. The purpose of this study was to examine the extent to which education professionals in contemporary Ghana express awareness of any continuing effects of colonialism in Ghanaian society and in the educational processes and systems of Ghana. The participants for this study were education professionals involved in the school systems of Ghana, including education policy makers, administrators, counselors, teachers, and teacher educators. This qualitative study employed three data gathering methodologies: Interviews, focus groups and document analysis.

The theoretical foundation used to guide this study came from an overview of literature in Critical Race Theory, Social Justice Education Theory, Oppression Theory

and Post-Colonial Theory. Five factors emerged from this literature as a framework for analysis of study data, including discourse, cultural imperialism, linguistic hegemony, racism and internalized racism, and oppression.

Interviews of Ghanaian educational professionals were conducted in individual interviews and focus groups. After transcribing the interviews, the qualitative software Atlast.ti was used to code passages from the interviews and focus groups that related to the five factors identified for this study. Analysis of these coded passages from the individual interviews and focus groups allowed me to determine the extent to which education professionals expressed awareness of the existence of colonial legacies in Ghanaian society and in the education systems of Ghana.

The five factors were also used to develop a table for organizing data collected from a variety of documents including student and teacher educator curriculum guides, social studies textbooks, curriculum policy statements and administrator handbooks. Textbooks from the social studies curriculum were selected due to the wide range of content that could be significantly impacted by colonial legacies including history, culture and citizenship education. Evidence of colonial legacies in curriculum materials was another yardstick by which to ascertain evidence of colonial legacies in the perceptions of Ghanaian education professionals since all curriculum materials are either developed by or approved for use by educational professionals in Ghana.

I identified my bias as a researcher as one who experienced firsthand the educational system in Ghana and the educational system in the lands of former colonizers. I acknowledged my role as a King of Se and the care taken during data

collection to ensure that none of the study participants had a relationship with me as Suapolor so that neither status nor ethnic identity became a factor in the interviews or in the focus groups. My linguistic expertise in several Ghanaian languages as well as English was noted as enabling me to easily establish rapport with the study participants and encourage them to share their perceptions. In chapter four, I describe the summary of the findings for this research study.

CHAPTER 4

PRESENTATION OF DATA

Introduction

This qualitative study examined the extent to which education professionals in contemporary Ghana express awareness of any continuing effects of colonialism in Ghanaian society and in the educational processes and systems of Ghana. The primary questions addressed by this study include (1) to what extent do education professionals including policy makers and implementers such as teachers, counselors and administrators express awareness of the existence of any colonial legacies in Ghanaian society, (2) to what extent do education professionals including policy makers and implementers such as teachers, counselors and administrators express awareness of the existence of any colonial legacies in the education systems of Ghana, and (3) what obstacles to development are identified by educational professionals.

The participants of this research study were education professionals involved in the school systems of Ghana, including education policy makers, administrators, counselors, teachers, and teacher educators. During individual interviews and focus groups, the educators described their perspectives of Ghanaian society and Ghanaian educational systems in their own words in response to a predetermined set of twelve questions. I completed thirty-two individual interviews as well as six focus groups that were comprised of twenty-seven participants. The document analysis established a baseline of data regarding the curriculum of Ghanaian schools as presented in 7

curriculum guides, 9 textbooks, and 6 Ministry of Education policy statements, handbooks and reports that describe the educational systems in Ghana today.

In this chapter I present the five factors used as the framework of analysis for this research study. Next I present data for this research study that was collected from individual interviews, focus groups and document analysis according to each of the five factors. These five factors included discourse, cultural imperialism, linguistic hegemony, racism and internalized racism, and oppression.

Five Factors for Data Analysis

An overview of literature in Critical Race Theory, Social Justice Education Theory, Oppression Theory and Post-Colonial Theory provided the theoretical foundation that was used to guide this study. Five factors emerged from this literature as a framework for analysis of study data. These five factors included discourse, cultural imperialism, linguistic hegemony, racism and internalized racism, and oppression. First I present the extent of awareness of colonial legacies in discourse among educational professionals in historical narratives, curriculum and pedagogy. Second I demonstrate evidence of awareness of colonial legacies of cultural imperialism, including beliefs of cultural superiority and inferiority, Western cultural hegemony, and Marginalization of Ghanaian languages. Third I present the expressed awareness of colonial legacies of linguistic hegemony including perceptions of linguistic superiority or inferiority, English hegemony, marginalization of Ghanaian languages, linguistic barriers of access and language recommendations. Fourth I note awareness among educators of colonial legacies of racism and internalized racism such as perceptions of white racial superiority

or black racial inferiority, and African stereotypes. Finally I present the extent of awareness of patterns of oppression including ethnoreligous oppression, classism, sexism, internalized oppression and neocolonialism.

Discourse

Post-colonial theory describes the role of dominant discourse in producing and perpetuating oppression. The dominant group generates "majoritarian stories" in which racial, gender, class or other forms of privilege are portrayed as normal (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002; Love, 2004). Dismantling dominant discourse necessitates the production of counter narratives that acknowledge the importance of experiences of marginalized people as sources of knowledge which are often much different from those of the dominant group (Milner, 2007).

For this study, I first examined awareness of colonial legacies in the discourse of historical narratives. Evidence of awareness of dominant discourse in historical narratives included awareness of the omission of African history, majoritarian storytelling, counter narratives and the diminution or misrepresentation of resistance to oppression. Second, I examined awareness of dominant discourse based on awareness of the presence of Western culture, values and knowledge in curriculum objectives and content. Third I examined participants' awareness of dominant discourse in pedagogy, including the pedagogy of subordination and discipline.

Historical Narratives

Omission of African History

Western discourse purported that Africa was devoid of history prior to the arrival of the European. Western historians typically omitted African history in colonial historiography (Adjaye, 2008; Bush, 1999). Following independence, written scholarly material regarding Ghanaian history had not yet been fully developed (Quist, 2003). For this research study, the omission of history was examined in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial contexts.

Individual Interviews

Two participants in the individual interviews expressed awareness of the omission of Ghanaian history as a colonial legacy. One counselor observed that Ghanaian history continues to be omitted in the contemporary curriculum:

> The subjects that the colonialist introduced in our schools in those days are largely the same as what we are doing in our schools today. For instance, we are in Africa and yet we are still learning about the geography of North America and the history of Britain, etc. Studying such courses only gives the impression that studying about Britain and America to the neglect of our own history is the better thing to do. Consequently, it is killing our pride in our national heritage. (19:26)

The inclusion of British history in place of Ghanaian history suggests that Western history is of greater value, resulting in internalized oppression that compromises pride in Ghanaian identity. Another administrator acknowledged the need to allot more instructional hours to Ghanaian history:

> From the basic level to the university, we cannot do without our history. History helps us to make decisions for our future. So though there is emphasis on science for development, without history no nation can

> move forward because we need to know our past so that we can make better policies for the future. (27:35)

This administrator considered the study of Ghanaian history essential to national development especially as it concerns policy development. Only two of the twenty-six educators in the individual interviews expressed specific awareness of the omission of Ghanaian history as a continuing colonial legacy.

Focus Groups

Only one participant in the focus groups expressed awareness of the omission of Ghanaian history as a colonial legacy. In response to a question about the effects of colonialism in schools, one counselor in a focus group stated, "It has led to restriction of personal freedom, cultures, values and history" (36:29). This comment views the diminution of Ghanaian history working in concert with political oppression and Western cultural imperialism. Most of the participants in the focus groups did not express awareness of the omission of Ghanaian history as a colonial legacy.

Document Analysis

Six social studies and three citizenship education textbooks were reviewed for evidence of the omission of Ghanaian history in the document analysis. Pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial history contexts were examined. This section deals exclusively with historical narratives in the curriculum.

Regarding pre-colonial history, only one chapter was found in the social studies curriculum, entitled "Ghana as a Nation" (Amoah, Baabereyir, Cobbinah, Dake, & Ngaaso, 2005, pp. 26-46). One chapter of the junior high textbook describes the migration routes and settlements of the five main ethnic groups currently residing in

Ghana. Only three brief references to pre-colonial history were found in the other eight textbooks reviewed. One citizenship education textbook acknowledges the success of coastal people as middlemen in pre-colonial trade between European traders and interior groups of people (Adu-Asirifi & Ampah, Citizenship education for primary schools: Pupils' book 5, p. 43). Two social studies textbooks state that the system of chieftaincy existed prior to colonial rule (Amoah et al, 2005, p. 66; Amoah, Baabereyir, Cobbinanah, Dake, & Ngaaso, 2008). From the textbooks analyzed in this study, there is little to no inclusion of pre-colonial Ghanaian history.

The colonial period of history in Ghana was included in two of the nine textbooks reviewed. The primary school citizenship education syllabus includes an objective of "Explaining how Ghana became a nation" (Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, 2007, p. 23; Adu-Asirifi & Ampah, pp. 42-53). The chapter reflecting this unit describes pre-colonial trade with Europeans, European efforts to unite ethnic groups through colonization, and the formation of political parties that leads to independence. Thus pre-independence history is more focused on Europeans in Africa than on Africans themselves. The junior high syllabus includes a unit on "Colonization and Development" that encompasses an entire chapter of the second year junior high social studies textbook (Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, 2007, p. 6; Amoah, Baabereyir, Cobbinah, Dake, & Ngaaso, Social studies for junior high schools 2, 2008, pp. 47-69). This chapter discusses the concept of colonization, the positive and negative effects of colonization, the retardation of progress due to colonization, and how to counteract negative legacies of colonization. None of the three high school textbooks analyzed or

the senior high social studies syllabi includes colonial history in Ghana. Based on the data obtained from the textbooks analyzed for this study, minimal colonial history is included in the Ghanaian syllabus.

With regards to post-colonial history, the syllabi and textbooks for both citizenship education and social studies exclude any historical content following independence. The textbooks are silent about historical figures, inventions, achievements, and struggles over a period of more than 50 years. The textbooks reviewed perpetuate notions of the colonial legacy that Ghana is devoid of history through the omission of all post-colonial history.

The Ministry of Education, Science and Sports acknowledges the importance of Ghana's history in the junior high and senior high social studies syllabi, stating that one of its general aims is to "appreciate the impact of history on current and future development efforts of the country" (Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, 2007, p. ii). Despite stated curriculum objectives for social studies, the paucity of Ghanaian history found in the curriculum guides or in the textbooks used in the primary and secondary levels of education perpetuates the omission of Ghanaian history as a colonial legacy.

Majoritarian Storytelling

I documented three forms of dominant discourse that perpetuate the colonizer's majoritarian storytelling including the civilizing, modernizing and Christianizing missions used to justify colonialism. Examples of dominant discourse regarding the civilizing mission include the colonizers' influence with civilization, democracy, education and

ending tribal wars. Majoritarian storytelling of the modernizing mission includes the development of trade, infrastructure, industry, agriculture and natural resources. Evidence of dominant discourse regarding the Christianizing mission includes discussions of the introduction of Christianity to heathen savages.

Individual Interviews

Several participants shared perspectives that indicate an acceptance of the dominant discourse and lack of awareness that the perspectives they share reflect dominant discourse regarding the colonizer's civilizing mission. These participants' comments indicated that the colonizer promoted civilization, education, democracy or peace between ethnic groups. Two educators discussed the "civilizing" or "enlightening" influence of colonialism. One counselor stated, "It has enlightened the Ghanaians a lot. Apart from some of their misdeeds like promoting the slave trade and discriminating against us, colonialism generally helped us. They helped to promote civilization" (21:23). This educator claimed that the colonizer brought social advancement while identifying two significant violations of human rights. Another counselor stated that colonialism brought "the creation of awareness of human values and the provision of some degree of enlightenment" (31:23). This counselor provided no indication of awareness that colonialism violated human value through trade in humans and racial discrimination. The introduction of formal education was perceived as a benefit of colonialism by eight educators with no indication of awareness that formal education was specifically western education or that education existed in Ghana prior to the introduction of formal education. One policy maker stated that it "created

and fostered the awareness of the need for education" (5:17). This statement invalidates indigenous education, fosters the notions that Africans had no education prior to the arrival of the colonizing Europeans, and reinforces perceptions of Africans as backwards and needing European enlightenment. One counselor noted, "Through education some of the primitive aspects of our culture have been eradicated, for example ritual murder" (21:36). This counselor does not acknowledge "primitive" aspects of Western culture such as the pursuit of profit by selling humans as commodities. Another administrator stated that education "helped to improve our governance, health and agriculture" (6:17). The counselor's did not indicate awareness of the displacement of effective self-governance, ethno-traditional medicine or indigenous technologies. "Through education many people have been equipped to be more effective than their illiterate relatives", commented one counselor (31:23). The colonizer is portrayed as the liberator from illiteracy rather than the oppressor who used education to meet self-serving interests for an elite few. The introduction of education was also perceived to be necessary to make Africans productive members of society. "Education under the colonial administration trained students to become useful to themselves and society at large" (3:22). None of the educators discussed colonialism as benefitting Ghana through an introduction to democracy or by ending tribal conflicts. Thus many participants in the individual interviews demonstrated lack of awareness of dominant discourse by perpetuating the justification of colonialism through the colonizer's civilizing mission in its promotion of civilization or education.

One participant in the individual interviews evidenced lack of awareness of dominant discourse by stating that colonialism promoted modernization through trade, transportation, natural resource development or human resource development. A policy maker commented, “In a positive way colonialism brought Western style education, commerce, trade and Christianity” (5:23). This statement does not demonstrate awareness that successful commerce and trade existed long before the arrival of Europeans and essentially ended with colonialism as the colonizer assumed control of all natural resources.

Two participants in the individual interviews presented perspectives indicative of lack of awareness of dominant discourse by reproducing majoritarian storytelling of the colonizer’s Christianizing mission. “In a positive way colonialism brought Western style education, commerce, trade and Christianity” (5:23). This educator did not discuss the prohibition and demonization of African traditional religious beliefs as well as cultural traditions not related to spiritual rituals. A policy maker stated, “It also helped in the propagation of the gospel. The missionaries claimed that their mission was to liberate the mind and the hand, and save the soul: the head, the heart and the hand” (5:23). This comment suggests the internalization of dominant discourse where Africans needed to be “saved” and have their minds “liberated” through Christian doctrine. A few participants in the individual interviews reproduced majoritarian stories regarding the colonizer’s Christianizing mission. Similarly, few participants indicated awareness of or rejection of this dominant discourse.

Focus Groups

Some participants in the focus groups indicated lack of awareness of dominant discourse through their repetition of majoritarian stories regarding the colonizer's civilizing mission. The participants in the focus groups did not discuss the colonizer as bringing civilization, democratic government or peace to ethnic tensions. None of their statements indicated either that they were aware of this form of dominant discourse, or that they agreed or repudiated this majoritarian story. One of three participants who discussed formal education highlighted the inculcation of values:

> Colonial style education first gave us a foretaste of formal education. The concept of schooling outside the home, the wearing of uniforms, training of teachers and the introduction of school curriculum came through Western-style education. The introduction of colonial system of education paved the way for the sort of educational structures that we have now. Its mode of training can be seen as a precursor to the sense of discipline, commitment and devotion that is often upheld as one of the values of education today. (33:17)

This teacher educator implied that Western education introduced cultural values of discipline, commitment and devotion as if they had been non-existent in African society. According to one teacher educator, "Under the colonial system, many Ghanaians benefitted from quality education and scholarships to study abroad. That system exposed us to quality education" (34:17). This teacher educator comment suggests acceptance of the majoritarian story on several levels. First, this comment seems to suggest that quality education became available to Ghanaians only through the colonial system of education. Second, it appears to equate 'study abroad' with quality education. Third, this comment fails to note that colonial education was only made available to a small minority of Ghanaians. One teacher interviewed offered the opinion

that “It [colonial education] has broadened our knowledge and helped train so many people” (31:17). This statement indicates acceptance of the majoritarian story, failing to indicate awareness that indigenous knowledge and technology was suppressed while only a few educated elite needed for the colonial administration had access to colonial education.

Several participants in the individual interviews demonstrated lack of awareness of dominant discourse by stating that colonialism promoted modernization. While none of the participants described that colonialism benefitted Ghana through infrastructure, transportation or natural resource development, several participants stated that it resulted in human resource development. Two participants indicated that “many” Ghanaians received training and did not indicate awareness that only a minority of Ghanaians received training through the colonial system of education (34:17, 37:17). One counselor perceived that the training was extensive saying, “Graduates from that regime fitted into all sectors because the training was so broad” (35:17). This statement belies accurate knowledge of the limited scope of colonial education in training African graduate to occupy positions as clerks, secretaries and lower level position in the colonial administration.

Only one participant in the focus groups reproduced the dominant discourse of the colonizer’s Christianizing mission majoritarian story. “Colonialism brought Western-style education and introduced Christianity. Both to me are positive” (33:23). This educator’s view suggests lack of awareness of or agreement with the prohibition and demonization of African traditional religious beliefs.

Document Analysis

In the document analysis, evidence was found of the perpetuation of majoritarian storytelling regarding the colonizer's civilizing mission. A junior high social studies textbook stated, "people became more civilized than before" as a result of colonial education (Amoah et al., 2008, p. 62). This textbook perpetuates discourse that Africans required the intervention of Europeans to become civilized, that Africans were not already civilized prior to the coming of Europeans and that Africans "became" civilized as a result of their interaction with Europeans. This perception seems to equate behaving according to European customs and values with being "more civilized".

Political development was highlighted as a positive outcome. "Colonial master's system of rule and administration and judicial systems were introduced in their colonies….This has in large measure eased the administration of African countries composed of many ethnic groups" (p. 65). This author implies that Western models of governance were effective in uniting culturally pluralistic societies and does not indicate awareness of the influence of colonialism in provoking ethnic conflicts and diminishing the valuing of cultural pluralism and diversity. This comment does not acknowledge the "ethnic" conflicts that were promulgated by the Europeans, as Europeans employed their strategy of divide and rule. Majoritarian storytelling was mixed with counter narratives in describing education and peace as benefits of the civilizing mission:

> One major good side of Africa's contact with Europeans is the introduction of formal education in the form of schools. The introduction of Western type formal education brought with it the other advantages from schooling. Those who luckily were educated became literates and were able to obtain jobs. (p. 54)

The author makes contradictory claims that colonialism promoted literacy and employment while acknowledging that it was only made available to a few. This text promotes the idea that those who were not in the employ of colonial masters did not work or were not productively employed, as though Western employment is the only legitimate type of employment. These comments also promote the idea that 1) formal education is European style education, 2) that without European style education, Africans would be illiterate, and 3) the notion that formal education brought 'other' advantages. A section entitled "Efforts to unite the ethnic groups" states, "The colonial masters with whom the people in the Gold Coast were trading wanted the ethnic groups to be united in order to promote trade" (Adu-Asirifi & Ampah, p. 44). The chapter heading reflects dominant discourse of the colonizer's peace mission while the content reflects a counter narrative of ulterior motives to secure profit in trade.

The review of the textbook content revealed that the traditional accounts of the colonizer's modernizing mission are perpetuated. One junior high social studies book presented the colonizer's modernizing mission as promoting transportation and infrastructure. European inventions such as lorries and railways are described as "helping Africans" rather than acknowledging that they were actually built to "help Europeans" exploit the natural resources of Africa (Amoah et al., Social studies 2, 2008, p. 5). Another junior high textbook states that a statue of Sir Gordon Guggisberg "was raised there by the government to show that Ghanaians appreciate the good works he did for them" such as railways, roads, agriculture cultivation, harbor, hospitals, and primary schools (Amoah et al., 2008, p. 76). The narrative implies that these works were

done for the benefit of Africans when in reality they were developments to improve profit of the colonial mechanism; Railways and roads expedited transportation of commodities, the harbor increased import/export traffic, low-cost primary production of agriculture became colonizer's profit in processed foods, and more schools met demands for lower level laborers in the colonial system. The narrative implies that the statue of Sir Gordon Guggisberg indicated African appreciation of his work when in fact, it was raised by the colonial government, not by Africans. None of the nine textbooks reviewed discussed dominant discourse regarding the colonizer's positive impact on modernization through human resource development or natural resource development.

Counter Narratives

My analysis of the data revealed participant counter narratives in opposition to the colonizer's stated civilizing, modernizing and Christianizing missions that were used to justify colonialism. Counter narratives of the civilizing mission included discussion of the acceleration of slavery, introduction of despotic rule and provocation of ethnic tensions. Counter narratives to modernization identified the limited development of infrastructure or transportation and the exploitation of natural and human resources. Counter narratives to the Christianizing mission highlighted the destruction of traditional African religions.

Individual Interviews

Some participants in the individual interviews demonstrated awareness of dominant discourse through the production of counter narratives to the colonizer's civilizing mission. One participant challenged colonialism as an introduction to

democracy and suggested that instead, it introduced authoritarian government. One administrator commented, “Our colonial masters dictated our policies to us and decided the fate of our lives. They were authoritarian. It thus set the trend where the African leaders we produced after independence are not only irresponsible but are authoritarian and autocratic” (12:26). Similarly a teacher stated, “Since independence our leaders have persistently copied colonial excesses: suppression, marginalization, victimizations, etc., which partly explains the spate of authoritarian regimes and a perpetuation of corrupt practices that have characterized many parts of Africa” (32:26). These two educators view colonialism as having introduced oppressive political systems rather than liberating expressions of democracy. Two administrators challenged dominant discourse regarding education as part of the colonizer’s civilizing mission. “Western style education portrayed itself as a civilizing agent of the colonialist and missionaries. Under the colonial system of education, the teacher was cast as father to the student” (25:38). This description of the colonial teacher-student dyad highlights the patronizing and subordinate relationship between European teachers and their African students. “The colonial system of education sought to make us distributers of their goods. They sought to give us the sort of education that will optimize their exploitation. Colonial system of education was inhibitive of our growth. We did not have a culture of our own which will be the springboard for originality and creativity” (26:20). This administrator emphasizes that the colonizer’s educational agenda was not to advance civilized society but rather to exploit human resources, inhibit growth, and suppress indigenous culture. Two administrators and a teacher countered dominant

discourse regarding the introduction of peace through colonialism. One administrator stated, “They divided us by demarcating borders” (22:23). This educator acknowledged that arbitrary borders resulted in dividing ethnic groups with shared history, culture and language. “I think ethnic conflicts have their roots in the impact of colonization because the colonizers made alliances with some ethnic groups and thus incited tension between the groups and their rival ethnic groups”, stated another administrator (10:26). This administrator contended that partiality in British alliances provoked ethnic tensions. One teacher explained, “There is still evidence of these effects in the form of tribalism as professionals from the villages who travelled into the cities formed ethnic-based societies that tended to create tribalism which persists even today” (23:26). This teacher noted that ethnic tensions accelerated as rural workers migrated to urban settings, increasing competition for limited employment opportunities.

Some participants in the individual interviews demonstrated awareness of dominant discourse through the production of counter narratives regarding the colonizer’s modernizing mission. The minimal development of infrastructure, transportation or agriculture during colonialism was not addressed by any of the participants. Two educators mentioned the suppression of indigenous industry. “Colonialism simply subjugated Africans and denied them the opportunities to express themselves or develop their own indigenous industries” (12:23). An administrator identified the challenges of the colonial legacy of primary production:

> Take the transportation system of our country for example. All the cars are crafted elsewhere and are brought into the country. Whenever any part of it breaks down we cannot produce them. The rate at which we get power outages implies that there are [SIC] certain equipment that we use

> which are obsolete. If the equipment had originated in our own country the originators too would have made provision for the production of spare parts; particularly those that suit the clime. (25:17)

The hindered development of indigenous industry is seen as introducing dependency rather than modernization. Seven educators identified that colonialism resulted in the poor development of human resources. As one policy maker described, "It produced bookish school graduates who manned the growing bureaucracy under colonial rule" (2:17). One counselor stated that human resource development during colonialism prepared subordinate, clerical workers that could assist with linguistic barriers. "The colonialists were only interested in creating a group of African professionals who could speak their language and serve as their interpreters. They therefore focused on training Ghanaians to assist them with clerical tasks" (31:14). Educational training is not considered to have empowered Ghanaians for growing a private sector needed for national development. "It prepared us for office work. It failed to prepare us to exploit our natural resources to develop ourselves. It failed to equip us with the skills that were needed for entrepreneurial activities", stated another counselor (28:20). Graduates are viewed as looking to central government for employment rather than engaging entrepreneurial initiatives. "The negative aspect had to do with the creation of a colonial mentality. Instead of aspiring to greater heights, everyone was thinking about leaving school and going to do government work so that system did not help the private sector much" (20:20). Human resource development during colonialism is perceived as meeting the needs of the European metropole rather than Ghana:

> The colonialists came to exploit our human and natural resources. The systems of education that the colonial authorities introduced were meant

> to help them to meet their demands and achieve their own self-serving ends. They were interested in our raw materials and therefore devised some form of education that will best prepare us for them to exploit us. (25:20).

Rather than the modernization, this administrator views African human resource development as promoting modernization in Europe through the exploitation of African human resources. These comments are reflective of the remaining four participants who commented on human resource development. Six professionals, including five administrators and a policy maker, also identified that emphasis on an academic education to produce workers for the bureaucracy was prioritized over practical vocational skills for the development of human resources:

> It is the government sector (white-collar job) and so it did not help Ghanaians to develop their technical abilities, their scientific abilities because they were all thinking of leaving middle/secondary school and finding a job. So the sciences and the technical aspects were being neglected and in that way, it did not help us. (20:20)

This administrator acknowledged that those fields not required in white-collar government jobs were neglected in education. Rather than preparing future leaders to grow or expand industrial development, colonial graduates were only qualified for taking government jobs based on educational training. "Because the emphasis was not on technical and vocational courses, the scholars produced did not have the technical know how, i.e., using our natural resources those every graduate wanted to be employed by the government or some other body" (29:20). Another administrator stated that when technical fields were introduced, the theoretical training did not prepare students for practical application. "It was too bookish because the focus was on theory and not practice, e.g., a mechanical engineer who graduated from University

would still have to go to a way side mechanic to have his car fixed" (22:20). Those students that struggled with the academically oriented curriculum were neglected. "It produced academically inclined graduates so that those suited for non-academic sorts of training were neglected (12:20)." Four participants described a counter narrative to the development of natural resources during colonialism. One educator stated, "The colonialists came to exploit our human and natural resources" (25:8). Colonial exploitation is described as freely taking resources from Africa to sell in Europe. "Colonialism led to the looting of our resources. Our natural resources such as gold, timber, cocoa and bauxite were mined by the colonial authorities and carried away to their home countries", stated one participant (28:23). One administrator stated that the profit generated was not invested in Africa but in Europe. "They depleted our resources. They took our precious minerals, determined the prices and used the revenue to develop their home countries" (18:23). This legacy of exploitation is perceived as continuing in present day Ghana:

> The colonizers' attitude of exploitation has trickled down to the present times. Ghanaians have become selfish and self-centered plunderers. Just appoint a Ghanaian to a political office for a minute and you may be shocked to see the extent to which he will resort to enriching himself at the expense of the state's coffers. We have become exploiters and looters just like the colonizers. (2:26)

Similar to colonial times, development is limited to that which increases wealth for those in power.

Some participants in the individual interviews demonstrated awareness of dominant discourse by producing counter narratives to the colonizer's Christianizing mission. "While growing up, we were told that the African traditional religion, which we

inherited from our ancestors, was pagan. Christian religion, for instance, went hand in hand with colonial rule and frowned upon traditional festivals as unchristian and uncivilized" (31:38). This counselor indicated that only the colonizer's religion was considered appropriate or civilized in dominant discourse. A teacher-educator commented, "Its greatest effect was that it eradicated a lot of our traditions. It undermined our traditional religious beliefs and rather exalted Christianity" (8:23).

The colonizer is described as only sanctioning the practice of Western European spiritual beliefs and rituals within her African colonies.

Focus Groups

Some participants in the focus groups demonstrated awareness of dominant discourse by producing counter narrative to the colonizer's civilizing mission. Two participants discussed the negative impact of imposed governance. "We had our system of political administration before our colonial masters came. We had chiefs who were custodians of culture. They destroyed that system and the chiefs have been relegated to the background" (35:23). This educator indicates that effective self-governance in Africa was disrupted and replaced. Another counselor stated, "We do not have our own established laws so we still revert to foreign laws" (35:29). This educator indicates an inclination to maintain the imposed system of governance. One individual presented counter narratives regarding the impact of education as part of the colonizer's civilizing mission. The counselor noted, "Colonial education did not allow Ghana to develop. It rather put her in a strait jacket. It hindered the independent thinking of its people" (36:20). The oppressive nature of formal education is described

as producing dependency that facilitated exploitation while hindering development. None of the educators in the focus groups discussed the role of the colonizer in tribal wars as part of her civilizing mission.

Some participants in the focus groups demonstrated awareness of dominant discourse by producing counter narratives of the colonizer's modernizing mission. The teacher focus group also acknowledged that colonialism resulted in the exploitation of natural resources for the benefit of the colonizer's profit margin rather than the development of Ghana. One teacher stated, "It brought about…the exploitation of our natural resources by foreign powers" (37:23). Another teacher commented, "The colonialists exploited our resources and used them to develop their home countries" (37:23). In the teacher focus group it was mentioned that industrialization was intentionally hindered. "They didn't establish enough technical schools because they didn't want Africans to be industrialized" (34:20). One teacher countered the dominant discourse on human resource development by stating that they "sought to produce clerks who were suitable as administrative tasks and nothing more" (33:20). The introduction of slavery through colonialism was another argument against human resource development. "It brought about slavery" (37:23). Slavery during colonialism is not only viewed as compromising human resource development but industrial development:

> However, the negative side of colonialism is that it brought about the slave trade. It retarded the development of our human resource because the colonial authorities took the able men away to work in their home countries as slaves. Slavery also led to the decline of our indigenous, local industries. Since the able-bodied men were carried away the industries in which they were already engaged died out. (33:23)

The exportation of slaves meant the exportation and loss of African technology and industry.

Some participants in the focus groups demonstrated awareness of dominant discourse by producing counter narratives to the colonizer's Christianizing mission. One teacher stated, "It brought about…the introduction of foreign religion, Christianity, into Ghana" (37:23). Rather than describing Christianity as the appropriate, normal religion, it was portrayed as something alien or unnatural to Ghana. "They killed our traditional religion and introduced Christianity", stated one counselor (35:25). By using the word "killed", this educator expressed the oppressive means by which Christianity was introduced to Ghana that resulted in the loss of African expressions of spirituality as well as loss of African life.

Document Analysis

Several Ghanaian authors demonstrated awareness of dominant discourse through the production of counter narratives regarding colonialism in general. The Junior High School syllabus contains "Colonization and National Development", including the identification of positive and negative effects of colonialism as separate objectives (Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, 2007, p. 6). The curriculum's acknowledgement of both positive and negative effects of colonialism facilitates the beginning of the development of an authentic counter narrative. The introduction to the junior high textbook states that colonialism brought formal education, "some infrastructural development", "some social services", the slave trade, and a "dependency mentality" (Amoah et al., 2008, p. 47). The use of the word "some" is

significant because traditional accounts attribute the development of infrastructure and social services to colonialism but fail to acknowledge the paucity of infrastructures developed. The foregrounding of a dependency mentality is also significant because the dominant narrative rarely acknowledges external oppression, much less internal oppression. It is significant to note that the chapter content dedicates over ten pages to discussing the positive impact of colonialism on Ghana with only three pages covering the negative impact and retarded progress (Amoah et al., 2008, pp. 54-67). This imbalance in content suggests that the benefits of colonialism far outweigh the negative implications, weakening the impact of the counter narrative. Specific examples of counter narratives to the colonizer's civilizing, modernizing and Christianizing missions will next be addressed.

Only one junior high textbook reviewed produced a counter narrative to the colonizer's civilizing mission of bringing peace:

> During the creation of colonies by the European powers, some African ethnic groups were divided between two or more countries…This often leads to border disputes and disloyalty of the divided ethnic group towards the country they have been forced to be a part of, but at their displeasure. (Amoah et al., 2008, p. 66)

Rather than promote unity between ethnic groups, colonialism is viewed as increasing ethnic tensions through arbitrary borders that divided ethnic groups with shared history, culture and languages. None of the textbooks described counter narratives to the colonial master narrative related to the introduction of governance or education.

Several authors demonstrated awareness of dominant discourse by producing counter narratives to the modernizing mission. In one senior high textbook, Europeans

were identified as the real beneficiary of the development of infrastructure. "Roads and railways were built in areas where there were exportable commodities and minerals. Areas without export commodities or minerals were left without development of transport services" (Adu-Yeboah & Obiri-Yeboah, 2008, pp. 81). Another textbook produced a counter narrative to the development of natural resources:

> The colonial governments exploited the resources of the African colonies…The companies that mined the minerals and the main merchants of the colonies were from the countries of the colonial masters. All profits from their work went to the colonial masters' countries. Colonies' reserved money were kept in their masters' home countries' Banks. (Amoah, Baabereyir, Cobbinanah, Dake, & Ngaaso, 2008, p. 67)

The colonizer ensured maximum profit by limiting mineral extraction to companies of the metropole, resulting in the Gold Coast becoming an economic slave to her "colonial master". A senior high social studies text countered the master narrative of development of industry through colonialism:

> The British colonial economic plan was that Ghana specialised in the production of raw materials, such as cocoa, cotton, gold, timber, raw manganese etc for export to feed the industries in Britain while she imported finished products from Britain. This economic relationship was not in Ghana's interest. The prices of Ghana's primary commodities were not fair. They were low, while prices for imported goods were high (Adu-Yeboah & Obiri-Yeboah, 2008, pp. 81).

This author contends that neglecting industrial development in Africa allowed Britain to yield the highest profit margins by remaining the sole producer of finished products. Colonial education was perceived as human resource exploitation:

> The education offered by colonial powers in their colonies emphasized liberal education intended for white collar office work. Colonial masters neglected technical education. They did not train enough people for technical skills and manual work. Therefore educated Africans could not

> produce machinery necessary for the exploitation of our natural resources and to even service imported machinery to last longer. (Amoah et al., 2008, p. 66)

This author demonstrates awareness that human resource development was limited to training workers for administration needs of the colony rather than including technical and vocational fields necessary for the long-term development of the nation.

None of the authors demonstrated awareness of dominant discourse by producing counter narratives to the colonizer's Christianizing mission.

Minimization or Misrepresentation of Resistance to Oppression

In dominant discourse, certain histories were purposefully eliminated. Despite long histories of resistance to European presence, white settlers in West Africa minimized or misrepresented these accounts in order to convey sentiments of African loyalty to the imperial crown or the perception of British control (Bush, 1999). Evidence of the omission or misrepresentation of resistance to oppression was examined.

Individual Interviews

None of the participants in the individual interviews demonstrated awareness of the colonial legacy of minimizing or misrepresenting histories of resistance to oppression.

Focus Groups

None of the participants in the focus groups demonstrated awareness of the colonial legacy of minimizing or misrepresenting histories of resistance to oppression.

Document Analysis

Review of the documents indicated lack of awareness of dominant discourse in the perpetuation of limited inclusion and misrepresentation of histories of resistance. Misrepresentation of the aggressor was noted in one description of the Asante resistance:

> The persistent invasion of the Asantes disturbed the British since their primary aim in the Gold Coast was trading. The British and some of the coastal states became friends. The British promised to protect these friends. They promised to help them to fight against the Asante whenever they attacked them. The help given by the British to its allies made it possible for the British to control them. (Adu-Asirifi & Ampah, p. 46)

This author identifies the Asantes as the "invaders" and the British as "friends", thereby reversing the role of the oppressor and oppressed. This role reversal legitimizes British presence and renames resistance by the Asantes as "disturbance". The Asante resistance is described as disrupting "trade" rather than the colonial exploitation of human and natural resources. This discourse describes the Africans as allies to the British, again reversing roles and placing the British as the primary group and the Africans as being helped by the British. This text reproduces dominant discourse of Britain's civilizing mission to end wars and modernizing mission to promote trade rather than foster ethnic conflicts and facilitate exploitation. The counter narrative produced by this text acknowledges that the British alliance "made it possible for the British to control them" (Adu-Asirifi & Ampah, p. 46). This text contends that Western alliance was used as a strategy to divide and conquer in the promotion of colonial self-interest. Minimization of histories of resistance was noted in another text when Ashanti

resistance can only be inferred by their highlighted defeat. “The British defeated the Ashantis during the Sagranti War of 1844. They declared Ashanti as a colony by conquest in 1902 after the Yaa Asantewaa war” (Amoah et al., 2008, pp. 48-49). No other histories of resistance are included prior to the conflicts immediately preceding independence.

There appears to be increased awareness of the importance of including and properly representing histories of resistance that led to independence found within the first year junior high textbook (Amoah et al., 2008). The authors identified existing oppression that provoked resistance such as discrimination against Ghanaian businessmen, lack of representation by the colonial constitution, unequal job opportunities in the civil service, and inflated prices of essential commodities (pp. 79-80). The 1948 riots are highlighted as a response to the British opening fire on a peaceful protest. The inclusion of these acts of aggression by the colonizer helps formulate a counter narrative to traditional accounts of colonialism that portray the colonizer as the promoter of economic development and democratic reform. As a result of the riots, the narrative continues that the “Ghanaians became fed up with British rule. This made them put in more energy in their struggle for independence” (p. 80). The use of the term “fed up” infers that Ghanaians not only resisted oppression externally, but internally as well. The use of the term “struggle for independence” implies that resistance was required to for Africans to free themselves from imposed external control:

> They pointed to their people the bad things the colonial government did to them. They also made the people aware that it was bad, indeed a

> disgrace for a country to be ruled by a foreign country. They also educated our people about how the British were taking away our resources. (p. 85)

This paragraph describes the collaborative effort used by leaders of independence to contradict the dominant narrative of colonialism by acknowledging "bad things" done, including economic exploitation. The writer acknowledges the contradiction of Britain's rhetoric of democratic principles while "disgracefully" imposing imperial governance. Thus the text describes resistance as the appropriate response to external forms of oppression.

Curriculum

In addition to historical narratives, hegemonic discourse is reproduced through educational curriculum. Freire (1970) contends that education and educational processes either reproduce the hegemonic discourse necessary for oppression to exist, or they assist in the rediscovery and reclamation of the humanity of the oppressed. Colonial education had an academic focus that prepared graduates for limited fields in the colonial administration. Evidence of awareness of colonial legacies included perceptions of the curriculum as academic, perceptions of the curriculum failing to meet human resource needs, recommendations for strengthening technical and vocational education, the identification of challenges in implementing TVET curriculum, and awareness of the stigmatization of TVET curriculum.

Individual Interviews

Many of the educators in the individual interviews demonstrated awareness of dominant discourse in the curriculum's failure to meet the human resource needs of

Ghana by having an academic orientation, being theoretical and neglecting technical and vocational education. Seven educators stated that the contemporary system of education continues to produce scholars for white collar jobs rather than equip individuals with employable vocational skills needed for national development:

> The system of education that we have now does not really equip people for life. I think it is just an extension of the colonial type, which only sought to train people in school to undertake white-collar jobs and sit in offices. The current system is lagging behind and not really useful towards developing the country. (17:8)

Technical and vocational education is identified as an essential component to producing a diversified workforce but it remains underdeveloped in the curriculum:

> It is very similar. Previously it was geared towards literature instead of technical or vocational oriented so graduates had to go in for white collar jobs, now we have not been able to build on technical or vocational so we are producing scholars who do not have technical knowhow. (29:11)

The weaknesses in technical and vocational education are considered to negatively impact socio-economic development. "Technical education is still at its gestation state. The legacy of emphasis on training people for white-collar jobs still persists and poses a serious threat to socio-economic empowerment" (32:29). Theory is perceived as being emphasized over practical application. "Many students pass out of the education system and remain largely "uneducated" in the real sense of the word. They only went there to acquire head knowledge but lack the ability to apply what they have learnt to real life" (16:11). Ultimately this theoretical approach renders graduates ignorant of practical application:

> There is not much emphasis on vocational training so that for instance, a person may come out of the university as an agriculturalist and yet when

> he is given chicks to brood, he would be found wanting because of the emphasis on theory at the expense of practical work. We need to emphasize technical and vocational education. (27:17)

These statements are representative of other educators' comments from the individual interviews.

Focus Groups

Several of the educators in the focus groups expressed awareness of dominant discourse in the curriculum's failure to meet the human resource needs of Ghana by being theoretical and neglecting technical and vocational education. Two participants of a teacher educator focus group identified the neglect of technical and vocational education in both colonial and contemporary systems. One of the educators stated, "The colonial system of education was theory-based with little emphasis on vocational and technical education. We still see the same in our present systems of education" (33:11). The remaining comments of five educators related to the perpetuation of the curricular focus. One teacher educator identified the difference between policy and practice:

> Educational reforms have often focused on producing a curriculum aimed at imparting practical skills but in the long run nothing has changed. Our system of education is still bookish so you acquire certificates and wait for someone to employ you. (34:11)

Another teacher educator stated, "The system is still theoretical because of the lack of basic tools for practical education" (34:14). The emphasis on theory displaces training in practical vocational skills. "The whole system of education needs to be overhauled. From KG to university, we are teaching things that are not practical so many people come out of school unequipped, lacking the right skills to solve the problems of life"

(33:8). This academic focus is seen throughout the curriculum, resulting in graduates who are not adequately prepared for employment.

Document Analysis

There was evidence in the document analysis that demonstrated awareness of the curriculum's failure to meet human resource needs. The second year junior high textbook states, "We in Ghana are not able to develop fast as a country because our education does not prepare us well for the world of work" (Amoah et al., Social studies 2, 2008, p. 123). One high school textbook identifies the continued use of an academic curriculum as inappropriate to national development. "The major problems of the existing education structure are: It places too much emphasis on grammar and general type of education as in the colonial days" (Adu-Yeboah & Obiri-Yeboah, 2008, p. 264). Another high school textbook identifies that the curricular legacy lacks vocational skill development:

> One of the major mistakes that Ghanaians have made is that after independence, education continued to be knowledge-based, rather than skill-oriented. The system of education bequeathed to Ghanaians by the British had laid emphasis on academic knowledge to the neglect of technical and vocational training. (Mintah-Afari, 2008, p. 70)

Parochial content and an emphasis on literacy and numeracy are also identified as problems with the curriculum adequately preparing Ghanaians for the workforce:

> Due to the fact that formal education has been based on the three Rs, has been an instrument of evangelization and has been based on the acquisition of academic knowledge to the neglect of technical or vocational training, it has failed to address the needs of Ghanaians. Today, many Ghanaians do not have the requisite skills for modern day jobs. (Mintah-Afari, 2008, p. 286)

High rates of unemployment are associated with the curriculum's failure to meet human resource needs. "The British education system which has existed till now trains people for white-collar jobs. The result has been the high rate of unemployment in the country" (p. 70). Curricular related unemployment is seen as particularly impacting the youth:

> The curricula did not give much attention to industrial skills and the changing needs for knowledge, skills and the ability required in the labour market. Educational system also neglected technical and vocational education. Thus many school leavers are unemployable because of lack of appropriate skills." (Adu-Yeboah & Obiri-Yeboah, 2008, p. 512)

Technical and vocational educational training is perceived as necessary for preparing graduates with employable skills in needed industries.

The document analysis identified awareness of the need for curriculum changes to meet the human resource needs of the nation within the mission statement for education:

> to provide relevant education to all Ghanaians at all levels to enable them to acquire skills that will assist them to develop their potential, to be productive, to facilitate poverty reduction and to promote socio-economic growth and national development" (Ministry of Education, 2003, p. 6).

Ghana Education Services seeks to make education "relevant" to ensure educational content creates a diversified workforce that will promote socioeconomic development. The Ministry of Education identified technical and vocational education content as key strategy to develop "appropriate attitudes, orientation, and aptitude for technical and vocational work" (Ministry of Education Government of Ghana, 2002, p. 20). According to the National Science and Technology Education Policy Document developed in 2002,

science and technology are viewed as key to increasing productivity, supporting socio-economic development, and increasing Ghana to middle level income (Ministry of Education, 2002, p. 2). One high school textbook states, "Exports based on human knowledge and information technology will overtake those based on natural resources" (Ministry of Education, 2000, p. 4). An entire unit is devoted to Science and Technology in the second year of the social studies high school curriculum (Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, 2007). Therefore Ghana's curricular policy seeks to disrupt colonial educational discourse by modifying the academic orientation to encompass more vocational and technical educational content.

I found evidence of awareness of challenges to dismantling dominant discourse in curriculum as well as awareness of the need to challenge curricular discourse by strengthening vocational and technical education. Strategies to increase Vocational and Technical education (TVET) included building functional laboratories and workshops for all second cycle schools, libraries with internet access, Science Resource Centres for training Basic School educators, linkages with tertiary systems, and linkages with industry (Ministry of Education, 2002). Funding issues were noted as hindrances to the implementation of TVET objectives. Though TVET introduced pre-technical and prevocational skills at the JHS level, less than 25% "still do not have workshops and qualified teachers for meaningful teaching to take place" (Ministry of Education Government of Ghana, 2002, pp. xv, 20). At the SHS level, the diversification of curriculum to include TVET coursework as one of five elective programs has generated numerous challenges as many SHS students who took TVET subjects are unable to enter

universities while “alternative avenues for tertiary education are minimal” (Ministry of Education Government of Ghana, 2002, p. xv). Poor TVET linkages between educational levels hinder upward mobility for capable students (Ministry of Education, 2000). Ghana continues to produce far more grammar leavers than technical professionals. This is evidenced by the fact that there are 574 secondary schools and only 23 vocational/technical schools (Adu-Yeboah & Obiri-Yeboah, 2008, p. 81). TVET policies are attempting to alter colonial educational discourse that created a workforce suitable to only white-collar government jobs. Nevertheless, funding continues to primarily support structures that perpetuate traditional academic training.

The documents demonstrated both an awareness in some instances and lack of awareness in others of dominant discourse in the curriculum regarding negative stigmatization of vocational and technical education. The Ministry of Education demonstrated an awareness of negative stigmatization. “Voc-Tech is often considered a preserve for school dropouts or those who could not do well academically. Thus respect and recognition are not accorded people in Voc-Tech Education and Training” (Ministry of Education, 2002, p. 8). Though TVET comprises one of five potential electives for SHS students, it attracts the least number of students (Ministry of Education Government of Ghana, 2002, p. xiii). The textbooks demonstrated lack of awareness regarding the stigmatization of technical and vocational education by reinforcing messages in primary textbooks. An illustration of individuals working in an office setting was utilized in two different readers with the headings “Hard work brings success” and “Hard work…we will get rewards” (Adu-Asirifi & Ampah, Pupils' book 4, p. 25; Adu-Asirifi & Ampah, Pupils'

book 5, p. 5). The image of the stereotypical government workplace is held up as the pinnacle of employment obtained by dedication to studies. The education-employment paradigm is further described in this text with an illustration of a laborer collecting palm oil:

> Education and work are related since the education one has acquired determines the kind of work one will do. A low level of education earns poor or low grade work, for example someone who has not acquired any knowledge or skills can only be employed as a labourer. Someone who has however obtained a high level of education can be employed as a banker, lawyer, accountant, etc. Would you like to be employed in a high grade job? (Adu-Asirifi & Ampah, Pupils' book 4, p. 25)

The text promotes the pursuit of an "academic education" to ensure work as a white collar worker which is considered "high grade" employment and associated with success, prestige and financial compensation. Careers in agriculture are associated with low education and portrayed as less desirable. Technical and vocational education leading to careers in business, industry and science are not even acknowledged. Despite educational policy to promote Voc-Tech education for the benefit of national development, current textbook discourse perpetuates the stigmatization of vocational and technical education.

Pedagogy of Subordination

The primary function of the systems of education provided by the British was to establish and maintain domination (Ormsby-Gore, 1937). Both the curriculum as well as the pedagogy focused on training Africans for a subordinate status in the colonial economy and governance structures (Akwarang-Parry, 2000). I analyzed the research data for evidence of awareness of dominant discourse through pedagogy of

subordination. This pedagogy includes teaching methods that encourage subordination such as teacher-centered teaching and emphasis on rote memorization. Awareness of colonial legacies in pedagogy includes recommendations that encourage independent learning such as child-centered teaching, and teaching methods, which emphasize critical thinking development.

Individual Interviews

A few of the educational professionals expressed awareness of pedagogy of subordination within the colonial school system or contemporary system by acknowledging authoritarian teaching, student subservience, emphasis on rote learning, lack of development in critical and independent thinking. One teacher referred to the authoritarian teaching style in colonial education where "people were made to fear authority" (3:25). The authoritarian presence is observed to continue in contemporary classroom by one counselor. "The teacher is an authority who must be obeyed, and listened to" (31:38). One teacher stated that one of the goals of colonial education was to "ma[ke] us subservient to the colonial master's rule" (32:30). In order to create a subordinate class of workers, the teacher is described as being the exclusive source of knowledge that then pours it into his students. A teacher stated, "There is still the lack of self-expression. Our education is just like the banking system where we just deposit knowledge. Students are not given room to express themselves because of the rigid nature of our schools timetable" (23:11). One of the methods of depositing knowledge and stifling expression identified by an administrator, a counselor and a teacher is rote learning. "Currently we are still perpetuating the old system, which emphasized rote

learning at the expense of the application of practical skills", stated one administrator (27:11). Rote learning is reinforced by exams that are structured to reward students who have applied themselves to memorization. A teacher observed, "The colonial legacy of rote memorization is still considered prevalent in Ghana's classrooms. Students now do rote learning just to enable them to pass their exams" (32:8). One counselor noted the influence of student perceptions of educator authority on their critical thinking skills:

> The teacher is an authority who must be obeyed, and listened to. The only exception is the tertiary level where students are given room to think for themselves. In the universities for instance students are trained to think on their own. (31:38)

Critical thinking skills are viewed as not being addressed until tertiary education, resulting in the majority of Ghanaians being exposed to rote methods of learning. "It enslaved our minds to some extent. Our mentality has been seriously affected. People are not analytical enough. It trained people to accept theories without questioning or analyzing them well enough" (27:23). The lack of training in critical thinking is considered to have resulted in internalized oppression, leaving them vulnerable to manipulation as they accept information without question.

Focus Groups

Five participants in the focus groups expressed awareness of pedagogy of subordination and one educator demonstrated lack of awareness. One teacher described colonial education as teacher centered. "Teachers learnt everything and taught the children giving no room for the children to work on their own" and as a result "students became over-reliant on their teachers" (37:20). A teacher educator noted

that the dependency legacy continues as students still "depend on the teacher to teach them everything they need to know" (34:38). Colonial pedagogy is perceived as emphasizing rote learning. One counselor stated, "The education system established under colonial rule promoted rote learning" (35:14). Colonial pedagogy is considered to have impaired independent and critical thinking. "The colonial system of education hindered us from thinking on our own. We tended to want to do everything to please the colonial master. We did things according to how they wanted it. We were therefore kept in bondage" (33:20). One participant recommended countering colonial pedagogy. "The students must be made to engage in research so they develop their skills rather than depend on the teacher to teach them everything they need to know" (34:38). Only one teacher demonstrated lack of awareness of the continued presence of pedagogy of subordination. "The colonial system of education was more teacher-centered and the modern one is child-centered and that is helping the pupils to learn much" (37:8). Colonial pedagogy is not seen as optimal for facilitating student learning.

Document Analysis

The documents reviewed expressed awareness of pedagogy of subordination in supervision of the teacher-student relationship and in pedagogy of clinical supervision. Circuit supervisors are encouraged to monitor the communication of the teacher-student relationship to ensure a balance between "teacher talk" and "student talk" (Ghana Education Service, 2002, p. 115). Further evidence of awareness of the pedagogy of subordination was noted in descriptions of supervision. In a Circuit

Supervisor's Handbook, the clinical supervisor is encouraged to abandon traditional pedagogy in favor of more productive methods:

> Clinical supervision emphasizes teacher growth; traditional supervision emphasizes teacher defects. Practitioners of clinical supervision assume that teachers possess the drive and personal resources to solve their problems; traditional supervision all too often casts the supervisor in the role of a superior telling the teacher what needs to be changed and how to change it. Clinical supervision tends to produce a self-directed teacher; traditional supervision tends to produce a teacher who cannot operate unless directed by someone. (Ghana Education Service, 2002, p. 1).

The writer's description of traditional supervision highlights many legacies associated with pedagogy of subordination. Traditional supervision is described as highlighting pupil inadequacies that result in internalized messages of inferiority about inherent differences that legitimize subordinate status. In this approach the supervisor presents as the only one with knowledge. Traditional supervision is further described as fostering dependency of pupils on teachers for all matters of direction.

Cultural Imperialism

According to Young (1990), cultural imperialism constructs the perspective of the dominant group's knowledge and culture as the normative standard while those of the subordinate group are made inferior or invisible. In this section, I present the results of my analysis of the research examining educational professionals' awareness of perceptions of European cultural superiority and perceptions of Ghanaian cultural inferiority. Evidence of awareness of the processes by which cultural imperialism manifested through the imposition of Western culture and the marginalization of Ghanaian culture is presented. Awareness of the impact of cultural imperialism was

evident in data related to the alienation of Ghanaian culture, adulteration of Ghanaian culture, assimilation of Western culture, Akan cultural hegemony, and in educator recommendations to promote Ghanaian culture.

Beliefs of European Cultural Superiority or Ghanaian Cultural Inferiority

Individual Interviews

Three participants in the individual interviews expressed awareness of cultural imperialism as manifested in beliefs of Western cultural superiority. ”Everything Western is deemed to be superior”, said one teacher (16:38). Any customs, modes of dress and values of the West are considered inherently superior due to the place of origination. “There is the tendency among many Ghanaians to exalt Western habits, culture and practices as superior to our own”, stated another teacher (24:26). Ghanaian culture is perceived as inferior to Western culture:

> People tend to think that whatever they imbibe from colonial education is better than their own traditional values, customs, and practices. People tend to behave like the British….You imbibe the European ways of doing things which you consider superior to your own cultural values.” (31:38).

Western cultural assimilation is rooted in internalized beliefs of Western cultural superiority.

Four participants expressed awareness of cultural imperialism as manifested through perception of the inferiority of African culture. One counselor stated, “The colonial system saw our culture as savage and heathen” (19:38). This educator is aware of the colonizer’s racist and religiously hegemonic discourse regarding African culture. A teacher commented, “Unfortunately, some socio-cultural practices such as puberty rites

which were deemed to be barbaric [sic]" (32:38). The colonizer, unfamiliar with the meaning of cultural rituals, perceived them as primitive and cruel. One teacher stated that the "Western educational system that tended to reject everything African, however good, as bad" (24:38). The stigmatization of African culture was fully propagated by the Ghanaian educational system. "Some of our cultural practices were branded "bad" by the colonial masters so we picked their culture and neglected our own" (30:38). As a result of colonial indoctrination, Western cultural assimilation led to the abandonment of Ghanaian cultural identity.

Focus Groups

None of the participants in the focus groups expressed awareness of perceptions of Western cultural superiority or African cultural inferiority through direct discussion. Awareness of these beliefs could be inferred from discussion regarding African contempt or disdain for their culture which will be discussed in the section "Alienation from African culture".

Document Analysis

There was evidence in two textbooks of lack of awareness of cultural imperialism as manifested in discourse of Western cultural superiority. In one junior high textbook, developing nations are described as those that change their culture rapidly in pursuit of progress. "Societies that develop faster, change their cultural practices faster and adopt practices that can improve their societies" (Amoah et al., Social studies 2, 2008, p. 7). In contrast, "societies that are unwilling to adopt new cultural practices are often slow in developing" (p. 7). Western culture is viewed as inherently superior because of its

willingness to adopt new practices while African culture is considered inherently inferior due to its resistance to the assimilation of new practices. This text infers that Western culture is the sole proprietor of new practices leading to progress and development. The existence of political-economic barriers impeding the creation and adoption of new practices by Africans is disregarded. In a primary textbook, the advantages of cooperating with other nations are discussed. The text states, "Education is another area we co-operate in. Ghanaian students are given scholarships to study in other nations, e.g., Britain, Australia, USA and France" (Adu-Asirifi & Ampah, Pupils' book 6, p. 62). "Cooperation" is defined as having African students study abroad in Western nations. As no mention is made of Africans studying in other African universities or Western students studying in Africa, the textbook suggests that education in Western nations is superior to that in Africa.

There was evidence of lack of awareness of cultural imperialism in two textbooks that perpetuated perceptions of African cultural inferiority and evidence of awareness in one textbook. In one high school textbook, descriptions of pre-colonial indigenous culture, education and dress were negatively contrasted with Western culture. "Our forefathers did not go to school, others went to school bare-footed and without uniforms. However, today most children have beautiful uniforms and school sandals whilst others are driven to school" (Adu-Yeboah & Obiri-Yeboah, 2008, p. 265). Indigenous technology and medicine are invalidated or presented as inferior epistemes. "Our grandparents also worked on farms where there were no machinery and chemicals for agricultures….There were no hospitals and people relied on herbal medicine for

health" (p. 265). A junior high textbook contrasts African old ways with European new ways. "New articles of trade are brought to change the old way of doing things. European textiles came to replace the old practice of using animal skins and beaten barks of trees as clothes in Africa (Amoah et al., Social studies 2, 2008, p. 4). All assimilation of Western culture is described as improvement, reinforcing the inferiority of African culture. One junior high textbook stated, "Again, the style and technique of building introduced by the Basel Missionary Adreas Riss was copied in many Akan areas. This brought a change in their traditional buildings to a better one" (Amoah et al., Social studies 2, 2008, p. 6). One author demonstrated awareness of perceptions of African cultural inferiority:

> Through formal education and Christian religion with their opposition to African culture, many Africans have lost their true African identity. They look to African way of life as inferior or even primitive. (Amoah et al., 2008, p. 65)

This author describes the continued internalization of cultural inferiority that resulted from educational discourses of Western cultural and religious superiority.

Hegemony of Western Culture and Marginalization of Ghanaian Culture

The colonizer's imposition of Western culture, language, dress, food and traditions upon colonized African subjects was a form of Western cultural hegemony. The colonizer simultaneously discouraged, disregarded or prohibited Ghanaian culture, language, dress, food and traditions, resulting in the marginalization of Ghanaian culture. This process led many Africans to accept the idea that their own culture is inferior to European culture, specifically to British culture, and resulted in a loss of African identification with African culture.

Individual Interviews

Seven participants in the individual interviews expressed awareness of cultural imperialism by expressing knowledge of Western cultural hegemony. A counselor commented, "Colonial education came with its own baggage. First it brought a certain culture and civilization" (31:20). This comment acknowledges that perceptions of Western cultural superiority influenced the transmission of knowledge in colonial education. Western culture is seen as displacing and corrupting African culture. One teacher stated, "It adulterated our own culture and imposed that of the British on us" (11:23). External compliance with cultural assimilation led to internal conformity:

> In the same way the British imposed their own culture so that we tended to think according to their standards of valuation. In fact, they decided what types of dress we could wear to school and what outfit constituted the proper manner of dress for gentlemen and ladies. (7:23)

One counselor stated, "The textbooks were not based on our own culture and we did not know some of the things they talked about like snow and some vegetables which we had not heard about" (9:20). Educational content reflected Western knowledge and themes. Another teacher commented, "Most of our textbooks were not set in Ghana so it made it difficult for the kids to feel what the books were talking about" (13:29). The lack of cultural relevance is noted as impeding learning by Ghanaian students. One teacher reported, "Even still most of our books are not set in Ghana and their illustrations and examples are Western in origin" (13:29). The legacy of Western oriented textbooks continues to be found in contemporary classrooms:

> For instance we are in Africa and yet we are still learning about the geography of North America and the history of Britain, etc. Studying such courses only gives the impression that studying about Britain and

> America to the neglect of our own history is the better thing to do. Consequently, it is killing our pride in our national heritage. (19:26)

When instructional hours are devoted to Western geography and history, students internalize messages of Ghanaian cultural inferiority.

Three participants in the individual interviews expressed awareness of cultural imperialism as manifested by the marginalization of Ghanaian culture. An administrator stated that the colonizer "relegated our culture to the background" so that "our originality was marginalized" (25:20). The foregrounding of Western culture compromised the cultural innovation and development of Ghanaians. "The Western educational system…tended to reject everything African, however good, as bad" (24:38). Western education is identified as the key informant of racist perceptions of Ghanaian culture. "In this way for instance, Western-style education trained people to look at their own culture through the demeaning lenses of European standards" (31:20). This counselor acknowledges that education presented Western culture as the normative standard by which to judge all other cultures as inferior:

> Colonialism bred the tendency to denigrate [SIC]certain aspects of our culture. The late Dr. Ephraim Amu, for instance, was sanctioned at the Presbyterian Training College for mounting the pulpit in a traditional Ghanaian costume. What is wrong with mounting the pulpit with an African wear? For this treatment, Ephraim Amu had to resign from his post as a teacher in that college. (31:23)

In extreme expressions, western cultural imperialism justified punishment of those who resisted conformity to Western cultural standards.

Focus Groups

Three of the participants in the focus groups expressed awareness of Western cultural hegemony. One counselor stated, "It has led to restriction of personal freedom, cultures, values and history" (36:29). Colonial oppression is viewed as multifactorial, intersecting human rights, culture, and identity. Another educator noted, "They made us put aside some of our good cultural practices" (34:20). The colonizer prohibited some Ghanaian socio-cultural practices. "They destroyed that system (of political administration) and the chiefs have been relegated to the background", noted another study participant (35:23). The impact of those prohibitions is evident in the continued marginalization of certain cultural expressions in contemporary Ghana.

Two participants in the focus groups demonstrated awareness of the marginalization of Ghanaian culture. One teacher stated, "It demeaned our culture" (37:20). The colonizer's perceptions of superiority informed colonial judgments against African culture. One teacher commented, "Our traditional dances have been sidelined" (37:23). Certain cultural expressions continue to be relegated to insignificant status.

Document Analysis

There was evidence of lack of awareness of Western cultural hegemony in one textbook and evidence of awareness of Western cultural hegemony in nine textbooks. One junior high textbook demonstrates lack of awareness that the colonizer discouraged or prohibited many traditional customs:

> Under this system, the different kingdoms and their ethnic groups recognized and obeyed their masters; but they were allowed to go on with their local customs and culture. This helped each entity or ethnic

> group to maintain its ethnic interest, culture and identity. (Amoah et al., p. 41)

The claim that British presence supported African cultural identity does not demonstrate awareness of the colonizer's prohibition of and negative indoctrination of traditional African culture. Nine of the textbooks reviewed demonstrated awareness of the colonial legacy of imposing Western culture by excluding Western history, geography, examples or illustrations. At the primary level, the citizen education textbooks discuss the environment, international relations, the community, national symbols, governance, the nation, nation building, ethnicity and gender relations all in the context of Ghana (Adu-Asirifi & Ampah, Pupils' book 4; Adu-Asirifi & Ampah, Pupils' book 5; Adu-Asirifi & Ampah, Pupils' book 6). Ghana is the setting in the junior high textbooks as they cover the environment, natural resources, production, history, our country, constitution, law, international relations, tourism, socio-economic development, governance and development (Amoah et al., 2008; Amoah et al., Social studies 2, 2008; Amoah et al., Social studies 3, 2005). The three high school social studies books followed the same pattern of consistently foregrounding Ghana in all content.

In the document analysis there was evidence of lack of awareness of the marginalization of Ghanaian culture at a policy level and awareness of legacies of marginalization at a curricular level. At the policy level, there was no reference to addressing the consequences of cultural imperialism in the mission statement which focuses exclusively on skill acquisition for human resource development. There is no provision for promoting Ghanaian culture:

> The mission of the Ministry of Education is to provide relevant education to all Ghanaians at all levels to enable them to acquire skills that will assist them to develop their potential, to be productive, to facilitate poverty reduction and to promote socio-economic growth and national development." (Ministry of Education, 2003, p. 6)

The omission of cultural transmission indicates that the Ministry of Education fails to place emphasis on the recovery of lost Ghanaian identity. At the curricular level, educators demonstrate an awareness of the marginalization of Ghanaian culture through the inclusion of Ghanaian socio-cultural practices in the syllabus. Ghanaian languages and culture is a course subject at both the primary and junior high school levels. The syllabus rationale states, "Effective teaching of Ghanaian languages and culture motivates children to love and be proud of their own culture which is rich in cultural and moral values especially contained in proverbs, folktales, euphemisms, etc." (Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, 2007, p. ii). The inclusion of Ghanaian languages and culture as a subject indicates that the Ministry of Education acknowledges in part the role of cultural transmission. The inclusion of traditional culture in the basic education curriculum provides an avenue for reversing marginalization that occurred in the colonial system. The Ghanaian languages and culture syllabus covers a wide array of topics such as socio-cultural practices, traditional government, legends, drum language, and costumes. The Social Studies syllabus also highlights the importance of cultural studies:

> The subject prepares the individual to fit into society by equipping him/her with knowledge about the culture and ways of life of their society, its problems, its values and its hopes for the future….[It] helps pupils to understand their society better; helps them to investigate how their society functions and hence assists them to develop that critical and

> at the same time developmental kind of mind that transforms societies. (Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, 2007, p. ii)

The syllabus acknowledges that cultural identity is a precursor to human resource productivity; recovery of the loss of Ghanaian identity is tied to national progress and development. Three Social Studies units in junior and senior high school encompass culture, including "Our culture, "Socio-cultural practices" and "Our culture and national identity" (Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, 2007; Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, 2007). The junior high and senior high social studies textbooks that include these units contain a wide variety of socio-cultural practices and cultural values such as naming ceremonies, puberty rites, enstoolment, respect for the elderly, and hospitality. A variety of illustrations set in Ghana supported the text and included visual representations of chieftaincy, traditional dress, drumming, dancing, naming ceremonies and marriage ceremonies.

Cultural Alienation, Adulteration and Assimilation

Alienation from Ghanaian Culture

Missionaries discouraged or prohibited African converts from participating in religious practices as well as anything traditional or African (Nukunya, 2003). The colonial curriculum reinforced these messages by excluding West African customs and introducing a European code of behavior and life style. This expression of cultural imperialism resulted in African students being ashamed of and alienated from their own culture, traditions and language (Ofori-Attah, 2006). I documented evidence of the awareness of African cultural alienation in educators' observations of cultural ignorance, the loss of culture and negative perceptions of culture.

Individual Interviews

Nine participants in the individual interviews expressed awareness of the marginalization of Ghanaian culture through observed ignorance or loss of cultural practices among Ghanaians. One administrator stated, "Colonialism has affected socio-cultural behavior negatively. Many people know next to nothing about their own culture. They can give a perfect picture of what happens outside but not what happens in their own land" (29:38). Many Ghanaians are seen as primarily identifying themselves with Western culture and knowledge. Eight educators discussed evidence of the loss of Ghanaian customs. One teacher educator noted, "Its greatest effect was that it eradicated a lot of our traditions" (8:23). One teacher noted, "Many educated Ghanaians refuse to participate in such practices as the celebration of festivals, visiting shrines, pouring of libation and so on, and this attitude is caused by the colonial bias" (23:38). Colonial education is viewed as having stigmatized Ghanaian socio-cultural practices among the educated elite. An administrator commented, "We picked their culture and neglected our own. Even some of the good ones like good dressing and puberty rites which checked teenage pregnancy. Now many villages have stopped" (30:38). Alienation from cultural practices impacts the ability of Ghanaian society to inculcate traditional cultural values. One administrator stated, "The way we dress has also been affected we now wear suits and ties. In India and Japan, their culture is intact when it comes to dressing. But in Africa and Ghana especially, we no longer wear what we used to wear before they came" (20:38). The abandonment of traditional customs is widespread among Africans. One teacher educator noted that colonialism "alienated us

from some of our own traditional values" (4:23). Cultural alienation breeds estrangement from cultural values. A teacher educator commented, "Among young people today there is the absence of basic respect for elderly people, and I think it is one of the visible effects of colonial rule" (8:26). A disconnect with the youth has been observed in the cultural transmission of values. Another participant stated, "We believed in the extended family system but they taught us about nuclear family….It broke down the Ghanaian family systems" (20:38). The abandonment of extended family values erodes the very fabric of Ghanaian culture.

Seven participants in the individual interviews expressed awareness of cultural alienation as manifested in Ghanaians having negative feelings about their own culture. One teacher stated, "In a way it inspired some contempt for our own cultural values and traditions" (11:20). Two other participants described how Ghanaians tend to "look down" on their culture and cultural heritage (18:38, 19:23). One participant stated, "I see some of the effects of colonialism as the undermining of our own culture. Many Ghanaians tended to look down upon their fellows who value our own culture" (7:23). The minorities of people who embrace Ghanaian culture are subject to contempt. One of two educators identifying negative perceptions of traditional dress stated, "That action of the colonial authorities was a symptom of that mentality that sought to despise African ways of life and exalt Western culture. Today that tendency still persists among some educated Ghanaians who despise traditional Ghanaian attire" (31:23). The educated elite is most likely to disdain expressions of Ghanaian culture. The counselor continued, "Take our eating habits as another example; Western influences have tended

to incite the tendency to look down upon some of our meals such as plantain and 'kontommire' (spinach) stew….Colonial education in whatever form we were exposed to did a lot of damage to our own culture and values" (31:20). Those Ghanaians indoctrinated in the colonial educational system, consider Western cultural dishes as superior to local dishes.

Focus Groups

Four participants in the focus groups expressed awareness of cultural imperialism as manifested in cultural alienation. One participant discussed that cultural alienation has led to abandonment of socio-cultural practices and traditions. The counselor stated, "They made us despise our culture so most of our folk songs, for instance, are fading out" (35:23). Three educators discussed that cultural alienation resulted in negative perceptions toward Ghanaian culture. Representative of another comment, one teacher stated, "It made us frown on many aspects of our culture – language, eating and dressing" (37:23). Cultural alienation is also described as Ghanaians no longer identifying with their cultural heritage. A teacher educator stated, "Some people have cut ties with their roots" (33:26).

Document Analysis

There was evidence of lack of awareness of cultural alienation in one textbook and evidence of awareness of cultural alienation in three textbooks. One junior high textbook stated that Ghanaians "have to a large extent maintained our culture. We still have our family system, our chieftaincy and our festivals" (Amoah et al., 2005, p. 112). This comment does not indicate awareness of the marginalization of Ghanaian culture,

particularly the loss of the extended family value system, the displacement of traditional leadership and the negative perceptions associated with festivals and rituals. Two high school social studies textbooks acknowledge the erosion of indigenous culture as influenced by globalization. "Indigenous and national cultures and languages can be destroyed by the modern globalized culture" (Adu-Yeboah & Obiri-Yeboah, 2008, p. 454). A second textbook identified globalization as impacting the loss of cultural values among the youth. "A major negative effect of globalization is that it has led to the erosion of cultural values. The moral degeneration prevalent among the youth of Ghana today is the result of globalization. One example is the influence of foreign films" (Mintah-Afari, 2008, p. 501). Education was also identified as influencing cultural erosion:

> Through formal education, western life-styles have infiltrated into the Ghanaian society to such an extent that Ghanaians have become aliens in their own country. Ghanaians have adopted western names, instead of traditional names. They also show preference for western dress. (Mintah-Afari, 2008)

This author describes the situational irony of local culture becoming foreign and foreign culture becoming local within contemporary Ghanaian society.

Adulteration of Ghanaian Culture

Individual Interviews

Eight participants in the individual interviews expressed awareness of cultural imperialism through the adulteration of Ghanaian culture or provided descriptions of the intermingling of Ghanaian and Western culture. One teacher stated, "it adulterated

our own culture" (11:23). Western cultural influences are seen as negatively altering ceremonial meaning:

> It has influenced naming of children in that, before they came, naming ceremonies were solemn functions done very early in the morning between 5 and 6 am without so much fanfare but now we rent facilities with seating capacities of 500-1000 and drink and dance. (20:38)

Another educator stated, "The few who continue with these rites have so modified it that the substance is missing" (30:38). External modifications of rituals based on Western influences result in disruption in the communication of internal values and meaning. In marriage rituals, Western influences minimize involvement of the Ghanaian family yet are perceived as providing validation:

> In the traditional setup you see the girl's father, do your knocking, pay your bride price and provide all the things on the list. You are free to take your wife now. We call marriage engagement until we go to church to bless it we don't call it wedding. (20:38)

One policy maker noted, "Ghanaians are used to the habit of mixing bits of socio-cultural practices with those of the west. In many ceremonies today, which would have required the pouring of libation, many people have taken to the habit of saying the Christian prayer in its place" (15:38). The colonizer's judgments of acceptable and unacceptable cultural practices have been internalized by Ghanaians and applied to their cultural expressions. One administrator commented, "Again one of those effects is the distortion of the way we dress. The proper Akan method of wearing cloth in males does not include the use of a jumper but the impact of colonial-style education has led to the addition of jumpers to the modern trend" (7:29). Modes of dress introduced by the colonizer have become incorporated into Ghanaian traditional dress. Another

administrator noted, “It affected our music. Before they came, the only musical instruments we knew were the “fontonfrom” and “atumpan,” etc., but their instruments have changed our tune of our music, the way we sing because of exposure to their culture” (20:38). The introduction of Western instruments altered the composition and production of native musical expression.

Focus Groups

None of the participants in the focus groups expressed awareness of the adulteration of Ghanaian culture as a result of cultural imperialism.

Document Analysis

None of the authors reviewed in the document analysis demonstrated awareness of the adulteration of Ghanaian culture as a result of cultural imperialism.

<u>Assimilation of Western Culture</u>

Individual Interviews

Five educators in the individual interviews demonstrated awareness that colonialism resulted in the assimilation of Western culture, tradition and values. One teacher noted, “we have adopted Western culture blindly at the neglect of our own” (13:26). A counselor identified Western cultural prejudice resulting in the unquestioned acceptance of everything from the West:

> I have observed among professionals in education…a deep-seated prejudice against many aspects of our culture. The tendency to accept without questioning many of the cultural practices and values from the West is a product of Colonial impact on education. For instance, some of the models of decency and modesty in dressing, which one can easily find among the youth, can be considered as counter-cultural in the Ghanaian sense because they are clearly of foreign origin. (31:29)

Western cultural assimilation is perceived at times to be counter-cultural in its demonstration of values. Two educators discussed the assimilation of Western dress. One participant stated, "In our schools today students are required to wear uniforms to classes. This is a colonial heritage" (9:29). Colonial standards of proper cultural expression have become internalized and remain the standard in present day Ghana. One counselor commented, "There is an insidious impression amongst most of our educated professionals that civilization entails dressing the European way: suit and tie, etc." (31:20). The colonial perspective of culture is particularly evident among the educated elite.

Focus Groups

Seven participants in the focus groups demonstrated awareness of the assimilation of Western culture. Three educators described that Ghanaians have adopted "foreign practices" Representative of other comments, one educator stated, "We have developed a taste for foreign culture, values and lifestyle to the neglect of our own" (33:26). Politicians are viewed as contributing to the process. "Politicians should be serious. They keep copying from other cultures" (35:32). The assimilation of Western culture is perceived to be the result of viewing Western culture as superior. "Our way of dressing has been adversely affected. Many Ghanaians think that proper formal attire is suit and tie. Thereby, the have neglected to encourage wearing anything African" (33:26). Western culture continues to be associated with civility. "For instance on a very sunny afternoon, it is common to see students wearing suit and tie giving themselves a sense of being gentlemanly dressed while needlessly enduring the

scorching heat of the sun" (33:29). The desire to be associated with "gentlemanly" Western culture trumps African values, culture, expression or comfort. "We have become second class Europeans to the detriment of our own cultures" (35:29). Regardless of the degree of assimilation, one educator stated the African will never be perceived of equal status by the European.

Document Analysis

There was evidence of awareness of the assimilation of Western culture in three textbooks. One junior high textbook identified cultural assimilation by Ghanaians in neutral terms:

> When a society takes other people's culture and absorbs it as part of their own, it is called cultural assimilation. Some of the examples of foreign cultural aspects that have been assimilated or adapted by Ghanaians include adaptation of western names….Another area is the introduction of English Language. (Amoah et al., Social studies 2, 2008, p. 9)

A senior high textbook suggested that education plays a significant role in cultural assimilation:

> Western education enables many Ghanaians[to] adopt foreign cultures. For example, many Ghanaian women now wear trousers "Apukelenk" instead of their traditional "kaba" dress. Another practical example is the adoption of food like "fried rice" instead of their traditional staple food such as 'banku', 'tuo, 'zaafi', 'fufu' or 'akple'. (Agyei, 2010, p. 70)

Nevertheless, the author suggests that Western education promotes cultural assimilation from multiple cultures rather than its own. The ubiquitous presence of Western culture is seen as corrupting youth:

> Western lifestyles have infiltrated the Ghanaian society to such an extent that the child will want to copy western values that he has come into contact with, through videos, computers and internet to the neglect of

> the values that have been imparted by the school. (Mintah-Afari, 2008, p. 168)

This author suggests the unwelcomed intrusion of Western culture have eroded Ghanaian societal values.

Akan Cultural Hegemony

Colonialism was also noted to have favoured the Akans, the majority ethnic group, who were located among the high concentration of schools in the south (Dei, 2005). Evidence of Akan cultural hegemony is demonstrated in a significantly higher proportion of cultural references to this ethnic group over other ethnic minorities as well as the use of Akan linguistic labels for socio-cultural practices common to all Ghanaians.

Individual Interviews

None of the participants in the individual interviews expressed awareness of Akan cultural hegemony.

Focus Groups

None of the participants in the focus groups expressed awareness of Akan cultural hegemony.

Document Analysis

Three of the textbooks reviewed demonstrated lack of awareness of Akan cultural hegemony and one textbook demonstrated awareness of Akan cultural hegemony. Akan cultural preference was noted among the three high school and one primary citizenship education textbooks (Agyei, 2010, pp. 20-39; Adu-Yeboah & Obiri-Yeboah, 2008, pp. 49-76; Mintah-Afari, 2008, pp. 33-65; Adu-Asirifi & Ampah, Pupils'

book 5, pp. 35-40). The table below documents Akan cultural preference in specific examples of socio-cultural practices shared by most Ghanaians.

Table 1. Akan Cultural Preference in Specific Examples of Socio-Cultural Practices

	Akan customs	Other Southern Ethnic Group Customs	Northern Ethnic Group Customs
(Adu-Asirifi & Ampah, Citizenship education for primary schools: Pupils' book 5, pp. 35-40)	0	0	0
(Adu-Yeboah & Obiri-Yeboah, 2008, pp. 49-76)	11	2	0
(Agyei, Contemporary social studies for senior high schools, 2010, pp. 20-39)	4	1	0
(Mintah-Afari, 2008, pp. 33-65)	2	2	0
TOTAL	17	5	0

These data show that the Akan ethnic group is given preeminence while the northern ethnic groups lack any representation at all. Cultural traditions common to all regions were frequently identified by their names in Akan rather than other languages. In discussing the naming ceremony, Adu-Yeboah & Obiri-Yeboah (2008) identify the names of the Gods, soul name, male appellation, female appellation, and strong drink by their Akan names (p. 51). Agyei (2010) identifies the spiritual world and wandering ghosts by their Akan names when describing funeral rites (p. 35). Students from minority ethnic groups not only experience Akan cultural hegemony but Akan linguistic hegemony as well. The cultural representation of students in the northern regions is almost completely excluded while those of southern regions are overshadowed by the

dominant Akan culture. Rather than highlighting the richness of ethnic pluralism, minority cultures become subsumed under the dominant Akan culture.

Recommendations to Counteract Cultural Imperialism

Individual Interviews

Fourteen participants in the individual interviews indirectly demonstrated an awareness of cultural imperialism by making recommendations to promote Ghanaian culture in Ghanaian society and the educational system. Six of the study participants stressed the need for a national agenda to promote Ghanaian culture. Ghana's rich cultural heritage is seen as inherently beneficial for Ghana's future. "We need to go back to our roots and take the things that are beneficial to us", stated one counselor (9:32). Lessons from oppression are viewed as vehicles for self-liberation. One teacher stated, "We should appropriate the fruits of our encounter with the colonial West to our own advantage. We should deploy the benefits of that encounter to advance our own culture" (4:32). Dismantling the colonial legacies of cultural identity is seen as incumbent to overcoming Ghana's challenges:

> We have to do things to satisfy the unique requirements of our own culture and people. We must do things that make our people think of themselves as Africans. What can we do [to] meet the challenges of the modern world? (25: 11)

The educational system is the primary venue suggested for strengthening the study of Ghanaian culture according to eight participants. One teacher stated, "I will recommend the study of culture and Ghanaian languages" (32:35). Educators also recommended the inclusion of cultural values. "My emphasis will be on the inculcation of African values into the syllabi and the structure of the curriculum" (23:35). Another

educator stressed the importance of African epistemic knowledge. "We need to adopt an Africanist or Afrocentric approach to our studies. We need to introduce and emphasize African values in our curriculum, starting at the basic level. We need to demonstrate in practice the values of our rich tradition" (24:32). A return to African values is advocated. One administrator noted, "We need to introduce programmes of study geared towards reviving the aspects of our culture that emphasizes our sense of identity" (7:32). The teaching of Ghanaian culture is associated with the reclamation of Ghanaian identity:

> We need…to totally transform the educational system so that we begin to think about ourselves, to originate things that culturally will satisfy us. What we need is tune the African mind to its cultural identity and that is where African civilization must begin" (25:29).

Reforming the educational system to ensure the reclamation of Ghanaian identity among students is considered a prerequisite to authentic development in Ghana:

> However we must strive to transform the system completely to build in the Ghanaian the desire to be a Ghanaian and an African. Those who have benefited from the colonial system of education are predisposed to think it is the best. They have no desire to transform whatever we have to make it our own. Policymakers tend to think that way too. It is only education based on our culture that can change the mind of the African. (25:38)

The strengthening of cultural identity is considered necessary for combating internalized oppression that resulted in Ghanaians not wanting to perceive themselves as Africans.

Focus Groups

Four participants in the focus groups demonstrated awareness of cultural imperialism by recommending the promotion of Ghanaian culture and values in schools and training colleges targeting areas like values, music and art. One counselor stated

that politicians "need to set up a committee that will revisit our traditional way of doing things and modify our ways" (35:32). This counselor suggests that in order to embrace Ghanaian culture, Ghanaians will need to make changes. "We need to design a programme to intensify the teaching of our culture and languages in our schools" (33:32). The reclamation of Ghanaian culture requires the inclusion of Ghanaian languages. "I will recommend a strong programme of cultural values to be taught in the training colleges so that the teachers who will be produced will in turn impart it to their students" (37:38). The transmission of cultural values is seen as beginning with teacher training. "Train teachers more on music and dance so as to sustain cultural dances and songs (37:41). In particular, musical expressions of culture are seen as needed for the reclamation of African personality.

Document Analysis

There was no evidence of an awareness of cultural imperialism in the form of recommendations to strengthen the teaching of Ghanaian culture and values.

Linguistic Hegemony

Hegemony is described as the "cultural and societal level of oppression" or "society's unacknowledged adherence to a dominant worldview" (Adams, 2007, p. 253). English linguistic hegemony posits English as the normal, appropriate expression of language. Studies in neocolonialism recognize the continued dominance of English as a global language in contemporary Ghanaian society, increasing the disparity between the already powerful and the disadvantaged (Beckett & MacPherson, 2005). For this analysis of the study data, I documented evidence of the awareness of linguistic

hegemony in perceptions of the value of English and Ghanaian languages. Next I documented awareness of English hegemony in society and the educational systems. Third I presented the awareness among educators of the marginalization of Ghanaian languages. Fourth I noted awareness of linguistic barriers of access to education and employment. Finally I documented awareness of the impact of linguistic hegemony on the use of language in contemporary Ghanaian society.

Perceptions of Superiority of English and Inferiority of Ghanaian Languages

Post-colonial theorist Fanon theorizes that colonial racist ideology equated English with humanity and in the mind of an oppressed African, mastery of the colonial language is equated with humanity (Fanon, 1967). This form of imperialism resulted in "linguistic dualism" where the language of the colonizer is perceived as being of superior status, leading to the disdain of indigenous languages associated with subordination (Memmi, 1991). Evidence of awareness of linguistic hegemony included awareness of perceptions of the superiority of English, English language associations with education or civility, inferiority of Ghanaian languages or Ghanaian language associations with ignorance or illiteracy.

Individual Interviews

Seven participants expressed awareness of perceptions of English superiority or its associations with civility, enlightenment and education. One counselor stated, "The English language is deemed superior" (31:26). Colonial indoctrination of English superiority remains in the Ghanaian mindset. One teacher acknowledged, "The speaking of English has unfortunately been equated with being civilized" (14:38). Only

the language of the colonizer is perceived as civilized. A teacher stated, "They do this to emphasize the perceived 'civility' of the English Language as the right language to be spoken by people who aspire towards becoming enlightened" (24:29). Mastering English is seen as a prerequisite for intellectual advancement. One teacher commented, "It has resulted in producing a situation where a good command of the English Language is perceived as one of the marks of an 'educated' man" (16:26). Educational accomplishment appears to be determined by mastery in the medium of instruction rather than mastery of content. An administrator stated, "If you were fluent in English, you were seen as a scholar (22:38). English fluency is the yardstick by which knowledge is measured. One teacher stated, "The speaking of the English language has become such (sic) standard of measuring one's civility and his claim to knowledge" (14:29). The production of the colonizer's accent is seen as evidence of being educated:

> Even the manner in which we speak bears symptoms of the perception of colonial superiority. Some Ghanaians think that an educated man is one who speaks with a British accent. They therefore tend to speak with some affectation, trying to imitate the accents of the colonizers. (31:20)

Two participants acknowledged that the perceptions of English superiority results in Ghanaians' preference to speak English (31:38, 23:38). "There is so much emphasis on English that parents get excited when their wards speak English" (9:41). Parents, aware of the value of English as linguistic currency, are eager to have their children speak English as well.

Three participants in the individual interviews expressed awareness of perceptions of the inferiority of Ghanaian languages by acknowledging associations between fluency and low status, low respect and illiteracy. One teacher stated, "A good

knowledge of local language has consequently been downplayed" (16:26). The perceived inferiority of Ghanaian languages minimizes interests in proficiency. One administrator noted, "You were not respected when you were fluent in your dialect" (22:38). Lower status is afforded to those who utilize Ghanaian languages. "More often than not, if you have local names people think that you are an illiterate", stated one counselor (31:38). Those with Ghanaian names are presumed to be uneducated.

Focus Groups

None of the participants in the focus groups expressed awareness of perceptions of English superiority and only one participant in the focus groups demonstrated an awareness of perceptions of Ghanaian language inferiority. One teacher stated that colonialism "made us frown on many aspects of our culture - language, eating and dressing" (37:23). This comment reveals that perceptions of the inferiority of Ghanaian languages have been internalized, causing Ghanaians to despise their linguistic heritage.

Document Analysis

There was no evidence demonstrating awareness of perceptions of English superiority. There was evidence in three textbooks demonstrating lack of awareness of perceptions of English superiority by celebrating English as an advantage of formal education, the adoption of English as the official language and the proficiency of English over other Ghanaian languages.

Formal education is celebrated for facilitating the adoption of the colonizer's language. English global hegemony is touted as facilitating communication access. A junior high textbook states, "Nowadays, many educated Ghanaians choose to speak

English Language better than in their mother tongue" (sic) (Amoah et al., Social studies 2, 2008, p. 9). The author suggests that English is superior as its proficiency is associated with being educated and its displacement of local languages is associated with advancement.

There was no evidence among the documents reviewed of an awareness of perceptions of Ghanaian language inferiority. There was evidence in one textbook of lack of awareness. Lack of proficiency in local languages was associated with the embrace of progress and educational achievement. Two celebrated examples of cultural assimilation in Ghana are described that both involve language:

> Some of the examples of foreign cultural aspects that have been assimilated or adapted by Ghanaians include adaptations of western names. Many Ghanaians go by Christian or English names. Can you identify some of them? Another area is the introduction of English language. Nowadays, many educated Ghanaians choose to speak English Language at public functions and they even express themselves in English better than in their mother tongue. (p. 9)

This author implies that Ghanaian languages are inferior because they are associated with old cultural practices that do not promote development. The loss of Ghanaian names and languages is described as progress and development.

English Hegemony

Evidence of awareness of the process of English hegemony was documented through statements regarding the imposition of English, the emphasis of English and the prohibition of Ghanaian languages. I documented evidence of awareness of English dominance among educators in their discussions of English as the official language, the

medium of instruction in schools, its preferred use in the home setting and the use of Western names instead of Ghanaian names.

Individual Interviews

Participants in the individual interviews expressed awareness of colonial legacies of English hegemony in the selection of English as the dominant language in government, classrooms, and homes, as well as in the use of English names instead of Ghanaian names.

Three participants in the individual interviews expressed awareness that the use of English as the official language in Ghana is one of the lingering effects of colonial English hegemony. "We still communicate in the language of our colonial masters", stated one administrator (22:23). Independence in statehood did not result in linguistic independence. One administrator commented, "We have not been able to develop our local dialect to our full potential because we find solace in English language" (20:38). This statement suggests that English continues to be foregrounded in Ghanaian society due to an emotional dependency.

Five participants expressed awareness of the continuing effects of English hegemony in the educational system. A counselor described that the hegemonic influence of English in colonial education resulted in indigenous languages not being recognized as viable options for a national language:

> Even though there is some controversy over which of the numerous Ghanaian languages should be elevated to the position of official language in national discourse, the greater fault lies with the colonial system of education for overemphasizing the English language to the relative neglect of the other local languages? (31:26).

Four of the educators continue to see English hegemony perpetuated in contemporary classrooms. One educator commented, "Teachers and students alike demonstrate tendencies of the colonial influence. For instance, teachers are in the habit of insisting on the speaking of the English language by their students" (24:29). The prominent place occupied by English results in the displacement of Ghanaian languages during instructional hours. One counselor stated, "At the secondary and tertiary level, the English language continues to persist as the formal medium of instruction with no place for other Ghanaian languages to thrive and develop" (31:29). Not only are Ghanaian languages marginalized, but "in many schools speaking of local dialects is prohibited" (29:29). One participant described a colonized mentality among Ghanaians that compels allegiance with the specific form of English used by the colonizer:

> We use British English in schools. Sometimes students are penalized for blending British English with American English. We are told that since we were colonized by the British, we should speak British English only and yet I know that English is not even our indigenous language. (13:26)

This comment also suggests that some Ghanaians have assumed the role of oppressor to ensure the standard of English formerly mandated by the colonizer.

Five of the participants in the individual interviews expressed awareness of colonial legacies of English hegemony in Ghanaian homes. "In most Ghanaian homes today, there is a growing culture of rearing children in the English language. I see this as the effect of Western/colonial impact that comes through education" (32:38). This comment suggests that graduates of the Ghanaian educational system no longer value transmitting their culture and heritage to their children through indigenous languages. One counselor suggested that many Ghanaians perceive English to be of more value

when he stated, “Many families think it is ideal to speak English with their children at home” (19:23). The hegemonic influence of English in Ghanaian homes results in the marginalization of Ghanaian languages as many parents “refuse to encourage the speaking of the local languages” (19:38). English prejudice is fueled by parental desires to ensure educational success of their children:

> My little grandchild who is in the primary school is in the habit of speaking English and whenever I try to speak Dangbme to her she questions me: “what sort of language is that?” I accept the blame for this state of affairs because I started out speaking English with her as a way of introducing her to the rudiments of speaking the language so prepare her to excel at it in school and now, she is so much into it that she despises her own native mother-tongue. Now it is problem getting her to speak any local language. (31:38)

The loss of transmission of Ghanaian culture and language is viewed to be the price of preparing children to be academically successful with English fluency. The ubiquitous presence of English in the home and at school is viewed as causing children to have contempt for their local languages:

> This morning I met a young mother talking to her two and a half year old son in English. I was compelled to ask her whether she cannot speak to her child in her own native language. The practice of speaking English in our homes these days is (a) symptom of the effects of colonialism. Because for many of us our psyche has been groomed an oriented to think like Europeans. (25:23)

This educator suggests that the hegemonic presence of English in Ghanaian homes not only alters the lingua franca of the home but engenders a Western-oriented mentality.

Three participants demonstrated awareness of linguistic hegemony in the use of English names instead of Ghanaian names. One administrator described how educators invalidated Ghanaian names:

> I regret very much that I allowed myself to retain the name 'Peter' which is my first name. My elder sister took me to school by the hand and told the head teacher that my name is 'Ekow Mensah-Onumah'. The head teacher renamed me Peter Mensah-Onuma" and that name has remained 'til today. (25:23)

This educator suggests that for some Ghanaians, an English name imposed during schooling is internalized to an extent that it becomes a lifelong identity by choice. Educators described the intersection of linguistic and Christian hegemony, resulting in colonial perceptions that only Western names are Christian names:

> Colonial education came together with the propagation of the gospel. The indigenes who were converted started picking European names and ways of life. It was required that as a Christian you must necessarily have a Christian name so you are baptized and christened with either a European or Christian name. (31:38)

In response to this linguistic oppression, some Ghanaians purposefully rejected giving their children English names:

> My father was originally called 'Nyamike' Blay. He went to school as a child and his teacher renamed him 'Robert Samuel' Blay. My father later became an Africanist and decided never to give Christian names to his children so I was christened 'Ama Afo Blay'. (15:38)

The intentional use of Ghanaian names as a form of resistance to linguistic and cultural hegemony is not always appreciated by the younger generation:

> My own grandchild in the primary school is called Abena Serwaa Asante, a typical Ghanaian name. On many occasions, she has returned from school querying me over why she was not given a Christian name because in her class she is the only person with an indigenous or native name. She then insists on being given a Christian name. This attitude is clearly a symptom of that prejudice. (31:20)

The hegemonic influence of English has been observed to cause some children to want to abandon their Ghanaian identity in favor of more popular Western names.

Focus Groups

Four participants expressed lack of awareness of English hegemony and three participants expressed awareness of English hegemony. Three educators expressed that English as an official language is a benefit of colonialism rather than the imposition of a foreign language. The current global hegemony of English is used to justify its imposition during colonialism. One teacher stated, "It gave us the English language which is now a widely spoken medium of communication both locally and internationally" (37:17). Two educators suggested that English served to unify the multi-linguistic Ghanaian society. As one teacher educator stated, "The adoption of English language as an official language has served to unite Ghanaians as a people" (33:17). Another educator demonstrated lack of awareness of English linguistic hegemony by recommending that in the educational system the "means of instruction should be English" (38:11). This educator does not express awareness of that English is a linguistic barrier to educational achievement for children from northern and rural communities who do not have access to competent English models within or without the classroom.

Three educators in the focus groups demonstrated awareness of linguistic hegemony as expressed in the dominant use of English in Ghanaian society, classrooms, and homes. One participant acknowledged the extraneous nature of English by stating that "communication [is] in a foreign language" (37:29). One educator expressed that English hegemony becomes a vehicle for Western cultural hegemony. The teacher noted that colonialism resulted in the "loss of culture through the use of English as a

medium of instruction and vehicle for transmitting foreign culture" (37:29). Another teacher educator voiced awareness of the dominant use of English in Ghanaian homes as parents "rather communicate with their children in English" (33:29). The linguistic oppression that forced Ghanaians to abandon indigenous languages during colonialism is now perpetuated by parents who volitionally choose to disrupt the transmission of indigenous languages to their children.

Document Analysis

There was evidence of lack of awareness of English hegemony in two textbooks. One high school social studies textbook celebrated the dominant presence of English:

> Formal education has made it possible for the country to adopt English as the official language. English, as the official language is the language of administration and business. English has also enabled Ghanaians to take part in international conferences and meetings. Moreover, it has enabled Ghanaians to break all communication barriers. (Mintah-Afari, 2008, p. 280)

This comment celebrates the dominance of English in government and business for improving communication access but does not acknowledge that access is limited to the educated elite who are raised and schooled in English proficient environments. A junior high social studies textbook highlights the adoption of English as a positive example of cultural assimilation that promotes development:

> Another area is the introduction of English language. Nowadays, many educated Ghanaians choose to speak English Language at public functions and they even express themselves in English better than in their mother tongue. (Amoah et al., Social studies 2, 2008, p. 9).

This comment reflects the bias that English is associated with literacy, and the loss of fluency in indigenous languages with progress and development.

Marginalization of Ghanaian Languages

English language hegemony has resulted in a language shift with the progressive loss of proficiency in mother tongues by successive generations in favor of English (Bodomo, Anderson, & Dzahene-Quarshie, 2009). Evidence of awareness was noted by acknowledgement of lack of a Ghanaian language as an official language, the loss of Ghanaian language fluency and loss of Ghanaian vocabulary.

Individual Interviews

Seven participants expressed awareness of the marginalization of Ghanaian languages that has resulted in the loss of fluency, pronunciation and vocabulary. Two educators discussed how the marginalization of Ghanaian languages has resulted in a loss or neglect of Ghanaian languages. One teacher stated, "The English language took center stage and stifled the growth of our local languages" (2:29). One counselor commented, "It also influenced people speak very good English and yet neglect their own local languages" (21:38). Pronunciation has been impacted. One counselor stated, "Some newscasters are not even able to pronounce our local names properly" (9:41). Accents have been purposefully altered. "Evidence of those effects can be found in a school like Wesley Girls High School where students and staff do everything like Europeans. They even speak our local languages with an English accent" (19:29). English words and phrases have been incorporated. One administrator noted, "It affected our local language greatly. Today, some of our local dialects are spoken with borrowings of English mixed with them" (6:20). Ghanaian vocabulary is lost through disuse. "The effect of the emphasis on the speaking of the English language is that

gradually we are losing a lot of the vocabulary of our native languages through continual disuse" (27:38). Many Ghanaians have never developed Ghanaian language fluency. "We have languages but now our first language is the language of our colonial masters. Many people are very fluent in English and yet cannot speak their own mother tongue", stated one administrator (29:38). Despite the rich linguistic heritage of Ghana, it is the colonizer's language that is most widely spoken. "Many educated Ghanaians cannot speak their local, native languages very well even though they were brought up in their homeland where those languages are spoken" (23:38). "Educated" Ghanaians, Ghanaians that have been trained according to the colonial model of education, are considered particularly vulnerable to losing their language.

Four participants expressed awareness of the marginalization of Ghanaian languages in the home setting evidenced by parental neglect and negative perceptions of local languages. One educator stated, "The acquisition of the colonial master's language was accorded so much importance to the neglect of our own…. Even today, without the instigation of the white man, we make our children speak the English language at the neglect of our own" (17:38). The marginalization of local languages initiated by the colonizer is now perpetuated by parents in their home:

> My little grandchild who is in the primary school is in the habit of speaking….I accept the blame for this state of affairs because I started out speaking English with her as a way of introducing her to the rudiments of speaking the language so prepare her to excel at it in school and now she is so much into it that she despises her own native mother-tongue. (31:38)

Some parents neglect the speaking of local languages with the goal of preparing their children for the language of the classroom, English. One educator noted, "In fact, the

Western-style of education introduced by the colonialists has caused us to look down on our own language" (27:38). The marginalization of Ghanaian languages in home and at school results in internalized contempt for native languages. "When English is used the child will not know about his dialect and culture" (18:38). The loss of Ghanaian languages is also perceived as a loss of culture.

Focus Groups

Five participants in the focus groups expressed awareness of the marginalization of Ghanaian languages as evidenced by stifled development, ineffective teaching, poor student fluency, and lack of transmission in the home environment. A teacher educator acknowledged that "our local languages have been marginalized both under the colonial system of education and the present" (33:11). Marginalization initiated by the former colonizer is maintained by the former colonized subjects. A teacher educator stated that its use "stifled the development of our local languages" (33:20). The teaching of local languages was compromised, resulting in a loss of linguistic fluency. "We are unable to teach local languages effectively, moreover, the students are examined in English. So now university graduates cannot even speak their local language" (37:29). One teacher educator noted, "We don't even speak our local languages at home" (34:23). The loss of Ghanaian languages begins in Ghanaian homes. Another teacher educator stated, "These days we still find a lot of people neglecting their native languages and choosing to rather communicate with their children in English instead" (33:29). The marginalization of Ghanaian languages imposed by the colonizer is now perpetuated by the choice of parents.

Document Analysis

There was evidence of lack of awareness of the marginalization of Ghanaian languages in three of the documents as seen in the language of instruction policy, allotment of linguistic instructional time, teacher training and availability of materials. In primary school, English is the language of instruction and students receive more hours in English as a subject than that of a Ghanaian Language (Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, 2007; Ministry of Education S. a., 2007). In contrast to English, there are no specified criteria for proficiency or mastery of Ghanaian language objectives (The National Education Reform Implementation Committee [NERIC], 2007, p. 4). The educational system has no way to measure its objective of developing Ghanaians literate in local languages. Many teachers have either not been adequately trained or find themselves posted to regions where they are not fluent in the local language (NERIC, 2007). There is an overall shortage of textbooks but minimal resources have been earmarked for the development of Ghanaian language materials, literature and textbooks.

Linguistic Barriers of Access

The Ghanaian educational system perpetuated oppression by promoting difference through differential access to education and thus English proficiency. Educational, employment, business, and social advancement opportunities were afforded to those Ghanaians that achieved mastery of English (Pennycook, 1995). Evidence of awareness among Ghanaian educators was noted through

acknowledgement of English language proficiency impacting social, educational or employment opportunities.

Individual Interviews

Four participants in the individual interviews expressed awareness of linguistic barriers of access for social recognition, status, employment and elected positions. One administrator stated, "Now you need to be fluent in English to be recognized but a linguist may have all the ideas but be undermined because he cannot speak English" (22:26). English fluency grants access to doors of opportunity while lack of English proficiency remains a societal barrier. A teacher stated, "Social recognition and respect comes with being able to speak the English language" (14:29). Upward social mobility is associated with English proficiency:

> Today in Ghana, it is more prestigious to be employed in the white collar job. It has resulted in producing a situation where a good command of the English Language is perceived as one of the marks of an "educated" man. A good knowledge of local language has consequently been downplayed. (16:26)

Those with mastery of English are perceived to be more qualified for white collar employment. One participant noted, "People win votes not because they are intelligent or fit for the job but because they are fluent in English" (22:29). English proficiency wields political power in the securing of voter confidence.

Focus Groups

None of the participants in the focus groups expressed awareness of linguistic barriers of access.

Document Analysis

There was evidence of awareness of linguistic barriers of access in six of the documents reviewed. The English teaching syllabus acknowledges that English fluency determines participation in government, trade, media, employment and education:

> The status of English Language and the role it plays in national life are well known. As the official language, it is the language of government and administration. It is the language of commerce, the learned professions and the media. As an international language, it is the most widely used on the internet and in most parts of the world. English is the medium of instruction from Primary 4 in the school system. (Ministry of Education, Science and Sports [MESS], 2007, p. ii)

The English syllabus also acknowledges that school achievement is dependent upon mastery of English:

> This means that success in education at all levels depends, to a very large extent, on the individual's proficiency in the language. It is for these and other reasons that English Language is a major subject of study in Ghanaian schools. (MESS, 2007, p. ii)

The Ghanaian educational system chooses to perpetuate the colonial legacy that educational advancement is dependent upon English proficiency. In May 2002, the Ministry of Education changed its longstanding language policy of local languages as the language of instruction for the first three years of schooling. (Ministry of Education Government of Ghana [MEGG], 2002, p. 104). English became the language of instruction with a Ghanaian Language studied as a compulsory subject until senior high school. This policy was implemented despite government acknowledgment that English is not accessible to children in rural areas and that students are tested in a language that is not functional for most (MEGG, 2002, p. 23). The Ministry of Education expresses awareness that this policy violates "the learning principle of transference based on

proceeding form known to unknown" (MEGG, 2002, p. 104). English continues to be a linguistic barrier to both societal and educational participation, aggravating already existing regional disparities in educational access and resources.

Language Recommendations

During colonialism linguistic hegemony was achieved by imposing English and marginalizing Ghanaian languages. Educators that recommend the use of English to the neglect of Ghanaian languages demonstrate lack of awareness of linguistic hegemony. Educators that recommend strengthening the use of Ghanaian languages in public functions, school environment and home settings demonstrate an awareness of linguistic hegemony.

Individual Interviews

Two participants demonstrated lack of awareness of linguistic hegemony by advocating for the discontinued use of Ghanaian languages. A teacher stated, "I don't think using local language to teach is best….The children come to school already speaking English learnt at home" (2:41). This teacher's comment fails to acknowledge that children in rural and northern settings come from homes with little to no English familiarity. The strengthening of Ghanaian languages is seen as competition that compromises English language proficiency.

> The policy on language teaching is also not helpful. Some children can speak English but cannot write it well, and I blame it on the failure of some of the past policies on language teaching that disallowed using English language as a medium of instruction from the lower primary. (5:8)

This comment assumes fault with the methodology rather than the implementation of the language policy of using Ghanaian languages as the language of instruction.

Eleven participants in the individual interviews expressed awareness of linguistic hegemony by recommending strengthening the study of Ghanaian languages in school, utilizing Ghanaian languages as the medium of instruction, or encouraging parents to utilize Ghanaian languages in the home setting. Five educators recommended strengthening the study of native languages in the school system:,

> The only mistake that our founding fathers made is that though they wanted to expand and accelerate education they did not change the curriculum. The curriculum ought to have been changed totally to reflect our culture. And that culture could only be cemented, grounded and rooted through the study of our own languages. (25:32)

The use of local languages in education is seen as a necessary component of tailoring Ghana's educational curriculum to the needs of Ghana. Two educators stressed the need to demonstrate the equivalent value of both languages. One of those educators stated, "The Ghanaian languages must be treated on the same level as the English language. The time table must be designed to allot the same amount of instructional hours as the English language" (25:35). Six study participants recommended using Ghanaian languages as the medium of instruction. Representative of all six comments, one teacher stated, "I recommend that the Ghanaian language that should be taught in our schools should be the predominant native language that is widely spoken in the municipality within which a school is situated" (4:41). Two educators noted that utilizing a Ghanaian language facilitates understanding and comprehension in Ghanaian language learners. A policy maker stated, "The indigenous language of the town where the school is situated should be the mode of instruction. In this school for instance the students cannot really grasp things when they are in English yet when you switch to the

local language they understand you better" (5:41). Referring to second language acquisition, one educator noted that "studies have shown that when children are taught in their local languages, they are able to pick the second language very well" (25:38). Two educators recommended that parents utilize Ghanaian languages in the home. One counselor stated, "I would encourage parents to communicate to their wards in their local languages so that they learn more about our culture" (9:41). The maintenance of language is considered inseparable from the maintenance of Ghanaian culture. An administrator stated, "As a parent, once your child gets home, you have to speak to him / her in your local dialect. When English is used, the child will not know about his dialect and culture" (18:38). A renaissance of Ghanaian language and culture is also seen as key to the reclamation of Ghanaian identity:

> We should initiate studies into the development of our own languages. Literacy in our own languages would have helped us to develop our own philosophy, which would have been completely different from what the Europeans taught us. That would have helped to establish our own African personality and identity. (25:32).

The revitalization of Ghanaian languages is viewed as significant to national development:

> We need to understand that no country has developed using a second language. China, once a former colony the British has developed using its local language. India and Japan too have gone in that direction. They have developed their mother-tongue. The development of their local languages has contributed immensely to the general development of those countries whereas we still want to develop using a second language and that becomes a challenge to us. (27:32)

The embrace of the mother-tongue is observed to be a key to progress and development in other former colonies.

Focus Groups

One participant in the focus groups demonstrated lack of awareness of linguistic hegemony by advocating for the use of English rather and nine participants demonstrated awareness by recommending the adoption of a Ghanaian language for a lingua franca, increasing the study of Ghanaian languages or utilizing Ghanaian languages as a medium of instruction. One teacher demonstrated lack of awareness by recommending that the "means of instruction should be English" (38:11). This comment fails to acknowledge that English becomes a barrier of educational access to those children who come from homes where only Ghanaian languages are spoken. One teacher educator demonstrated awareness of linguistic hegemony by recommending that a Ghanaian language should become a lingua franca. "We should make one local language official in addition to the English language" (34:41). English as an official language should not come at the expense of Ghanaian languages. Two professionals recommended increasing the intensity of Ghanaian language instruction. Representative of both comments, one counselor suggested, "We need to design a programme to intensify the teaching of our culture and languages in our schools" (33:32). Five educators recommended using Ghanaian languages as the language of instruction. Similar to other comments, one counselor suggested, "I think we should use our local languages instead of English but that means that books should be written in all those languages" (35:41). One educator advocated that the selection of the Ghanaian language should be community based. The teacher suggested, "Select a predominant local language in every community or locality and make it the main language of

instruction at the basic level" (38:11). The use of Ghanaian languages was also considered a tool for national development. One teacher stated, "Our language must be used effectively to help us develop" (37:32). This suggests that the current language policy of English may not be in Ghana's best interest.

Document Analysis

There was evidence of an awareness of linguistic hegemony found in four documents in recommendations to strengthen Ghanaian languages. In the teaching syllabus of Ghanaian languages, the Ministry of Education shares the rationale behind Ghanaian language instruction:

> Effective teaching of Ghanaian languages and culture motivates children to love and be proud of their own culture which is rich in cultural and moral values especially contained in proverbs, folktales, euphemisms, etc….if effectively taught, [it] will contribute immensely to the realization of the national objectives of making Ghanaians literate in their language and knowledgeable about their culture. (Ministry of Education S. a., 2007, p. ii)

The teaching syllabus validates the teaching of Ghanaian languages in promoting national objectives of building Ghanaian identity. The education sector review acknowledges that discontinuing the use of local languages removes the link to cultural identity, self-esteem and efficacy in lifelong learning (Ministry of Education Government of Ghana, 2002, p. 104). The Ministry of Education acknowledges that local languages represent significant avenues for reaching national literacy goals. "Ghanaian language still holds the key to assisting children become literate and ensuring creativity in basic education, especially in rural schools" (Ministry of Education Government of Ghana, 2002, p. 23). Ghanaian languages are also noted to "strengthen[s] children's mental

capacity, making them competent in the use of their language, and hence building the foundation for studying other languages and cultures" (Ministry of Education S. a., 2007, p. ii.). Local languages are seen as essential to overall literacy and cognitive development.

Racism and Internalized Racism

Racism is defined as "a system of advantage based on race and supported by institutional structures, policies, and practices that create and sustain benefits for the dominant white group, and structures discrimination, oppression, and disadvantage for people from targeted racial groups" (Bell, 2007, p. 118). Awareness of racist ideology was examined in educators' identification of perceptions of white racial superiority, black racial inferiority and African stereotypes.

White Racial Superiority and Black Racial Inferiority

Colonial imperialism was justified as a conduit of enlightenment and impartation of civilization by a superior race (Johnson, 2003). Perceived black racial inferiority resulted in the colonizer finding the place, people and customs of the colonized as always inferior (Memmi, 1991). These messages of black racial inferiority then become internalized and accepted as "truth values" by the colonized, causing them to assimilate Western culture in an attempt to improve their own status. Awareness of internalized racism among educators was examined in educators' observations of assimilation of Western culture, language, policies or believed to be motivated by perceptions of white supremacy. Evidence of awareness of black racial inferiority among educators was noted in observed societal perceptions of racial differences in abilities, talents or value.

Individual Interviews

Six participants expressed awareness of perceptions of white racial superiority in job discrimination, African assimilation of Western culture and speech, implementation of Western policy and dependency upon Western aid. In the colonial administration, skin color rather than qualification determined employment:

> One of the ills of colonialism is that it bred the practice of discrimination in appointing people to public offices. For instance, there were lots of Africans who were equally qualified for appointment to public services in the colonial era but were marginalized and denied such places on the basis of their skin colour. The dominant racist tendency was to look upon an educated African as one who is unworthy to occupy the same place as their white or European counterparts. (31:23)

Two educators noted that white racial superiority was internalized and remains present in the contemporary Ghanaian mindset. One policy maker stated, "The colonialists enslaved us mentally making us see white people as superior. Our thinking as a result has been affected" (5:23). Another teacher stated, "We still carry that mentality that the colonialists are racially superior to us" (14:23). Evidence of this mindset was noted in assimilation of European culture. As one counselor noted, "You imbibe the European ways of doing things which you consider superior to your own cultural values" (31:38). The efforts made to imitate the language and accent of the former colonizer are further evidence of the internalization of white racial superiority. "Even the manner in which we speak bears symptoms of the perception of colonial superiority" (31:20). White racial superiority is believed to influence the implementation of Western policies that may not be in Ghana's best interest. "We have to put in place policies that will benefit us without necessarily looking at the fact whatever comes from the white man is the

best" (22:32). Perceptions of white racial superiority are seen as fostering dependency upon the West. "We still carry that mentality that the colonialists are racially superior to us. In effect we have been inclined to depend on them for everything we need, thus creating the dependency syndrome" (14:23). Dismantling racist ideology is viewed as key to breaking the dependency cycle. A counselor stated, "We should change our mentality and not see the whites as the best brains and not depend on them for our needs. We need to go back to our roots and take the things that are beneficial to us" (9:32). This comment suggests that reclamation of pride in black racial identity opens the door to true development and advancement in Africa.

One participant demonstrated lack of awareness and four participants demonstrated awareness of perceptions of black racial inferiority in colonial indoctrination, treatment, discrimination in job opportunities and inequalities in education. One teacher expressed that colonialism promoted racial equality. "The colonial system of education helped to create the awareness that what the white man can do, the black man can do as well" (16:17). The teacher purports the promotion of racial equality but exposes notions of internalized racism as the accomplishments of the "white man" are presented as the standard by which the black man is judged. Four educators expressed awareness of perceptions of black racial inferiority. One counselor commented, "Another effect of colonialism was that the colonial masters despised Africans and treated them as third-rate citizens of our own land" (28:32). Colonial perceptions of inferiority led to subordinate treatment of Africans. A teacher described, "The colonizers denied Ghanaians the chance to hold key positions in the governance of

our country. We were not allowed to explore our capabilities but rather made to see the colonialists as our overlords" (32:23). Perceived to be incapable of self-governance, racist ideology legitimized white rule. One teacher noted that Ghanaians were viewed as "incapable of governing ourselves so we were relegated to a lower quality of education that made us subservient to the colonial master's rule" (32:20). Colonial education is perceived as being tailored to accommodate as well as indoctrinate racial differences. "Mental slavery. We were made to believe that everything black was inferior. Presently we do not value the things we have, yet we value those from the whites" (29:23). The indoctrination of black racial inferiority led to the African's contempt for all things associated with Africa and desire for all things associated with the West.

Focus Groups

Two educators in the focus groups expressed awareness of perceptions of white racial superiority or black racial inferiority. A teacher educator commented that colonialism "brought about the perception that everything the white man manufactures is good so we don't patronize made in Ghana goods" (34:20). Internalized racism is viewed as undergirding the Ghanaian preference for foreign goods, hindering the growth and development of Ghanaian industry. A counselor stated, "We have become second class Europeans to the detriment of our cultures" (35:29). This educator expressed the perpetuation of internalized racism in both the African who attempts to fully assimilate Western culture as well as the Westerner who does not grant the African equal status.

Document Analysis

There was evidence of awareness of perceptions of black racial inferiority in one of the textbooks reviewed:

> Under colonialism the Africans were made to rely on colonial masters for almost everything. They depended on the colonial masters for their imports, educational set up, the Bank from their imperial country, etc. The dependence tendency invariably made Africans feel inferior and looked to the Whiteman for any major decision. (Amoah et al., 2008, p. 65)

As decision making power was removed from Africans in colonial society, Africans came to view their subordinate status as racially determined.

<u>African Stereotypes</u>

Africans were stereotyped as being inherently inferior or possessing moral attributes associated with inferiority (Bank, 1996; Simpson, 2007). Due to perceived racial inferiority, one of the stereotypes associated with Africans was that of being primitive, backward or uncivilized (MacMillan, 1934; Simensen, 1990; Bush, 1999). Another stereotype associated with Africans was that of being lazy and responsible for their own lack of development (Metcalfe, 1964; Memmi, 1991). Despite the rich ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity, Africans were stereotyped as being racially the same (Dei, 2005; Dei, 2004). I analyzed the discussions for awareness of colonial racial discourse in the use of racially attributed stereotypes of backwardness, laziness and racial sameness.

Individual Interviews

One participant expressed lack of awareness and two educators expressed awareness of the stereotype of African backwardness in contemporary society. One

counselor perpetuated colonial discourse of African backwardness by stating that colonialism "has enlightened Ghanaians a lot. Apart from some of their misdeeds like promoting the slave trade and discriminating against us, colonialism generally helped us. They helped to promote civilization" (21:23). This counselor indicates the acceptance of dominant discourse that Ghanaians were backwards and in need of the West to bring enlightenment. While dismissing Western forms of barbarism in slavery and racial discrimination, the educator refuses to acknowledge the pre-colonial existence of African political, social, judicial and educational structures associated with Western definitions of civilization. Two educators expressed awareness of lingering stereotypes of African backwardness. One administrator cited the educational treatment of Africans as evidence of the colonialist mindset:

> Western style education portrayed itself as a civilizing agent of the colonialist and missionaries. Under the colonial system of education, the teacher was cast as father to the student. I regret that the beneficiaries of the old type of education think it is the best. So there is little hope for the transformation that we are talking about. However we must strive to transform the system completely to build in the Ghanaian the desire to be a Ghanaian and an African. (25:38)

The use of the word "portrayed" indicates that the educator acknowledges the potential discrepancy between the perception and the reality of the colonizer's civilizing role. The administrator describes that the colonizer's perception of Africans as backward legitimized their paternalistic role in education to Westernize the African. A second administrator noted, "In the colonial days it was considered prestigious living and behaving like the colonial master. He had a way of dressing and drinking his tea in a certain manner that was considered civil so educated Ghanaians preferred to work in

those kinds of environments for the sake of prestige" (17:26). The internalization of messages of backwardness among Ghanaians resulted in their pursuit of Western dress, food and employment to improve their perceived backward status.

Three participants in the individual interviews expressed lack of awareness of stereotypes of African laziness by perpetuating the stereotype among all Ghanaian civil servants. One educator stated, "As regards the attitude of the people in the civil service, there is general apathy." (14:8). Three educators identified apathy as a result of a perceived lack of ownership associated with subordinate employment:

> It left us with some traits, some colonial mentality in terms of our attitude towards work. People tended to think that once you are working in the government sector you must consider the work as not belonging to you. One is therefore expected to work with apathy. This tendency is a hangover from the colonial era. (14:20)

This attitude of apathy is also perceived in the educational sector. "The attitude of most of our educational workers towards work in public schools is apathetic….This attitude stems from the mentality that treats public schools system with apathy. We treat it as something that does not belong to us but to the government" (20:29). In the same way the colonizer attributed laziness to all Africans, apathy is now attributed to the entire civil sector.

None of the participants in the individual interviews expressed awareness of the colonial discourse of racial sameness as a colonial legacy of racism.

Focus Groups

None of the participants in the focus groups demonstrated awareness of the colonial legacy of racism in the production of stereotypes of Africans as backward, lazy or racially the same.

Document Analysis

There was evidence of lack of awareness of the stereotype that Africans are backwards in three textbooks and evidence of awareness of that stereotype in one textbook. One junior high textbook evidenced of lack of awareness by perpetuating the stereotype of African backwardness through messages that slow development is associated with cultural resistance. The textbook states that the superiority of developed nations is due to a willingness to change and adopt new cultural practices. "Societies that develop faster, change their cultural practices faster and adopt practices that can improve their societies" (Amoah et al., Social studies 2, 2008, pp. 7-8). Western societies or societies that have adopted western ways are considered modernized. "Societies in the developed nations of Europe, Japan, China, Canada, USA and other Third World countries like Malaysia, and India changed their cultural practices fast enough to suit modern trends of living and technology" (pp. 7-8). Ghanaian society is inferior in its development due to inherent weaknesses in accommodating change:

> Such societies do not develop fast enough. Most rural societies in Ghana and indeed in Africa as a whole belong to that category. Rural communities are slow in adopting new ideas or absorbing practices of other societies. (p. 7)

The problem is attributed to "Africa as a whole" and thus the entire "black" race of people. The rationale for teaching social studies identifies the same racial weakness:

> Our society has been a slow moving society. It is hoped that as pupils understand the Ghanaian society better, and are able to examine the society's institutions and ways of life with a critical and constructive mind, the country will surely be on a path to better and faster growth in development. (Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, 2007, p. ii)

The perceived inherent slowness among Ghanaians is thought to impact national development more than neocolonial policies that inhibit development, trade, self-government, and self-actualization of the nation. The proposed solution to these obstacles to development is to adapt and assimilate "foreign cultures that have helped them to develop fast" (Amoah et al., 2008, p. 9). Examples of the assimilation of Western culture in Ghana are highlighted as accomplishments:

> Some of the examples of foreign cultural aspects that have been assimilated or adapted by Ghanaians include adaptation of western names. Many Ghanaians go by Christian or English names….Another area is the introduction of English Language. Nowadays, many educated Ghanaians choose to speak English Language at public functions and they even express themselves in English better that in their mother tongue. (Amoah et al., Social studies 2, 2008, p. 9)

The inferiority of African society is improved to the degree that they incorporate elements of the superior Western society. In contrast, one junior high textbook stated, "Through formal education and Christian religion with their opposition to African culture, many Africans have lost their true identity. They look to the African way of life as inferior or even primitive" (Amoah et al., 2008, p. 65). This author expressed awareness that the colonial indoctrination of African backwardness has been internalized, causing them to abandon their Ghanaian identity.

There was evidence of lack of awareness of perpetuating laziness as a stereotype in four of nine social studies textbooks reviewed through frequent references to its

impact in national independence, resource development, socio-economic development and the world of work. Laziness was identified as a significant factor in development among all high school social studies textbooks.

Table 2. Laziness Factor in High School Studies Units

Laziness Identified as Factor in High School Social Studies Units			
	Textbook 1 (Adu-Yeboah & Obiri-Yeboah, 2008)	**Textbook 2** (Mintah-Afari, 2008)	**Textbook 3** (Agyei, 2010)
National Independence Mistakes **(Year 1)**	1 of 4 factors		
Resource Development Problems **(Year 2)**	1 of 8 factors	1 of 8 factors	1 of 6 factors
Socio-Economic Development Problems **(Year 3)**	1 of 13 factors	First of 19 factors	1 of 6 factors
The World of Work Issues **(Year 3)**	1 of 2 factors	First of 9 factors	1 of 6 factors

Not only is the racial stereotype of laziness reinforced by the sheer number of references to it, but it is also described as pertinent to "most" or "many" Ghanaians in three texts (Adu-Yeboah & Obiri-Yeboah, 2008, p. 80; Agyei, 2010, pp. 194, 213). In two texts, laziness and poor work ethics are applied to *all* Ghanaian government workers (Mintah-Afari, 2008, pp. 421, 425-246). These statements infer that challenges with national development are inevitable due to inherent weaknesses among the Ghanaian people, resulting in laziness becoming a racially attributed quality. As one textbook stated, "Many Ghanaian workers *exhibit their true colours* soon after being offered jobs after a long search. They either report late for work or are irregular with flimsy excuses. Even when they report, they spend most part of the working hours to relax and gossip"

(Adu-Yeboah & Obiri-Yeboah, 2008, p. 377). The textbooks further reinforce this racial stereotype by heavily weighting its significance as a cause of Ghana's challenges. When discussing resource development one text read, "Indiscipline has been identified as one of the major causes of the slow pace of development in Ghana" (Amoah et al., Social studies 3, 2005, p. 116). In another text, a poor work attitude is listed as the first of 19 factors that prevent Ghana from developing (Mintah-Afari, 2008, pp. 381-384). The superordinate position in the listing reinforces the message that Ghanaians are primarily responsible for challenges with development due to racial inferiority.

There were multiple examples of lack of awareness of perpetuation of the stereotype of racial sameness in five documents and a few examples of awareness in three textbooks. Lack of awareness of the discourse of racial sameness was found in four citizenship education and social studies textbooks. In one high school social studies textbook, the role of the schools is described as "train[ing] students for national values and a common national identity instead of individual ethnic values and beliefs" (Adu-Yeboah & Obiri-Yeboah, 2008, p. 260). A national cultural identity not only takes preeminence but excludes ethnic cultural diversity. Discussions of ethnic identity are viewed as instigating ethnocentrism. In one textbook ethnicity was wrongly defined as ethnocentrism, or the "tendency to consider one culture superior to another" (Agyei, 2010, pp. 102-103). Ethnicity is not viewed as a way to describe difference but the tendency to view difference as superior. "It is believed that ethnicity divides the people. It enables some tribes to feel that they are superior to other groups, so they treat them with contempt, calling the inferior group names." (Adu-Asirifi & Ampah, p. 105).

Difference is identified as the problem. Ethnic differences are held responsible for creating divisions by inciting feelings of superiority. "Ethnicity divides people. It makes some people think that they are better than other ethnic groups. It also brings conflict among people and this affects development" (Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, 2007, p. 29). Discussions of ethnic diversity are viewed as instigating ethnocentric feelings of superiority that will weaken development and progress. "Ethnic traits divide national traits" (Agyei, 2010, pp. 102-103). Ethnic identity is seen as a pervasive threat to national identity. "Ghana's effort to build unity among her people is undermined by the number of different cultural groupings in the country. Many Ghanaians identify themselves more with their ethnic group than their loyalty to Ghana as a state" (Adu-Yeboah & Obiri-Yeboah, 2008, p. 417). Ghanaian students receive messages that their difference is the problem which further perpetuates internalized oppression. In the same way the colonizer achieved "peaceful trade" by suppressing ethnic differences, national unity is achieved by silencing diversity. In the same way the colonizer suppressed difference to dominate and control, the authors stigmatize ethnic diversity in order to promote a contrived national identity void of the realities of ethnic pluralism. One high school textbook utilizes 3 paragraphs to discuss the "Positive Benefits of Ethnicity" and 11 paragraphs to outline the "Negative Sides of Ethnicity" (Adu-Yeboah & Obiri-Yeboah, 2008, p. 422). The greater representation of negative sides of ethnicity further stigmatizes difference.

There was evidence of awareness of the stereotype of racial sameness in three textbooks that expressed the value of ethnic diversity. The Citizen Education syllabus

deconstructs this discourse by emphasizing that ethnic differences are a source of strength in Ghana (Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, 2007, p. 29). Some portions of the citizenship textbook further support ethnic diversity as something that enriches culture as one learns about another's food, language, dancing and dressing (Adu-Asirifi & Ampah, p. 41). The Citizen Education syllabus and textbooks propose dealing with ethnicity by valuing all people as different but equal, speaking other languages, cooperating, learning from others and respecting the differences and rights of all (Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, 2007, p. 29; Adu-Asirifi & Ampah, p. 41; Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, 2007). .

Oppression

Adams (2007) defines oppression as "social structures, policies and practices that maintain systemic domination and subordination" (p. 247). I documented educators' awareness of oppression as expressed in ethno-religious oppression, classism, genderism, internalized oppression and neocolonialism.

Ethno-Religious Oppression

One system of oppression established during colonialism was ethno-religious oppression. Adams (2007) defines ethno-religious oppression as the "symbiosis between racial and ethnic attributions and religion, whereby religion is used to justify and mobilize ethnic aspirations" (p. 250). First I documented educators' awareness of societal beliefs of the superiority of Christianity and the inferiority of traditional African religions. Next I analyzed the participants' discussions for Christian hegemony in

present day Ghana. Finally I noted awareness among Ghanaian educators of the marginalization of traditional African religions.

Individual Interviews

One participant in the individual interviews expressed lack of awareness of perceptions of the superiority of Christianity or inferiority of traditional African religions and two participants expressed awareness. A policy maker stated, "It also helped in the propagation of the gospel. The missionaries claimed that their mission was to liberate the mind and the hand, and save the soul: the head, the heart and the hand…In a positive way colonialism brought Western style education, commerce, trade and Christianity" (5:17,23). The educator reproduces dominant discourse by describing the European's Christianizing mission as necessary for the salvation and development of Africa. Two educators expressed awareness of religious perceptions of superiority and inferiority. A teacher stated, "Everything Western is deemed to be superior including human and material resources as well as values. Majority of Ghanaians today are either Christians or Muslims, imported religions" (16:38). Perceptions of Western superiority result in Ghanaians embracing Western products, including Western religion. One counselor commented, "While growing up, we were told that the African traditional religion which we inherited from our ancestors was pagan. Christian religion for instance went hand in hand with colonial rule and frowned upon traditional festivals as unchristian and uncivilized" (31:38). In dominant discourse the colonizer's religion invalidates African spirituality as not religious or civilized.

Three educators indicated lack of self-awareness of Christian hegemony in their educational recommendations. One teacher advocated that "corporal punishment should be meted out to them according to the tenets of the bible" (13:50). This recommendation presumes that all students embrace or should embrace Christian doctrine. A policy maker promoted using counseling and preaching based on the bible to "curb the numerous cases of abuses meted out against the opposite sex" (2:53). Christian doctrine is presented as the only effective way to deal with sexual assault. Similarly a teacher recommended, "Our present system of education is trying to relegate religion to the background. For me as a teacher I think that taking the bible out of the schools' curriculum is a disastrous thing" (23:14). These three educators present Christianity as the normative standard of religious expression by expecting all students to adhere to Christian doctrine regardless of their faith.

Four participants in the individual interviews expressed awareness of the marginalization of traditional religions. One educator noted, "[Colonialism's] greatest effect was that it eradicated a lot of our traditions. It undermined our traditional religious beliefs and rather exalted Christianity" (8:23). Christianity is perceived as having displaced traditional spiritual rituals to the point of modern day extinction. The displacement of traditional African rituals and the transmission of associated cultural values has resulted in new societal problems. "Unfortunately, some socio-cultural practices such as puberty rites which were deemed to be barbaric and were consequently abolished had the useful value of curbing the rate teenage pregnancies.

Colonial rule depleted our culture of some of its valuable content" (15:38). Western education is perceived as the vehicle of marginalization:

> Among many Ghanaian girls today there is a noticeable preference for marriage under the ordinance, which is perceived to be superior to the customary system of marriage popularly known as "engagement." Many girls would prefer being marched down the aisle to the altar in the Christian/Western way or make recourse to the city council to be married under the ordinance than be married the customary way. In this way for instance, Western-style education trained people to look at their own culture through the demeaning lenses of European standards. (31:20)

The internalization of Western superiority results in Ghanaian youth abandoning traditional rituals in favor of Western spiritual rituals.

Focus Groups

None of the participants in the focus groups expressed awareness of perceptions of the superiority of Christianity or the inferiority of traditional African religions.

One participant in the focus groups expressed awareness of Christian hegemony. A teacher noted that colonialism "brought about slavery, the exploitation of our natural resources by foreign powers and the introduction of foreign religion, Christianity, into Ghana" (37:23). The fact that the establishment of Christianity is listed with the greatest violation of human rights and exploitation of resources is an indication of the perceived level of oppression that accompanied the importation of Western religion.

Only one participant in the focus groups expressed awareness of ethno-religious oppression as manifested in the marginalization of traditional religions. One counselor commented, "They killed our traditional religion and introduced Christianity" (35:23). The elimination of traditional African religions is the perceived cost of the colonizer's introduction of Western religion.

Document Analysis

None of the authors in the documents reviewed demonstrated awareness of perceptions of the superiority of Christianity or the inferiority of traditional African religions.

There was evidence of lack of awareness of Christian hegemony in three textbooks and evidence of awareness of Christian hegemony in one textbook. One junior high social studies textbook stated, "Missionaries who came to Ghana introduced their Christian and Muslim religions and many Ghanaians changed from their traditional African religion to Christianity and Islam" (Amoah et al., 2008, p. 6). The text describes all African conversions as volitional and does not acknowledge some experienced conversion by coercion in order to access education. When discussing marriage ceremonies, there was evidence of Christian hegemony despite syllabus objectives for comparisons to be made between Muslim, Christian and customary marriages (Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, 2007). Three social studies textbooks devote more content to Christian rituals. One high school social studies textbook does not include Islamic marriage, limiting its divisions to Customary, Christian and Marriage under the Ordinance (Adu-Yeboah & Obiri-Yeboah, 2008, pp. 138-139). Rituals common to Christians are identified (the presentation of a Bible and a ring) but none of those associated with Muslims or customary marriages (pp. 54-55). In another textbook both Christian and Islamic marriages are included under "religious marriages" but Christianity is listed first, given twice as much space, and provides the only content for illustration (Mintah-Afari, 2008, pp. 123-130). Only one of the three high school textbooks provides

equal coverage of Islamic and Christian marriage (Agyei, Contemporary social studies for senior high schools, 2010). Only one textbook demonstrates awareness of the hegemonic role of Christianity, stating that formal education had been an "instrument of evangelization" (Mintah-Afari, 2008, pp. 285-286). This author expresses an understanding of the colonizer's agenda to use education as a tool for conversion.

There was evidence of lack of awareness of the marginalization of traditional African religions in two citizen education textbooks and evidence of awareness in three high school social studies textbooks. When discussing the freedom of worship in two citizen education textbooks, equally-sized images are provided of Christians and Muslims but none of worshippers of traditional religions (Adu-Asirifi & Ampah, Citizen education for primary schools: Pupils' book 4, p. 86; Adu-Asirifi & Ampah, Citizenship education for primary schools: Pupils' book 5, p. 76). Christianity and Islam are presented as normative standards of worship while traditional African religions receive little to no representation. Traditional religious beliefs and practices are included within discussions of socio-cultural practices in all three high school textbooks. When discussing funeral rites, one textbook states, "It is believed that the dead have the same desires as the living, such as money, food drink, clothing, so all of these are placed in the coffin or beside the grave" (Adu-Yeboah & Obiri-Yeboah, 2008, p. 56). The inclusion of spiritual beliefs provides students with meaning to cultural rituals. Another textbook states, "Festivals are occasions on which members of a community will gather annually to remember, honour and express their gratitude to God, the gods and ancestors for helping and protecting them" (Mintah-Afari, 2008, pp. 44-45). The inclusion of "God,

gods and ancestors" recognizes the diversity of religious beliefs comprising traditional African religions. One high school text states, "After the bath, everything used to bath her are thrown into the river to be washed away. This rite is performed to introduce the girl/neophyte to the river god. The spirits of the river were asked to reward the girl with long life, many children and to enjoy successful marriage" (Agyei, Contemporary social studies for senior high schools, 2010, p. 30). The inclusion of spiritual beliefs such as these counteracts the former marginalization of African spirituality in education and acknowledges the interdependent nature of African culture, custom and spirituality.

Classism

A second system of oppression introduced by colonialism was classism. Classism is defined as "prejudice and discrimination based on socio-economic level or class" (Blumenfeld, Prejudice and discrimination, 2000). Interviews and documents were analyzed for messages of racial inequalities, the presence of structures, or the existence of regional disparities that promote classism. Participants demonstrated awareness of the introduction of classism under colonialism or the presence of classism in contemporary society by identifying differences in social status, educational access and employment opportunities.

Social Status

Individual Interviews

Four participants in the individual interviews expressed awareness of legacies of classism in the creation of social classes with different status. One administrator stated, "It helped raise an elite group who could read and write" (17:17). This educator

acknowledges that only a minority of Ghanaians with access to colonial education achieved the highest class. "Colonial education from the outset has influenced educated people to think of themselves as better off" (31:38), stated one counselor. The privilege of education afforded to this elite group of Ghanaians resulted in internalized perceptions of superiority. One administrator observed, "Affluent people see themselves as superior" (10:26). As education opened opportunities for better wages, the accumulation of wealth further legitimized perceptions of superiority among the educated elite. One teacher stated, "In the military for instance, you have to marry someone of the same class. If one rises above the other, the one has to catch up, face divorce or leave the military. This is a legacy from the colonial era" (13:23). The perceived immutability of social class and status has been observed to result in societal taboos of intermarriage between classes.

Focus Groups

Two educators in the focus groups expressed awareness that colonialism introduced a class system with differences in social status. "It created a class society, where children of the elite became elite" (34:23). Colonialism is viewed as having institutionalized the social reproduction of classism as the "elite" are able to provide the necessary economic, social and cultural capital for their children to succeed and remain part of the elite class. A second teacher educator stated, "It has brought about a class system, so if you don't belong to a certain class, you can't make it unless you struggle so much" (34:20). Colonialism is viewed as establishing social class rigidity, making it difficult to improve social standing among those who do not belong to the elite class.

Document Analysis

None of the authors in the documents reviewed demonstrated an awareness of the colonial legacy of classism with the introduction of social class and status..

<u>Educational Access</u>

Individual Interviews

Four participants expressed awareness of classism with disparities in educational access. Disparity in access to education is seen as creating "segregation between the educated and the uneducated" (13:35). One administrator stated, "It is not so difficult to access education in the urban or district centres. The main problem is with the rural areas where the concept of free education appears to be mere talk because in many places schools simply do not exist" (10:35). Disparities in educational infrastructure institutionalize classism by limiting access to students in rural areas that are economically disadvantaged. A counselor noted, "Most of the students I taught were from deprived communities and parents were not paying their fees so they had to be sent home for fees on some occasions" (9:5). The burden of incidental school fees restricts educational access of impoverished children, solidifying socioeconomic gaps. One educator noted, "It is accessible to those who can pay and want good education. Those who do not have money end up in public schools that are not well equipped" (4:35). Disparity in access to quality education ensures that children from poor families remain in a cycle of poverty because they cannot access the education needed for upward mobility.

Focus Groups

One of the study participants expressed limited awareness of classism evidenced by inequalities in educational access. One teacher stated, “At first children were paying fees but they no longer do so this is helping most of the children to attend school” (37:8). This statement fails to acknowledge that parents are still required to pay incidental school fees, maintaining a barrier of educational access for many children, particularly in rural and northern Ghana.

Document Analysis

There was evidence in one textbook and three documents of awareness of classism by identifying inequalities in educational access. One junior high social studies textbook states, “Most of the schools in the rural areas are not adequately equipped with textbooks, workshops and laboratories. Some schools do not even have teachers to teach the children” (Amoah et al., 2005, p. 44). As in colonial days, the regionalization of resources results in urban areas having more access than rural areas. The Ministry of Education identifies that the greatest disparity is found between three northern regions and the rest of the country (Ministry of Education Government of Ghana, 2002, p. viii). Despite known inequities, the poorest four regions receive the lowest subsidy per school age child (Ministry of Education Government of Ghana, 2002, p. 21). Classism is reinforced in these regions as the least monetary support is provided to the regions with the greatest financial need. The Ministry of Education also notes that the most deprived rural areas lack teachers while there is an oversupply in urban areas (Ministry of Education Government of Ghana, 2003, p. 11). Almost all of the

higher educational institutions are concentrated in southern urban areas. Unless monies are earmarked for teacher incentives and infrastructural development in these regions, the educational system continues to reproduce classism by limiting educational participation to children in northern communities.

Employment Opportunities

Individual Interviews

Two participants in the individual interviews expressed awareness of classism by acknowledging inequalities in employment opportunities. One counselor stated, "It created a class system made up of professionals like the doctors, lawyers, magistrates who earned higher salaries that distinguished them from the rest of the other professionals. The masses who did not belong to these professionals were marginalized" (28:23). Colonialism institutionalized classism through stratification of employment and wages between the educated elite and the masses. One counselor acknowledged, "Education has become so important that without it, people cannot ascend to positions of leadership. Without it you can't even be a chief" (21:38). Access to formal education not only determines employment opportunities but has become the standard of evaluation for cultural institutions such as chieftaincy.

Focus Groups

One participant in the focus groups expressed lack of awareness of classism as evidenced by inequalities in employment opportunities**.** The teacher educator stated, "It brought about identification of talents. Formerly, a farmer's ward ended up a farmer but it changed under colonial rule" (34:17). This statement fails to acknowledge that

educational access was granted to a minority of colonized subjects and human resource development was catered to the colonizer's needs.

Document Analysis

There was evidence of limited awareness of the intersection of classism and employment in two social studies textbooks. One junior high textbook acknowledges limited employment options for youth in rural areas:

> In the rural areas, the only employment opportunities available include farming, fishing, livestock rearing, hunting, petty trading and charcoal business. Many people, especially the youth, look down on these jobs because they consider them as inferior. They rather prefer to do 'white collar' jobs like office clerks, accountant, executive officers or work in industries. (Amoah et al., Social studies 3, 2005, p. 44)

This author observes that the youth have internalized classism by associating certain forms of employment with inferior status:

> Education and work are related since the education one has acquired determines the kind of work the one will do. A low level of education earns poor or low grade work, for example someone who has not acquired any knowledge or skills can only be employed as a labourer. Someone who has however obtained a high level of education can be employed as a banker, lawyer, accountant, etc. Would you like to be employed in a high grade job? (Adu-Asirifi & Ampah, Pupils' book 5, p. 6)

This discussion fails to acknowledge differences in access to education that result in differences in employment opportunities. By excluding discussion about differences in educational access, educational achievement is implied to be the result of effort rather than opportunity. The author also uses prejudicial language of "poor or low grade work" and "high grade jobs" in describing employment opportunities, further reinforcing stereotypes associated with classes.

Sexism

A third system of oppression introduced or reinforced during colonialism is sexism. Sexism is defined as a "system of advantages that serves to privilege men, subordinate women, denigrate women-identified values and practices, enforce male dominance and control, and reinforce forms of masculinity that are dehumanizing and damaging to men" (Botkin, 2007, p. 174). First I documented educators' awareness of sexism in the marginalization of females. Second, I examined the participants' awareness of socially constructed gender roles within families and the community at large.

Marginalization of Females

Individual Interviews

Twelve participants in the individual interviews expressed lack of awareness of the marginalization of females and three participants expressed awareness. One educator advocated that colonial education promoted equal access to education. The counselor stated, "The colonial systems of education encouraged the admission of females at all levels of education. Wesley Girls High School for instance was established by the Wesleyan Mission 1934 as a school for the training of young girls at a time when there was not yet a school in the country dedicated exclusively to the training of young men" (19:41). This counselor does not indicate awareness that colonial schools demonstrated male preference in education as African men were targeted for employment in the colonial administration. Eight educators denied that colonialism promoted the marginalization of women, attributing the process to African culture

alone. One teacher stated, “Most of these gender issues, particularly, the attitudes towards women have cultural underpinnings so I will not blame it on colonialism” (14:41). This participant demonstrates lack of awareness of male privilege in the colonial mindset. An administrator stated, “The relative exclusion of women and the offer of limited access to education for females in the past were merely cultural. Our own culture marginalized the place of women in our society” (27:41). Five other educators made similar comments, attributing the marginalization of women to Ghanaian culture alone (17:41, 20:41, 30:41, 22:41, 15:41, 28:41). One administrator stated, “I would not blame it on colonialism; it is because we are African. Actually, I don’t think they discriminated against women. It is more of a cultural issue- how we see our females” (29:41). This participant attributed sexism to all African cultures. Two educators expressed lack of awareness of sexism by refuting the existence of female marginalization in present day Ghana. One administrator stated, “There is no problem with that. Nobody feels restrained. No matter your gender, you can go as far as your head will carry you” (26:41). This statement fails to acknowledge inequities in female admission, drop-out rates and wage earning employment. One teacher stated, “Times have changed. We no longer believe that the place of the woman is in the kitchen” (11:53). These educators appear unaware of issues with disparity in educational access and employment that are influenced by the social construction of gender identity.

Three educators in the individual interviews demonstrated awareness that colonialism perpetuated the marginalization of women. One counselor identified that

during colonialism, males were targeted for education because the colonial administration preferred to hire males:

> In the colonial set up, only a few women were privileged to be educated and it is all part of our traditional way of thinking which was premised on the belief that only males were useful as educated. In most families, boys were encouraged to attend school while girls were consigned to domestic usefulness as housewives. However to understand this trend within the framework of colonial rule, one must first recognize the role that men played as interpreters and secretaries. The colonizers themselves tended to use males as their secretaries and interpreters and thereby encouraged the education of males to serve their interests. As a result they perpetuated this imbalance. (31:41)

The marginalization of females in colonial education is considered the result of females not being perceived as a human resource for the colonial administration. A teacher commented, "Our culture is fundamentally sexist, neglectful of women, and biased towards them. The colonial system played upon this bias by neglecting the provision of equal opportunities for all" (32:41). This participant considers that colonialists shirked responsibilities for providing equal access to education by simply responding to the cultural demand to educate men. Another teacher stated, "Colonialism played upon the existing cultural dimension and perpetuated that trend of marginalizing women. For example when the colonialist came to Ghana, they thought that courses like needlework and home science should be taught our women. Women were not given access to highly professional courses" (23:41). Colonialism is viewed as having perpetuated the marginalization of women by limiting educational content to domestic education.

Focus Groups

One of the participants in the focus groups demonstrated awareness of the marginalization of females during colonialism and demonstrated lack of awareness of

the marginalization of females in contemporary society. The counselor stated, “There used to be discrimination against women but now, it’s been effectively dealt with. The girls are doing better than the boys so there are more girls than boys in our schools” (35:53). This counselor does not demonstrate awareness of the continued marginalization of women in education as seen in disparities in female enrollment, achievement and subject selection.

Document Analysis

There was evidence in three documents reviewed of an awareness of the marginalization of females in education by acknowledging female under enrollment and high drop-out rates. The Ministry of Education states that the enrollment of girls compared to boys of total enrollment was 45% in 2001 with drop-out rates at 29.5% for girls and 20.2% boys (Ministry of Education Government of Ghana, 2002, pp. ix,13). Primary enrollment was noted to be 46.9% for girls and 53.1% for boys with less than 60% of girls completing primary school (pp. 12, ix). Only one out of eight girls are noted as completing primary education (p. 80). Gender disparities are particularly wide in the northern regions and tertiary education. In the northern region, 50% of children are out of school and the majority of those are girls 2001 and the drop-out rate for girls various between 25% - 75% in various northern regions (pp. ix, 13). At the university level, girls represented a mere 26.83% of enrollment in 2000/2001 (p. xix). The authors of two primary citizen education textbooks demonstrated lack of awareness of the marginalization of females in five illustrations that reinforced messages of disparity in female enrollment. These illustrations depicted classrooms or school ground activities

more males than females, by ratios as high as three to one (Adu-Asirifi & Ampah, Pupils' book 6, pp. 6,20; Adu-Asirifi & Ampah, Pupils' book 5, pp. 1,10,100). Illustrations like these perpetuate gender imbalances by reinforcing student expectations that boys outnumber girls in the educational setting.

There was evidence of awareness of the marginalization of females in the employment sector in one document and lack of awareness in two citizenship education textbooks. The government documents low female participation in the teaching profession (25%) and higher management positions (20%) (Ministry of Education Government of Ghana, 2002, p. ix). The authors of three primary citizen education textbooks demonstrated lack of awareness of the marginalization of females by depicting gender imbalances in employment within textbook illustrations. When depicting the educational profession, six pictures depicting teachers were male (Adu-Asirifi & Ampah, Citizenship education for primary schools: Pupils' book 6, pp. 24, 69; Pupils' book 4, pp. 63, 68, 83; Pupils' book 5, p. 80). In contrast, only four were female (Pupils' book 6, p. 23; Pupils' book 4, pp. 23, 28; Pupils' book 5, p. 2). When discussing management positions in education, one primary citizen education textbook utilized an illustration of a male head teacher but no female head teacher (Pupils' book 4, p. 58). Similarly, office management was depicted in images where males outnumbered females two to one or four to one (Pupils' book 6, pp. 42,44; Pupils' book 5, p.32). These images promote the marginalization of females by depicting little female representation with the educational profession, educational management or office management.

Gender Role Bias

Individual Interviews

Two participants in the individual interviews expressed lack of awareness of the of gender role bias and two participants expressed some awareness of gender role bias. One administrator stated, "The colonial education, in my view, did not hamper the development of women but because of our cultural heritage, we felt that the place of the women is the kitchen. Education rather came to set them free from that captivity" (27:41). This administrator attributes gender bias in domestic roles to African culture and demonstrates lack of awareness that colonial education emphasized domestic education for girls rather than professional coursework. One teacher commented, "Times have changed. We no longer believe that the place of the woman is in the kitchen" (11:53). This comment does not express awareness of the continued bias in the social construction of gender roles of females as domestic workers.

Two participants in the individual interviews demonstrated some awareness of bias in the social construction of gender roles:

> With respect to the training of females, I would admit that though females were trained in domestic chores, the introduction of Western/colonial style of education brought along with it exposure to new methods and techniques of cooking such as making pastries and baking of bread and so on. Some young girls who were engaged to assist the wives of the missionaries in domestic chores acquired further skills in simple housecraft and basic household chores. (31:17)

This educator, while acknowledging gender bias in domestic education provided by colonialists, appears to value the acquisition of Westernized domestic skills among Ghanaian females:

> We even have a proverb that says that, "A woman may rear a sheep, but it is the man who sells it in the end/ a woman may buy a gun but the gun would be kept in the man's room." In our tradition, women are very strong on our cultures but are always made to take second place. To become a king or a chief, the woman (queenmother) determines the rightful heir. But we did not play on those strong points but put the men ahead. Males were given the preferential treatment when faced with the choice of sending only one child to school. Therefore, it is largely our own culture that influences it. (15:41)

Through African proverbs this educator suggests that women are not culturally sanctioned for conducting business affairs and therefore not prioritized for receiving education. These notions of male dominance are considered culturally motivated rather than as legacies of colonial education in gender role construction.

Focus Groups

Two of the participants in the focus groups expressed awareness of the social construction of gender roles in colonial or contemporary society in Ghana. One teacher educator commented, "There is still gender imbalance in our society. Women are still regarded as feeble and therefore consigned to domestic tasks. People tend to despise them" (33:53). This participant observes that female gender role construction is influenced by perceptions of inherent, inferior traits. One teacher recommended, "I advocate for cultural reforms pertaining to gender issues. Males must be made to do domestic chores. Affirmative action should bridge the gap between the genders" (38:20). This participant recommended altering the social construction of gender identity by requiring males to participate in tasks historically attributed to the female gender.

Document Analysis

There was evidence of an awareness of sexism in the social construction of gender roles in two documents and evidence of lack of awareness in three textbooks. The Ministry of Education developed an upper primary unit entirely devoted to gender and development (Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, 2007). This unit discusses biases and insensitivities in the social construct of gender, the effects of gender imbalances on development, and the importance of gender equity (Teacher Education Division, 1998). The Circuit Supervisors' Handbook includes a chapter on how to create a gender-friendly school atmosphere, addressing differences between sex and gender, sexual stereotypes, gender bias in schools, textbooks, classroom and strategies to counter bias (Ghana Education Services, 2002). Despite efforts to combat bias in gender roles through curriculum and teacher supervision, there was evidence of gender bias found within the textbooks regarding community roles. One primary citizen education textbook stated, "In most cases, sex determines the work a male or female can do. For example construction work and lifting of heavy objects are said to be the preserve of the male while office work is said to be the preserve of the female." (Adu-Asirifi & Ampah, Pupils' book 5, p. 93). This statement reinforces gender bias by informing children that their sex determines capability for limited employment. In two primary citizen education textbooks, all Illustrations of community roles such as chiefs, farmers, policemen, doctors, carpenters, farmers, and technicians are male except for domestic and secretarial roles (Adu-Asirifi, & Ampah, Pupils' book 4, pp. 67-71; Adu-Asirifi & Ampah, Pupils' book 5, p. 3).

There was evidence of lack of awareness of gender equity when describing familial roles in four textbooks. When discussing advances in societal perceptions of individuals with disabilities, a high school social studies textbook states “Because of this awareness, a woman born without arms has now grown to be a useful housewife” (Adu-Yeboah & Obiri-Yeboah, 2008, p. 267). The advancement of females with disabilities in society is described as limited to traditional domestic roles. Within the domestic realm, illustrations of the females are limited to traditional roles of food preparation and cleaning in two primary citizen education textbooks (Adu-Asirifi & Ampah, Pupils' book 6, p. 13; Adu-Asirifi & Ampah, Pupils' book 4, p. 67). While the duty of husband is described as fulfilling financial commitments, that of the wife is to provide domestic services, show respect, support her husband economically and care for children (Mintah-Afari, 2008, pp. 134-137). The women’s domestic role continues to be defined by male dominant notions of authority that limit her to “serving”, “respecting”, and “supporting” her husband. In another primary textbook the father’s role is highlighted as the head that discharges responsibilities, disciplines, and serves as a link to the community while the mother’s role is limited to assuming authority in his absence (Adu-Asirifi & Ampah, Pupils' book 4, p. 57). This author suggests that a female has no authority in the home except in the absence of her husband. A high school social studies textbook utilizes a male dominant definition of marriage, where females are denied a sense of agency:

> Bride wealth confers on the husband his authority over the wife in all matters related to the immediate family. The woman is obliged to perform certain activities for the husband, including, sexual satisfaction, cooking for him, washing for him and performing other household

> activities. This is not to say that the man should make a slave out of his wife. (Mintah-Afari, 2008, p. 127)

The author suggests that the wife has a moral duty to fulfill domestic roles and the husband the moral duty to rule over her. Female students continue to be oppressed by discourse that reinforces gender misconceptions, gender imbalances and gender marginalization in descriptions of family roles.

Internalized Oppression

According to Oppression Theory, external oppression becomes internalized over time through repeated messages of inferiority (Bell, 2007, p. 4). Freire (1970/2000) describes the oppressed as having internalized the consciousness of the oppressor within and therefore being resigned to their status. Psychological warfare was waged against Africans who were described as savages, incapable, lazy and responsible for their lack of development, causing them to internalize messages of subordination and inferiority. I documented evidence of awareness among educators of internalized oppression in discussions of slavish or subordinate mentality, dependency, preference for foreign goods and African responsibility for lack of development.

<u>Subordinate Mentality</u>

Individual Interviews

Five educators expressed awareness of the internalization of a subordinate or inferior mentality as evidenced by subservient attitudes, assimilation of foreign language and culture, and timidity in questioning authority. One teacher stated, “It brought about mental slavery, making us think of ourselves as subservient people” (11:23). The external oppression colonialism of is described as resulting in the

internalization of a subordinate status in the Ghanaian mindset. Internalized subordination is considered responsible for provoking Ghanaians to embrace foreign travel, language and culture. One policy maker stated, "I have met students who even at school still dream of forsaking their education and travelling abroad. University students are in haste to travel abroad for vacation. This trend is a product of a slavish mentality" (5:29). University students are described as abandoning the investment in their future through education to spend time in leisure in foreign lands. One administrator stated, "Even today without the instigation of the white man, we make our children speak the English language at the neglect of our own. We buy too much into foreign culture at the expense of our own. This is a form of mental slavery as well" (17:38). Internalized inferiority results in African assimilation of the colonizer's language and culture. One counselor stated, "It groomed people to become timid, making us unable to question authority" (9:23). Colonialism is seen as training Ghanaians to internalize their subordinate status for the purposes of maintaining domination. Similarly an administrator commented, "Our mentality has been seriously affected. People are not analytical enough. It trained people to accept theories without questioning or analyzing them well enough" (27:23). The subordinate relationship of subject to colonizer resulted in Africans internalizing the unquestioned acceptance of all authority.

Focus Groups

Two educators in the focus groups expressed awareness of the internalization of a subordinate mentality. One teacher educator stated, "We tended to want to do

everything to please the colonial master. We did things according to how they wanted it. We were therefore kept in bondage" (33:20). The educator implies that the Ghanaian sense of agency was inhibited by a sense of obligation to the colonizer that had ultimate authority and control. One counselor noted, "Many Ghanaians prefer to remain subservient, being employees rather than being employers" (36:26). The lack of entrepreneurial spirit is perceived as a result of internalization of a subordinate status.

Document Analysis

There was evidence that demonstrated awareness of internalized subordination found in one junior high social studies textbook. The textbook states, "As a people we lost our nationality and developed 'slave and colonial' mental attitude" (Amoah et al., 2008, p. 69). The loss of African identity facilitated the internalization of the subordinate role in the slave-master dyad of colonialism.

<u>Dependency</u>

Individual Interviews

Eight educators in the individual interviews expressed awareness of dependency as a form of internalized oppression as evidenced by implementation of Western educational policies and requests for Western aid. One teacher described, "The colonialists succeeded in indoctrinating us to depend on them during and after the long period that they ruled over us. We still carry that mentality that the colonialists are racially superior to us. In effect we have been inclined to depend on them for everything we need, thus creating the dependency syndrome" (14:23). This educator identifies the significant role internalized racism plays in perpetuating Ghanaian

dependency long after the colonizer's departure. A policy maker noted, "It produced a culture of dependency. It made Africans tend to depend too much on the colonizers and the effect was that as Africans we failed to learn how to do things for ourselves. The colonizers were directing our affairs" (2:23). Colonialism fostered dependency as a way of life, inhibiting the development of Ghanaian agency. "In spite of the claim to having independence, I still think that we are not truly independent. As a country we still keep on begging for help from the West" (7:32). National sovereignty has not led to financial independence. An administrator commented, "We still go out for funds to help develop our country even though we have all the minerals and natural resources" (6:26). Despite the plethora of self-sustaining resources, Ghana continues to seek external resources for development. One teacher stated, "The umbilical cord of our educational system is still tied to that of the West without necessarily having the structures and resources that can indigenize it" (16:29). This teacher describes how dependency is manifested in the educational system, resulting in Western-oriented curriculum and content. One educator stated, "The Indians have made it because they have crafted their educational system to suit their clime. We can do the same; otherwise you will always be looking over your shoulders to see whether the Europeans agree to what you are doing. That is imperialism" (25:32). This educator suggests that tailoring the Ghanaian curriculum to the needs, values and priorities of Ghana is one way of dismantling the dependency syndrome.

Focus Groups

Five educators in the focus groups expressed awareness of internalized dependency. One teacher stated that colonialism "fostered a sense of dependency making Ghanaians depend too heavily on our colonial masters for a long time" (37:23). Colonial education is viewed as fostering dependency. One teacher educator noted, "The colonial system of education hindered us from thinking on our own. We tended to want to do everything to please the colonial master. We did things according to how they wanted it. We were therefore kept in bondage" (33:20). One way colonial education fostered dependency was by discouraging the development of independent thinking. One counselor commented, "Colonial education did not allow Ghana to develop. It rather put her in a strait jacket. It hindered the independent thinking of its people" (36:20). The internalized oppression resulting from being discouraged to think independently is thought to have impacted national development. One teacher described that colonialism "made children reluctant to research for themselves" (37:20). As a result, "students are not self-starters. They lack the initiative and the drive to embark on innovative pursuits" (36:23). Legacies of dependency are viewed as contributing to low levels of entrepreneurial initiatives. One teacher educator stated,"[We need to] improve vocational and technical education because when we start doing things for ourselves, we would then appreciate our own and break away from depending on foreigners" (34:32). Technical and vocational education is viewed as a key to fostering economic and political independence.

Document Analysis

There was evidence of awareness of internalized dependency found in four of the documents reviewed:

> The long period of European contact with Ghanaians (1471-1957) and the various events and experiences from these contacts created in our people dependency mentality. Our people relied on the Europeans to supply their needs. They obeyed and took instructions from the whites who our people felt were superior persons. (Amoah et al., 2008, p. 47)

The external dependency coupled with perceptions of white superiority is viewed as having fostered internalized dependency. The textbook continues, "At the same time colonization brought bad habits and other negative effects on Africans. For example Africans lost confidence in themselves and came to depend mostly on their colonized masters" (Amoah et al., 2008, p. 68). Perceptions of incapability that were internalized by Ghanaians through colonialism, fostered dependency following national sovereignty:

> Under colonialism the Africans were made to rely on colonial masters for almost everything. They depended on the colonial masters for their imports, educational set up, the Bank from their colonial imperial country etc. The dependence tendency invariably made Africans feel inferior and looked to the White man for any major decision. (p. 65)

External dependency coupled with perceptions of white superiority strengthened internalized oppression. One high school social studies book identified an over-dependence on other countries in contemporary society that is seen as "killing a spirit of initiative and self-reliance" (Agyei, 2010, p. 161). Domestically, this tendency is noted in Ghanaians looking to government to meet needs such as the provision of social amenities, subsidized goods and services and government employment (Adu-Yeboah & Obiri-Yeboah, 2008, p. 81). In order to combat this dependency mentality, the teaching

syllabus encourages teachers to discuss plans for decreasing dependency on foreign financial support, improving the image of the country and increasing production (Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, 2007, p. 40). Decreasing dependency on foreign aid is considered to be essential for increasing "self-worth and self-image" (Amoah et al., Social studies 3, 2005, p. 110). Students are also encouraged to show interest in foreign matters, express views through press and MPs, advise the government how to handle foreign issues and participate in shaping foreign policy (Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, 2007, p. 24; Amoah et al., Social studies 2, 2008, p. 110).

Foreign is Better

Individual Interviews

Eight participants demonstrated awareness that internalized oppression has resulted in the internalization that "foreign is better" as seen in students desire to live and travel abroad as well as in Ghanaians preference for foreign made goods. One educator commented, "Ghanaians want to travel abroad, live and work there. That thinking stems from a certain inferiority complex that makes us think that until we travel to Europe and America we cannot make it" (5:26). This form of internalized oppression defines success as having visited or relocated to the lands of former colonizers:

> Some of these effects are visible in the ever-growing trend towards travelling to Europe and America in search of what is termed as "greener pastures". Ultimately, the best talents which could have constituted a potent workforce for the development of our country are all migrating to live and work abroad. The result of such migration is what we term as the "Brain drain." And this constitutes a huge loss. (11:26)

Through “Brain Drain”, former colonizers continue to profit from Ghana’s human resources. The former colonizers are viewed as instigating these trends:

> The youth in our schools are not looking to Ghana as their dreamland but are looking outside. This is because the ideas that have been put into their heads are foreign. No wonder with many of them as soon as they finish the university they want to travel outside Ghana. The curriculum is such that the minds of the students are diverted elsewhere than their own homeland hence they leave school and want to settle outside Ghana. (25:26)

The Western-oriented curriculum in the Ghanaian educational system is viewed as cultivating this mindset. One administrator noted, “In our taste for foreign goods, we tend to think that anything that is foreign made is better than what we produce here” (27:26). Perceptions of Western superiority hinder the development of local industry. Similar comments regarding Ghanaians’ preference for foreign goods over locally produced goods were made by five other participants (6:26, 13:26, 29:26 &29, 16:23).

Focus Groups

Two teacher educators expressed awareness of internalized oppression leading to a belief that foreign is better. One participant noted, “One of the negative effects of colonialism is the colonial mentality: the belief that everything that comes from the West is better than what we produce here” (33:23). Colonial inculcations of Western superiority are seen as prohibiting the development of Ghanaian industry. A second participant commented, “It brought about the perception that everything the white man manufactures is good so we don’t patronize made in Ghana goods” (34:20). The importation of racist ideology further inhibits the development of Ghanaian industry as African products are perceived as inherently inferior to Western products.

Document Analysis

There was evidence of awareness of the internalized belief that foreign is better in five of nine textbooks reviewed. In the junior high school syllabus, the Ministry of Education identifies the "taste for foreign goods" as one of the negative effects of colonialism (Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, 2007, p. 6). "Educated" Ghanaians, those indoctrinated by racist ideology through the educational system established by colonialists, are perceived as more likely to internalize perceptions of Western superiority:

> The dependence tendency invariably made Africans feel inferior and looked to the Whiteman for any major decision. Africans developed the taste for foreign goods. Educated people mostly prefer foreign food like beverage, rice, bread, milk and clothing like suit. (Amoah et al., 2008, p. 65)

One high school textbook acknowledges that Ghanaians taste for foreign goods results in the annual expenditure of 150 million to import rice, meat and poultry products (Adu-Yeboah & Obiri-Yeboah, 2008, p. 362). "These could be produced locally but the majority of Ghanaians would not purchase them. This huge amount could have been used to improve local production and keep farmers in employment" (p. 362). This form of internalized oppression is perceived as impacting national economic development by removing the need for industry and eliminating jobs for Ghanaian workers. Another high school textbook identifies that the "inordinate taste for foreign goods" and refusal to purchase locally manufactured goods "tend to kill local industries" (Agyei, 2010, p. 161). A third high school social studies textbook identifies the perception of "foreign is

better as a hindrance to local entrepreneurship and causing the collapse of local industries (Mintah-Afari, 2008, p. 501).

Responsibility for Lack of Development

Individual Interviews

None of the participants in the individual interviews expressed awareness of the internalized perception that Africans are responsible for their lack of development.

Focus Groups

None of the participants in the focus groups expressed awareness of internalized oppression in the perception that Africans are responsible for their lack of development.

Document Analysis

There was evidence of lack of awareness of internalized perceptions that Africans are responsible for their lack of development in one of the documents reviewed:

> Many of our post independence leaders could not conceptualize the implications of political independence; thus as the economy rapidly grew worse with time, we tended to blame the colonial masters instead of identifying the relationship between independence and increased production. (Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, 2007, p. 6)

This discourse does not demonstrate awareness of the realities of the post-independent state of Ghana; Ghana was faced with the costly task of building a nation with no money in her coffer, limited infrastructure, and undeveloped industries. In the high school syllabus, the identified problems of economic development are all internal, including the "high cost of living, low savings, poor technical and managerial skills, high rate of illiteracy, high population growth rate and low production" (p. 33). No mention is made

of external problems such as unfair economic trade policies and debt servicing schemes. Similarly causes for inefficient resource utilization are identified in the junior high as "low level of training, lack of skilled personnel, lack of managerial skills, etc.", without any reference to external factors such as multinational corporations or the economic world order (p. 12). The omission of external factors in the syllabus continues to perpetuate the notion that Africans are responsible for their lack of development.

Neocolonialism

Neocolonialism is defined as "those influences and events in countries no longer under colonial rule that incline them towards colonial examples and features; the condition of reliving in a more subtle and complex relationship, colonial influences and experiences" (Quist H. O., 2001). Awareness of neocolonialism was documented in their discussions of foreign aid and policies.

Loans and Foreign Aid

Individual Interviews

Three participants in the individual interviews demonstrated awareness of neocolonial influences in the form of loans or foreign aid. One policy maker stated, "That thinking stems from a certain inferiority complex…We tend to think that the West has the solution to our economic woes. We still depend on them for grants, loans, aid and so on" (5:26). This educator suggests that internalized inferiority facilitates Ghana's acceptance of foreign aid rather than seeking internal solutions for economic challenges. One counselor stated, "They left us a legacy. The culture of dependency. Today as a country we still look to the West. We copy and borrow from them culturally

and economically" (33:26). Remnants of the dependency mentality facilitated through colonialism are currently seen in Ghana's pursuit of Western financial resources. One administrator commented, "We still go out for funds to help develop our country even though we have all the minerals and natural resources" (6:26). The tendency to seek Western foreign aid for development is viewed as unnecessary given Ghana's vast internal resources.

Focus Groups

None of the participants in the focus groups expressed awareness of neocolonialism.

Document Analysis

There was evidence of an awareness of neocolonialism through the acceptance of loans and foreign aid in six documents reviewed. Two high school textbooks promote student awareness of an "unjust world economic order" (Agyei, 2010, p. 161; Mintah-Afari, 2008, pp. 73, 383, 428). This description suggests external factors hindering development that are outside of Ghana's control. One high school social studies textbook acknowledged, "Some…are still attached to the apron strings of their colonial masters….They have entered into elaborate trade agreements with their colonial master and they do depend on them for financial and technical assistance" (Mintah-Afari, 2008, p. 513). While acknowledging that aids and grants have enabled many projects in Ghana, the textbooks also state that accepting financial and technical assistance "may not necessarily be in Ghana's best interest" as it tends to "promote employment and economic growth in the donor countries mainly" (Adu-Yeboah & Obiri-Yeboah, 2008, pp.

476-477). The economy is said to be under an element of foreign control as all major projects are dependent upon foreign aid (Mintah-Afari, 2008, p. 71). Two textbooks conclude that foreign aid is not always to Ghana's advantage and therefore caution must be used (Agyei, Contemporary social studies for senior high schools, 2010, p. 161; Mintah-Afari, 2008, p. 506). Agreements must not be at the expense of Ghana's self-interest:

> Poor countries like Ghana should however be careful in their dealings with other countries or bodies. Ghana must carefully look at the terms of agreement or co-operation before entering into any co-operative agreement. The interest of the country and benefits we will obtain from any co-operation should be the first things taken into account (Amoah et al., Social studies 2, 2008, p. 90)

Decreasing dependency on foreign aid is seen as necessary not only for socio-economic development, but for increasing self-worth and self-image (Amoah et al., Social studies 3, 2005, p. 110). The high school social study syllabus asserts other options must be pursued:

> We have continued to enjoy foreign support for most of our development programmes. But the truth is that donor support cannot continue forever. There is therefore a need for Ghanaians to realize this and plan to sustain their own development. (Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, 2007, p. 11)

Primary, junior high and senior high syllabi and textbooks stress the need to abide by guidelines for accepting aid, help or co-operation to ensure fairness of conditions that will benefit Ghana in the long run effects (Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, Junior high, 2007, p. 24; Amoah, et al., Social studies 2, 2008, pp. 106-107; Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, Citizenship, 2007, p. 39; Adu-Asirifi & Ampah, Pupils'

book 6, p. 64). These guidelines include not limiting dependence on one partner, safeguarding Ghana's best interest before signing agreements, rejecting loans with unfavorable conditions, and ensuring benefits to donor country are clearly stated. Ghanaian students are also encouraged to take interest in foreign matters (Amoah et al., Social studies 2, 2008, p. 108).

Policies

Individual Interviews

One participant in the individual interviews expressed awareness of oppression in the form of neocolonial policies. The approval of global powers is described as a prerequisite to internal policy implementation. "With reference to our educational systems, we are in the habit of drawing up policies in such a way that they synchronize with what goes on in Europe and America without thinking of their social repercussions. We fail to examine if those policies could be effectively implemented here" (27:38). National sovereignty is considered to be compromised by seeking approval from global powers.

Focus Groups

None of the participants in the focus groups expressed awareness of oppression in the form of neocolonial policies.

Document Analysis

There was evidence of awareness of oppression in the form of unfair trade policies in four textbooks. In one high school social studies textbook, globalization is acknowledged to have "set new global rules that have further marginalized Africa's poor

countries and people, especially in areas of trade" (Adu-Yeboah & Obiri-Yeboah, 2008, p. 454). Unfair market prices are noted to result from low prices for commodity exports and high prices for manufactured imports (Adu-Yeboah & Obiri-Yeboah, 2008, p. 81). One junior high social studies textbook infers market practices resemble the colonial master-slave relationship. "Some of the external problems are the low prices of primary commodities on the world market and the other external control measures put on developing countries by their 'masters'" (Amoah et al., Social studies 3, 2005, p. 85). The use of "master" is significant because it identifies an imposed, unjust and exploitative relationship. Trade liberalization is also not viewed in Ghana's best interest because it does not protect local industries that cannot compete with the cheaply priced products of imported goods (Adu-Yeboah & Obiri-Yeboah, 2008, p. 82). In order to counteract neocolonial trade policies, one junior high textbook stress the importance of Ghana becoming economically independent and self-reliant by producing her own food, agricultural, industrial and domestic needs (Amoah et al., 2008, p. 86). Another high school textbook recommends increasing production and exports in order to safeguard the value of currency (Adu-Asirifi & Ampah, Pupils' book 6, p. 64).

Summary

The perceptions of contemporary colonial legacies among Ghanaian educational professionals were examined in the responses to thirty-two individual interviews and six focus groups and a document analysis. Data was analyzed according to five factors identified through the research of including discourse, cultural imperialism, linguistic hegemony, racism and oppression. Regarding discourse, the educators demonstrated

emerging awareness of colonial legacies in historical narratives, strong awareness in the educational curriculum and limited awareness in the pedagogy of subordination. The educational professionals demonstrated significant awareness of cultural imperialism and colonial legacies of cultural superiority or inferiority, cultural hegemony or marginalization, and the impact on Ghanaian culture. Educators demonstrated significant awareness of the impact of linguistic hegemony on Ghanaian languages and some awareness of perceptions of linguistic value or the process of linguistic hegemony. The participants noted some awareness of beliefs of racial inferiority or superiority but limited awareness of black racial stereotypes. In the area of oppression, Ghanaian educational professionals demonstrated limited awareness of ethno-religious oppression, sexism, classism or neo-colonialism and more awareness of internalized oppression.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS OF DATA

This qualitative study examines the perceptions of contemporary colonial legacies among Ghanaian educational professionals. The primary questions addressed by this study include (1) to what extent do education professionals express awareness of the existence of any colonial legacies in Ghanaian society, and (2) to what extent do education professionals express awareness of the existence of any colonial legacies in the education systems of Ghana, and (3) what obstacles to development are identified by educational professionals. An overview of literature in Critical Race Theory, Social Justice Education Theory, Oppression Theory and Post-Colonial Theory provided the theoretical foundation that was used to guide this study. Five factors emerged from this literature as a framework for analysis of study data. These five factors included discourse, cultural imperialism, linguistic hegemony, racism and internalized racism, and oppression. This framework was used to analyze the data that was triangulated from individual interviews, focus groups and document analysis. Fifty-nine educators including policy makers, administrators, counselors, teachers and teacher educators participated in individual interviews or focus groups where they described their perspectives of Ghanaian society and Ghanaian educational systems in their own words in response to a predetermined set of twelve questions. Document analysis of the curriculum of Ghanaian schools as presented in 7 curriculum guides, 9 textbooks, and 6 Ministry of Education documents was also completed. This chapter will provide a

summary of the study findings, conclusions, and implications of this research as well as recommendations for further study.

Due to a variety of factors including the use of open-ended questions, the range of responsibilities and thus experience of study participants with the Ghanaian educational systems and other possible factors, none of the factors were presented by study participants in every interview or focus group. For this analysis of data, determining significance in the level of awareness or lack of awareness of a particular legacy was attributed to factors that received the least or the most discussion, or by the number of times a given factor was mentioned by study participants. Awareness of colonial legacies was attributed to educational professionals based on whether they directly identified or described a particular legacy. Awareness of colonial legacies was inferred based on recommendations that would directly counteract a particular legacy. Lack of awareness of colonial legacies was attributed to educators who gave an endorsement of, recommendations in support of, or lack of discussion of a particular colonial legacy.

Findings and Conclusions

Discourse

Ghanaian professionals demonstrated significant awareness of colonial legacies in discourse regarding the focus of the educational curriculum. Post-colonial literature acknowledges that hegemonic discourse necessary to perpetuate oppression can be reproduced through educational curriculum (Freire, 1970). The curriculum of colonial education was academic and geared to produce a clerical work force that met the needs

of the colonial administration rather than the development of the colony (Hicks, 2007; Thomas, 2007; Quist, 2003). This study confirms that Ghanaian educational policy shifted from an academic focus to a vocational orientation, aiming to better meet the manpower needs of the nation (Shoko, 2005). Though Ghana's curricular policy seeks to disrupt colonial educational discourse in order to promote national development, the inclusion of vocational and technical education seems to have not been successfully implemented in practice. Participants perceive that graduates of the contemporary system continue to exhibit the same limited vocational skill set as graduates of the colonial system. Fourteen participants identified that the contemporary curriculum continues to train students for white-collar jobs in saturated fields that do not result in employable vocational skills in industry, manufacturing or the private sector. The document analysis noted that technical and vocational education is under financed and there is a lack of student interest due to stigmatization. Ghanaian educators identify the educational curriculum's inability to address human resource needs as a hindrance to national development. The documents reviewed identified entrepreneurial, technical and vocational training as keys to decreasing unemployment, increasing productivity, supporting socio-economic development and increasing the number of Ghanaians who occupy middle level income status.

Ghanaian educators demonstrated limited awareness of colonial legacies in educational discourse of historiography. Critical Race Theory acknowledges that the dominant narrative is constructed by silencing the voice of marginalized groups. Colonial historiography tended to disregard pre-colonial history, present the colonial

history as an extension of European history and trivialize or misrepresent histories of African resistance (Adjaye, 2008; Bush, 1999; Quist, 2003). Following political independence, Ghanaian historiographers advocated for the development of African history from African perspectives in order to confront Western intellectual hegemony that justified African colonial oppression (Adjaye, 2008). The document analysis noted minimal inclusion of pre-colonial and post-colonial history, Ghanaian historical figures, or histories of resistance in Ghanaian textbooks. Despite the inclusion of colonial history, the diminution of Ghanaian pre-colonial and post-colonial history perpetuates oppressive discourse by silencing the Ghanaian voice. The general omission of pre-colonial history perpetuates the colonial legacy that Ghana is either devoid of its own history or that its history began with the advent of European colonization. The absence of post-independence historical figures and events contributes to internalized messages that Ghana has little of value to contribute to the world. In this study only four participants of the fifty-nine who were interviewed mentioned the paucity of Ghanaian history in contemporary textbooks. Ghanaian educators demonstrated little awareness that their voice continues to be silenced through the diminution of Ghanaian history in educational textbooks.

Post-colonial theory describes the perpetuation of dominant discourse through "majoritarian stories" in which racial, gender, class or other forms of privilege are portrayed as normal and thereby privileged (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002; Love, 2004). Counter narratives allow marginalized groups to construct an alternate reality by giving them "voice" through expressions of their own lived experiences (Ladson-Billings &

Tate, 1995, p. 57). When discussing colonial history, nearly one-third of the participants reproduced dominant discourse that legitimized colonialism on the basis of Europe's civilizing, modernizing and Christianizing mission. There appears to be the emergence of a Ghanaian voice in the production of oral narratives of colonialism. For every production of majoritarian storytelling, two educational professionals produced counter narratives that dismantled Western doctrines of European contributions to Africa's enlightenment, development and salvation. There is evidence that the oppressive discourse regarding colonialism is beginning to be dismantled through the emergence of oral narratives in which Ghanaians are beginning to name their own reality.

As the primary function of the systems of education provided by the British was to establish and maintain domination, pedagogy focused on training Africans for a subordinate status in the colonial economy and governance structures (Ormsby-Gore, 1937; Akwarang-Parry, 2000). Colonial teaching methodologies emphasized authoritarian teaching styles and rote learning (Ofori-Attah, 2006; Akurang-Parry, 2007). This research study confirmed observations by Adjei (2007) that authoritarian teaching styles and rote learning continues to be prevalent in contemporary Ghanaian classrooms. Approximately twenty percent of the participants expressed awareness of colonial legacies in pedagogical discourse. Educators noted that this pedagogy of subordination facilitates dependency of students upon teachers as well as inhibits critical thinking development.

Cultural Imperialism

Colonialism involves both physical domination as well as ideological domination through the dominant group's control of the representation of the oppressed (Said, 1979). According to Young (1990), cultural imperialism constructs the dominant group's perspective, knowledge and culture as the normative standard while those of the subordinate group are made inferior or invisible. Ghanaian professionals demonstrated significant awareness of evidence of this hegemonic process in Ghanaian society. One third of the participants noted that cultural imperialism resulted in the assimilation of Western culture in Ghana, as well as the adulteration and alienation of Ghanaian culture. Two primary concerns expressed by participants included the tendency of Ghanaians to look down upon their own culture and the loss of socio-cultural practices, rendering indigenous culture both inferior and invisible. The observations of educational professionals regarding Ghanaians' self-depreciation of traditional culture indicate that colonial ideology has dominated the Ghanaian psyche. Memmi (1991) described that this form of internalized oppression results in an emotional dependency where the oppressed finds himself/herself attracted toward the oppressor and his/her way of life. Educational professionals described this attraction among the many Ghanaians who embrace Western dress, food, names and customs while abandoning Ghanaian traditions and socio-cultural practices.

Ghanaian educators express little awareness of cultural imperialism in the educational systems of Ghana. Though eight of the educators discussed the oppressive role of colonial education in imposing Western cultural modes or negatively labeling

traditional African culture, only two participants identified remnants within the educational system. This discrepancy suggests that within the educational context, Western culture is perceived by educators to be both normative and universal. The Ministry of Education acknowledges the importance of teaching Ghanaian traditions through its inclusion of Ghanaian Languages and Culture as a core subject in primary education as well as the inclusion of units on socio-cultural practices throughout the social studies curriculum. The content of the social studies textbooks reviewed consistently reflects these social studies curricular goals. Despite the prioritization of Ghanaian culture within the curriculum and textbooks, educators observe significant contempt and rejection of African culture in Ghanaian society. This incongruity suggests that the internalized oppression of Western cultural superiority and African cultural inferiority is deeply ingrained and possibly reproduced in contemporary educational discourse.

The participants in this study demonstrated no awareness of Akan cultural hegemony. The document analysis noted that most cultural references refer to this ethnic group and that Akan linguistic labels are utilized for socio-cultural practices common to all Ghanaians. Thus students from minority ethnic groups are less likely to identify with Ghanaian cultural identity as presented in the textbooks. Their specific customs are rendered invisible and insignificant, contributing to further internalized oppression.

Recommendations by Ghanaian educators to further counteract cultural imperialism imply that Western cultural hegemony is considered an obstacle to

development. Approximately one-third of the study participants recommended promoting Ghanaian culture or strengthening the teaching of Ghanaian culture in the educational system. The Ministry of Education acknowledges the importance of teaching culture to promote pride in national heritage as well as enable students to meaningfully contribute to and transform society.

Linguistic Hegemony

Hegemony is described as the "cultural and societal level of oppression" or "society's unacknowledged adherence to a dominant worldview" (Adams, 2007, p. 253). English linguistic hegemony presents English as the normal, appropriate expression of language while marginalizing other languages. Ghanaian educators expressed significant awareness of linguistic hegemony, particularly in its impact on language use in society and perceptions of linguistic value. Approximately one-third of the research participants stated that linguistic hegemony has resulted in English dominance or the marginalization of Ghanaian languages in Ghanaian society. Educators noted evidence of structural inequalities in the adoption of English as the official language of Ghana, the language of society and the language of Ghanaian homes as well as the subsequent loss of accent, vocabulary, and fluency in indigenous languages. Participants that supported the adoption of English discussed its unifying power among a linguistically heterogeneous society and textbooks celebrated it as a benefit of cultural assimilation. The selection of English and the exclusion of a Ghanaian language as an official language appear to exemplify how oppression results in the dominant perspective becoming normal and universal while the perspective of the marginalized is rendered inferior or

invisible. Ten participants observed cultural inequalities among Ghanaians as English continues to be associated with civility and being "educated" while Ghanaian languages are associated with ignorance and contempt. These findings are similar to those found by Awedoba (2001), who noted an "archetypal dichotomy" where home is associated with local languages, illiteracy and the hoe, and school with English, literacy and modernity. The document analysis noted that textbooks celebrated the adoption of English as the official language as a benefit of colonialism and a positive example of cultural assimilation demonstrated by developing nations. This research study documented strong evidence in Ghanaian society of the internalization of belief in English language superiority and Ghanaian language inferiority undergirding these perspectives. Memmi (1991) describes "linguistic dualism" where the oppressed embrace the language of the colonizer in order to be successful while simultaneously disdaining the language of their culture. The collective observations of this group of educators depict a state of linguistic dualism in Ghana as they documented the celebration of English as the official language, parents' preferred use of English in the home, and the tendency of Ghanaians to "look down" or "frown upon" Ghanaian languages.

Post-colonial theorists such as Thiongo'o (1986) describe how language is used as a medium of oppression. Ghanaian educators demonstrated awareness of structural inequalities that facilitate linguistic hegemony in the educational system. Seven participants as well as the document analysis cited evidence of the dominant use of English and the marginalization of Ghanaian languages as evidence of the colonial legacy

of linguistic hegemony. Despite the inclusion of Ghanaian languages as a subject, children receive more instructional hours in the subject of English than in the subject of Ghanaian languages. Review of the Ghanaian language syllabus confirmed findings by Omoniyi (1999) who noted that literacy objectives do not specify a level of proficiency or the means of assessment as they do in English language. The language policy of English as the language of instruction exacerbates regional disparities in northern and rural areas that have less access to programming, English language models, and teachers fluent in English. The language policy enforcing English as the language of instruction results in the perpetuation of language as medium of oppression for students from rural and northern communities whose educational participation and achievement is thwarted by their limited access to English. Rather than using local language proficiency as an asset for broadening their linguistic repertoire, the educational system penalizes students for having a mother-tongue that is different from the language of the classroom. Regional disparities in trained teachers, textbooks and other resources place students from rural and northern communities at further disadvantage.

The marginalization of Ghanaian languages was inferred to be perceived as an obstacle to development among educators. Nearly one-third of the participants, expressed commitment to dismantling the oppression of English linguistic hegemony by recommending the foregrounding of Ghanaian language in the educational curriculum formerly marginalized during colonialism. A few participants noted that the use of Ghanaian languages as the language of instruction increases student comprehension. Poor English proficiency is also considered an obstacle to development in Ghana. The

Ministry of Education acknowledges that success in all levels of education is dependent upon success in English. The overview of literature documented frequent shifts in the language policy of the educational system in Ghana between English or Ghanaian languages. This research study notes a similar lack of consensus among contemporary educational professionals about the language policy that will best facilitate national development. A significant number of educators expressed interest in preserving and promoting the linguistic heritage of Ghana as part of national development of identity while other educators emphasize students' English performance or fully support English as the sole language of instruction. Though participants oriented towards the English language did not provide rationale, one could speculate that they are aware of the educational, employment, business, and popular culture opportunities afforded to those that achieve mastery of English, as described by other participants in the study. Therefore the frequent policy shifts appear to be the result of an attempt to balance objectives to reclaim an African identity through the study of Ghanaian languages and improve socio-economic development incumbent upon English language proficiency.

Racism and Internalized Racism

Racism is defined as "a system of advantage based on race and supported by institutional structures, policies, and practices that create and sustain benefits for the dominant white group, and structures discrimination, oppression, and disadvantage for people from targeted racial groups" (Bell, 2007, p. 118). According to Freire (1970/2000), self-depreciation develops among the oppressed after having internalized dominant discourse. Ghanaian educators expressed no awareness of racism and some

awareness of internalized racism in contemporary Ghanaian society. The lack of discussion of racism in contemporary society may be a reflection of limited experiences with individuals of white racial backgrounds within or outside Ghana. Eight participants discussed the existence of internalized racial oppression among Ghanaians through culturally sanctioned beliefs of white superiority, as described by Torres (1998). Critical race theorists note that the existence and role of racism is traditionally not acknowledged in dominant discourse when in reality it is deeply embedded into society and central to policy formation (Torres, 1998). The limited awareness observed among Ghanaian educators of racism or internalized racism combined with the perpetuation of racial stereotypes in contemporary textbooks lends credence to how deeply entrenched racism is in Ghanaian society.

Only a few educators demonstrated awareness of internalized racism as an obstacle to development. Five educators discussed that perceptions of white racial superiority contributed to dependency upon Western aid, blind acceptance of Western policy initiatives, or preference for foreign goods. Three obstacles to development identified by textbooks suggested a lack of awareness of internalized racism as they perpetuated racist ideology by reinforcing colonial stereotypes. First, the stereotype of African backwardness is maintained by descriptions that African culture is unwilling to adopt new cultural practices and therefore slow in development. Second, the stereotype of African laziness is perpetuated by discussions that laziness is a significant factor in issues with national independence, resource development, socio-economic development and the world of work. Third the stereotype that all Africans are the same

is perpetuated by discourse that stigmatizes discussions of ethnic differences in an effort to promote unity around a forged national cultural identity. Social studies textbooks identify cultural resistance and laziness as significant factors in the lack of development, reinforcing the message that there is something inherently wrong with Ghanaians. Fannon (1967) theorizes that in the mind of an African oppressed by racist ideology, his own status is improved to the degree he is able to assimilate the culture and language of the superior race. Many educators cited evidence of this oppression in observations of Ghanaian preferences for Western dress, food and customs coupled with disdain for traditional socio-cultural practices. In an effort to counteract this internalized oppression, the school curriculum supports the reclamation of an African identity impacted by racism by promoting Ghanaian cultural identity but compromises its authenticity by excluding or stigmatizing diversity.

Oppression

Adams (2007) defines oppression as "social structures, policies and practices that maintain systemic domination and subordination" (p. 247). This section presents the findings on educators' awareness of oppression as noted in ethno-religious oppression, classism, sexism, internalized oppression and neocolonialism.

Ethnoreligious Oppression

Adams (2007) defines ethno-religious oppression as the "symbiosis between racial and ethnic attributions and religion, whereby religion is used to justify and mobilize ethnic aspirations" (p. 250). Ghanaian educators expressed limited awareness of legacies of ethnoreligious oppression. Only five educators described how colonialism

justified the eradication of traditional religion and its customs in pursuit of its Christianizing mission. Within educational discourse of textbooks, Christianity and secondarily Islam are presented as the normative standard for worship. Images and descriptions of Christianity and Islam are highlighted when discussing freedom of worship. Christian rituals are primarily included in discussions of marriage practice. Ghanaian educators did not identify any obstacles to development related to ethnoreligious oppression.

Oppression theory acknowledges that the dominant perspective is constructed as normal and universal while the perspective of the marginalized is considered inferior or invisible. A few Ghanaian educators identified that Christianity is presented as the normative standard in Ghanaian society, replacing traditional rituals with Christian ones. The oppression of traditional religion renders it both inferior and invisible in contemporary society. In education, despite the inclusion of references to traditional religion in discussions of socio-cultural practices, invisibility is perpetuated and inferiority is inferred by textual bias of Christianity or Islam in discussions of religion or religious practices.

Classism

Classism is defined as "prejudice and discrimination based on socio-economic level or class" (Blumenfeld, Prejudice and discrimination, 2000). Ghanaian educators expressed limited awareness of classism as it relates to social status, educational opportunities and employment opportunities. Five educators identified class prejudice through observations that the educated elite are perceived to be superior. Class

discrimination was identified by five educators who described how ability to pay determines the quality of education and that the quality of education determines employment opportunities. The Ministry of Education demonstrates awareness of classism by identifying disparities in educational resources but reinforces class oppression through disproportionate allocation of subsidies, teachers, institutions of higher learning and programs such as Early Child Education. Three Ghanaian educators identified disparity in educational access as an obstacle to development through recommendations to increase commitment to free basic education as well as to provide miscellaneous school fees for children.

Post-colonial theory acknowledges that domination of the oppressed is achieved through ideological control of the representation of the oppressed as well as mechanisms of perpetuation. There is evidence of both ideological control in representation of classes as well as structural control that perpetuates classism in Ghana. The power of the educated elite in Ghana is undergirded by perceptions of their superiority among Ghanaians while the oppression of the masses is facilitated by prejudicial assumptions that they are inherently inferior to the educated elite. Education serves as a mechanism of class perpetuation through disparities in educational access. Those who are most disadvantaged economically are the least likely to benefit from education that could lead to improvement of their socioeconomic status while those who are most advantaged economically have their power advantage reinforced by the financial, employment and social benefits of access to quality education.

Sexism

Sexism is defined as a "system of advantages that serves to privilege men, subordinate women, depreciate women-identified values and practices, enforce male dominance and control, and reinforce forms of masculinity that are dehumanizing and damaging to men" (Botkin, 2007, p. 174). Some Ghanaian educators expressed awareness of legacies of sexism, while the comments of others suggested a lack of awareness. Ten participants cited gender related violence as evidence of sexism, acknowledging the perpetration of sexual assaults in society and classrooms, the need to punish offenders, or the need of preventative education. Eight participants demonstrated no awareness of sexism as a colonial legacy by purporting that the marginalization of females is limited to African culture. Two participants denied the existence of sexism in contemporary society. The document analysis revealed conflicting messages regarding gender role equity. A primary school unit on gender and development discusses biases and insensitivities in the social construct of gender, the effects of gender imbalances on development, and the importance of gender equity while textbooks reinforced male gender bias in classroom, workplace and community illustrations as well as in descriptions of female responsibilities in traditional domestic roles.

According to post colonial theory, ideological domination is achieved through control of the representation of the oppressed. This research study identified evidence that the representation of females leading to oppression is simultaneously being dismantled and reinforced. The Ministry of Education is challenging the representation

of females influenced by male dominant notions and misconceptions about gender through the inclusion of an upper primary unit on gender and development. Yet many textbook illustrations and discussions outside of that unit represent females as less involved in education, management positions and community leadership while fulfilling traditional domestic roles in subordination to their husbands. Female students are receiving mixed messages in the representation of female roles and equality within the Ghanaian educational system.

Internalized Oppression

Social justice theory contends that external oppression becomes internalized over time through the repetition of the messages of the oppression, such as repeated messages of inferiority (Bell, 2007, p. 4). Ghanaian educators expressed significant awareness of internalized oppression. Nearly half of the participants described the internalization of a subordinate mentality, dependency mentality or belief that "foreign is better" among Ghanaians. A subordinate mentality was associated with the desire to travel abroad, assimilate Western culture, not question authority, and lack of entrepreneurial spirit. A dependency mentality was associated with seeking policy and financial assistance from the West, imitating Western education, as well as a lack of initiative and critical thinking among students. The preference for foreign-made goods and desire to relocate abroad was cited as evidence of the internalization of "foreign is better".

Ghanaian educators were noted to observe evidence of self-depreciation that oppression theorists such as Freire (1970/2000) identify as a result of internalizing

dominant discourse. Their observations suggest that Ghanaians have learned to accept a definition of themselves that is hurtful and limiting and as a result they see themselves as incapable of starting businesses, producing quality goods, or thinking independently. The participants in this study also cited evidence of emotional dependency described by Memmi (1991) where the oppressed develop attraction toward the oppressor and his/her way of life. The tendency of Ghanaians to embrace English and Western culture to the exclusion of Ghanaian languages and culture or to travel to Western nations indicates an attempt by Ghanaians to identify themselves with a dominant group to experience a sense of importance (Blumenfeld, Prejudice and discrimination, 2000). The findings suggest that messages of inferiority produced during colonialism have lodged in the human psyche of Ghanaians.

Neocolonialism

Neocolonialism is defined as "those influences and events in countries no longer under colonial rule that incline them towards colonial examples and features; the condition of reliving in a more subtle and complex relationship, colonial influences and experiences" (Quist H. O., 2001). Ghanaian educators demonstrated limited awareness of neocolonialism. Only four participants discussed neocolonial influences through loans, foreign aid or policies and identified them as expressions of the internalization of false beliefs of inferiority or dependency. In contrast, the document analysis noted that high school social studies textbooks provide significant discussion of an unjust economic order, disadvantageous trade policies, as well as aid or agreements that are not in Ghana's best interest.

Post colonial theory acknowledges that colonial domination is maintained through mechanisms of perpetuation. The limited discussion of neocolonialism as a mechanism of oppression indicates that perpetuation may be facilitated by limited awareness of contemporary structures of political, social and economic oppression. In a review of textbooks, discussion of neocolonial legacies was primarily limited to senior high social studies textbooks. As the majority of students are unable to pursue secondary education, this means that the majority of graduates of the Ghanaian educational system have little exposure to modern forms of Western oppression.

Implications

Discourse

If the contemporary education system in Ghana continues to be out of sync with the human resource needs of Ghana, unemployment among graduates will remain high. The inability of graduates to find work will also decrease the perceived value of education with subsequent drops in enrollment and drop-out rates. High unemployment will encourage existing trends among Ghanaians to relocate to the countries of former colonizers in hopes of securing a better future. Without strengthening technical, vocational and entrepreneurial educational programming, Ghana will be unable to promote growth in the middles class that is dependent upon robust manufacturing, industry and private sectors. The lack of development in domestically manufactured goods increases dependency upon foreign nations. External dependency is likely to foster internalized messages of dependency that are based on

perceptions of inferiority, fueling beliefs that Africa is responsible for her lack of development.

The diminution of African history in the Ghanaian educational system means that students graduate with little knowledge of their own history, a key component needed for the building of African identity. Future leaders who wish to foreground Ghanaian history in the educational curriculum will be disadvantaged because that knowledge was never developed. The general omission of African history perpetuates the internalization of colonial messages of racial ideology that Africa is devoid of history except for the presence of European intervention. These messages in turn fuel the internalization of racism whereby the African existence requires Western acknowledgment and Africa's future contributions to world history are dependent upon Western involvement. The limited inclusion and misrepresentation of histories of resistance limits the ability of contemporary students to identify with a national heritage of resistance to oppression and ill-prepares future leaders to challenge neocolonial forms of oppression.

The prevalence of authoritarian teaching styles and emphasis on rote memorization in Ghanaian classrooms serves the purposes of oppression by facilitating student passivity. This pedagogy of subordination facilitates internalized oppression by reinforcing messages of inferiority and inadequacy. By not engaging students in critical thinking, creativity and dialogue are inhibited. Future leaders are not adequately prepared to identify contradictions in experience or patterns of oppression to effectively participate in bringing change.

Cultural Imperialism

If educators are unable to identify evidence of Western cultural imperialism within the educational context, its assimilation within the classroom strengthens perceptions of Western cultural superiority and reinforces internalized oppression. The inclusion of Ghanaian culture in the educational curriculum will remain ineffective in building an African identity unless the internalization of Ghanaian cultural inferiority is challenged. Students will follow trends that avoid identifying with Ghanaian culture because of perceptions that there is something inherently wrong with being African. The perpetuation of dominant discourse that development is inherent to Western culture will result in future Ghanaian leaders seeking and embracing Western-generated solutions to Ghana's challenges rather than originating African solutions. The lack of development of an African cultural identity leaves Ghanaians vulnerable to continued oppression as their identity continues to reflect the negative representation of others rather than being self-determined and articulated by Ghanaians themselves. As the transmission of culture is central to the development of a national Ghanaian identity, the dominance of Akan culture in educational textbooks denies the ethnic diversity needed for the creation of an authentic Ghanaian identity thriving upon cultural pluralism.

Linguistic Hegemony

The marginalization of Ghanaian languages in government, commerce, media and home environments sends messages that Ghanaian languages are inherently inferior and that English is sufficient linguistic currency. This form of internalized

oppression is likely to result in the progressive loss of proficiency in Ghanaian languages by successive generations, leaving them vulnerable to extinction. Given the inseparability of language and culture, the loss of Ghanaian languages will significantly hinder attempts to reclaim Ghanaian cultural identity. The hegemony of English also inhibits full and equal participation of critical voices of marginalized groups in rural and northern parts of Ghana whose linguistic competency is in a language other than English.

If Ghanaian language policy of English as the language of instruction continues to be enforced without sufficient resources and support for effective implementation, it will result in widening the gap between socio-economic classes. Students from rural and northern communities in Ghana will show decreases in educational performance as they are expected to learn and be tested in a language that is inaccessible to them. Students from these regions are likely to view their educational failure as a problem inherent to them, further perpetuating internalized oppression. Poor educational performance will also result in disillusionment with education among students, families and their communities with commensurate decreases in enrollment rates and increases in drop-out rates.

Racism and Internalized Racism

The limited awareness of racism among Ghanaian educational professionals suggests that Ghanaian educators are not promoting awareness in the classroom. This lack of awareness means that future leaders will not be as well prepared to identify or challenge racism in their interactions with foreigners in sectors such as education,

business, and government. The internalized oppression of racist ideology will result in Ghanaians continuing to perceive themselves as inferior, jeopardizing individual and corporate potential. Internalized assumptions that blacks are responsible for the lack of development due to inferior attributes strengthens perceptions that the status quo will remain unchanged. Rather than look to self-generated solutions to Ghana's challenges in development, Ghana is more likely to accept Western-generated solutions that are not in her best interest due to her perceived subordinate position in the relationship hierarchy.

The stigmatization of ethnic diversity promotes a contrived national identity void of the realities of ethnic pluralism. The suppression of differences also prohibits discussion about inherent power differentials and social exclusions. The lack of discussion regarding cultural diversity limits awareness of the current power structures of the dominant ethnic group and the tendency of the national body politic to support structures that perpetuate marginalization of minority ethnic groups. As ethnic identity is viewed as a threat to national identity, Ghanaian students receive messages that their identity is the problem which further perpetuates internalized oppression.

Oppression

Ethnoreligious Oppression

Traditional religions have been rendered invisible through colonial prohibitions that effectively abolished contemporary practice of rituals and customs and textual bias that excludes traditional religion in discussions of religion or religious practices. The marginalization of traditional religion impacts the reclamation of an authentic Ghanaian

identity as culture is viewed from the demeaning lens of imported religions. The marginalization of traditional religion in textbooks sends messages to children from this minority group that their expression of spirituality is inferior and invalid, perpetuating internalized oppression.

Classism

Disparities in educational access ensure that the masses remain oppressed socially and economically through lower salaries, limited employment opportunities, and lower quality of life associated with reduced access to quality education. Disparities in education also result in un- and underdeveloped human resources that restrains growth in business, manufacturing and industry sectors needed for national development. As local communities become increasingly influenced by the global economy, the economic and social gap will further widen between the "haves" and "have nots". The widening gap reinforces internalized messages of inferiority of the masses to the "educated elite". This internalized oppression further compromises educational access as student achievement conforms to internal student and teacher expectations.

Sexism

If sexism is perceived as originating exclusively from Ghanaian culture rather than being imported through colonialism, Ghanaians are likely to have more difficulty identifying and extricating sexist prejudice and practice associated with Western culture due to assumptions of cultural tenets of gender equity. The mixed messages regarding gender role identity and gender equity presented in Ghanaian curriculum and textbooks

will be less effective in countering gender disparities in enrollment, drop-out rates and subject selection. Female students that view illustrations of predominantly male students, teachers, managers and community leaders are given fewer opportunities to identify with these roles. The inability to identify with a wide variety of community roles will limit subject and profession selection by females in favor of more traditional domestic and labor roles. This undeveloped human resource base will negatively impact Ghanaian national development dependent upon a well-diversified workforce.

Internalized Oppression

As Ghanaians have accepted and incorporated negative internalized messages regarding a subordinate, dependent and inferior status, they are knowingly or unknowingly supporting a system of oppression. As a result of internalizing these false beliefs, Ghanaians are more likely to embrace foreign aid and policies that are not in her best interest because of perceptions of subordinate status within the global community. Rather than developing industry to become a producer and exporter of finished products, assumptions of incapability will cause Ghana to remain economically disadvantaged by remaining primarily as a producer of raw materials. The present socio-economic challenges will be perceived as inevitable, hindering self-generated and self-initiated solutions to drive policy, trade, education, business manufacturing and industry.

Neocolonialism

The limited awareness of neocolonial legacies among Ghanaian professionals and limited exposure within the Ghanaian basic education curriculum means that most

graduates are not well-informed about mechanisms of neocolonial oppression. Future leaders are not prepared to dismantle forms of Western control nor are their constituents educated about these issues to use their collective power to elect officials that pursue agreements in Ghana's best interest.

Summary

This study examined the extent of awareness of colonial legacies among Ghanaian educational professionals related to discourse, cultural imperialism, linguistic hegemony, racism and internalized racism, and oppression. This chapter analyzed the findings, conclusions and implications of this research study according to the five factors. In the realm of discourse, educators demonstrated strong awareness of colonial legacies in the perpetuation of an academic curriculum mismatched to Ghana's human resource needs, some awareness of dominant discourse justifying European oppression in oral narratives of colonialism, and little awareness of colonial legacies in the paucity of Ghanaian history. The participants expressed strong awareness of colonial legacies of cultural imperialism in society by citing as evidence Western cultural assimilation and alienation from Ghanaian culture, but Ghanaian educators expressed little to no awareness of cultural imperialism in the classroom. Ghanaian educators demonstrated strong awareness of remnants of linguistic hegemony such as the dominance of English, marginalization of Ghanaian languages, and perceptions of English linguistic superiority. While most of the educational professionals advocated strengthening the study of Ghanaian languages in school, there was no consensus as to whether Ghanaian languages should be the language of instruction. None of the educational professionals

expressed awareness of racism and only a few professionals demonstrated awareness of internalized racism. The participants demonstrated little awareness of oppression in the forms of ethnoreligious oppression, classism, sexism and neocolonialism but significant awareness of internalized oppression in the forms of a subordinate mentality, dependency mentality or belief that "foreign is better".

Remnants of colonialism found in the academic focus of the curriculum result in a mismatch between the skills of graduates and the human resource needs for employment and national development. The diminution of Ghanaian history in the educational curriculum perpetuates the stereotype that Africa is devoid of history, promotes racism by only validating African history that involves Europeans, and inhibits the development of Ghanaian identity. Limited awareness of cultural imperialism in the educational setting facilitates Western cultural assimilation, perceptions of Western cultural superiority, and internalized messages of inferiority due to Ghanaian identity. Colonial legacies of internalized racism among Ghanaians hinder national development as perceptions of inferiority promote the inevitability of Africa's challenges, stifle self-generated solutions, and engender dependency upon global powers. The limited awareness among Ghanaian educators of ethnoreligious oppression, classism and sexism result in the perpetuation of oppression to those from traditional religion backgrounds, lower classes, or of the female gender. The lack of expressed awareness of neocolonialism among participants suggests that future leaders are not being prepared to identify and challenge patterns of injustice in international relations that represent significant obstacles to national development. The pervasive presence of

internalized oppression suggests that educational reform is needed to effectively decolonize the Ghanaian mindset and enable Ghanaians to reclaim their African identity and actualize their full potential.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY

This qualitative study examined the perceptions of contemporary colonial legacies among Ghanaian educational professionals. The primary questions addressed by this study include (1) to what extent do education professionals express awareness of the existence of any colonial legacies in Ghanaian society, (2) to what extent do education professionals express awareness of the existence of any colonial legacies in the education systems of Ghana, and (3) what obstacles to development are identified by educational professionals. The theoretical foundation used to guide this study was taken from literature in Critical Race Theory, Social Justice Education Theory, Oppression Theory and Post-Colonial Theory. Five factors that emerged from this literature as a framework for analysis included discourse, cultural imperialism, linguistic hegemony, racism and internalized racism, and oppression. This framework was used to analyze the data from individual interviews, focus groups and document analysis. Fifty-nine educators including policy makers, administrators, counselors, teachers and teacher educators participated in individual interviews or focus groups. Document analysis of the curriculum of Ghanaian schools as presented in 7 curriculum guides, 9 textbooks, and 6 Ministry of Education documents was also completed. This chapter will provide a summary of the study findings, conclusions and recommendations for further study.

Findings

The Ghanaian educators in this research study expressed awareness of some colonial legacies in discourse and lack of awareness of others. A significant percentage of educators, twenty-three percent, identified the perpetuation of an academic focus in the contemporary educational system and the neglect of technical and vocational education, impeding the training of employable skills and human resource needs for national development. Only six percent of the participants identified the diminution of African pre-colonial and post-colonial history or the omission of histories of resistance to colonialism. For every participant that reproduced the dominant narrative justifying colonialism during the interviews, there were two participants that produced counter narratives of the real lived experiences of the Ghanaian people. Approximately 20% of the participants noted pedagogy of subordination is perpetuated in Ghanaian classrooms through authoritarian teaching styles and an emphasis on rote memorization.

The educational professionals demonstrated significant awareness of colonial legacies of cultural imperialism within society. Nearly one-third of the study participants cited evidence of the alienation of Ghanaian culture or the assimilation of Western culture in contemporary dress, food, or customs. Thirteen percent of the educators observed internalized perceptions of Western cultural superiority or Ghanaian culture inferiority among Ghanaians. Though the document analysis documented the inclusion of Ghanaian culture as a subject in primary school and a unit in junior high social studies, nearly one-third of the educators recommended the

strengthening of teaching Ghanaian culture in the educational system. In contrast to strong awareness of Western cultural imperialism, none of the participants recognized Akan cultural hegemony within the educational textbooks.

Study participants expressed significant awareness of colonial legacies of linguistic hegemony. Nearly one-third of the participants discussed the hegemonic presence of English or the marginalization of Ghanaian languages in schools and society. Approximately sixteen percent of the educators observed that English tends to be associated with civility and education while Ghanaian languages are associated with ignorance and contempt. Evidence of the marginalization of Ghanaian languages was noted in the document analysis by the language policy of English as the language of instruction, the greater number of instructional hours in English than Ghanaian languages and the better specified objectives for literacy in English than Ghanaian languages. Nearly one-third of the participants recommended counteracting the marginalization of Ghanaian languages with increased instruction time or including Ghanaian languages as a language of instruction.

Ghanaian educators expressed no awareness of racism and limited awareness of internalized racism in contemporary Ghanaian society. Thirteen percent of the participants discussed the existence of internalized racial oppression among Ghanaians through culturally sanctioned beliefs of white superiority. Educators cited the desire to embrace Western culture, language, and goods as well as dependency upon Western powers as evidence of this internalized oppression.

With the exception of internalized oppression, the educators in this research study demonstrated limited awareness of other manifested forms of oppression such as ethnoreligious oppression, classism, sexism and neocolonialism. Thirteen percent of the educators identified the presence of internalized racism in the form of false beliefs of white racial superiority or black racial inferiority among Ghanaians. Only eight percent of participants identified ethnoreligious oppression during colonialism or the resulting eradication of traditional religious beliefs. A minimal eight percent of the educators discussed legacies of classism in social status, educational access or employment opportunities. For every participant that noted legacies of sexism, primarily in the form of gender-related violence, another participant lacked awareness of such legacies, either denying the existence of sexism or attributing all origins of female oppression to African culture. Only six percent of study participants demonstrated awareness of neocolonialism in the form of financial, trade or policy agreements. In contrast, fifty percent of the educators observed the presence of internalized oppression in the form of a subordinate, dependent or inferior mentality.

Conclusions

According to post colonial theory, oppression is perpetuated through ideological control in the representation of the oppressed. This ideological control was particularly evident when examining factors of racism and sexism. Racial oppression is legitimized through the representation of Ghanaians in educational textbooks as inherently flawed with attributes of backwardness associated with cultural resistance and laziness associated with hindrances to national development. The oppression of females is

facilitated by illustrations and messages in textbooks that discourage their participation in education and non-traditional occupations while reinforcing a sense of obligation to fulfill traditional domestic roles in subordination to male family members. Finally, the oppression of minority groups is reinforced through the dominance of Akan culture in discussions and descriptions of Ghanaian culture.

Post colonial theorists also acknowledge that mechanisms of perpetuation are required for oppression to continue. Mechanisms of perpetuation were identified when examining the factors of classism, discourse, linguistic hegemony and neocolonialism. Education serves as a mechanism of oppression for the most economically disadvantaged individuals who have the least access to quality education, resulting in decreased chances for upward mobility due to limited employment opportunities. Educational discourse functions as a mechanism of oppression for Ghana's national development in the perpetuation of a curricular focus that results in an undiversified work force and stagnant socio-economic development. The English language functions as a medium of oppression for students from rural and northern communities with Ghanaian linguistic competency who are asked to learn and be assessed in a foreign language, while provided the least resources with which to obtain English fluency. Classroom pedagogy facilitates oppression by perpetuating messages of subordinate status with authoritarian teaching styles and hindering the development of critical thinking and problem solving with emphasis on rote learning. Finally, unchallenged neocolonial policies perpetuate social, economic and political oppression by ensuring

profits for global powers through loan, aid, and policy agreements that are disadvantageous to Ghana.

Oppression theorists note that the dominant perspective is presented as normative and universal and that over time these messages can contribute to self-depreciation among the oppressed. Among the textbooks reviewed, traditional religions were silenced in discussions of freedom of worship and marriage rituals while Christianity and at times Islam were portrayed as the expected norm. The benefit and value of English was highlighted in textbooks and many educators observed the reproduction of this dominant perspective among parents and Ghanaians in society. The dominant discourse of Western cultural superiority and Ghanaian cultural inferiority was also identified by educators as prevalent among Ghanaians. These dominant perspectives were noted to have resulted in self-depreciation among Ghanaians in the form of internalized beliefs of inferiority, subordination and dependency.

According to Critical Race Theory, the dominant narrative silences the narrative of the oppressed. The findings of this study indicate that many Ghanaian educators are committed to dismantling this process of dominant discourse by facilitating the naming of their own reality. The emergence of a Ghanaian voice among interviews of study participants was noted in the production of counter narratives of colonialism that described the lived experiences of Ghanaians during colonialism and acknowledged dehumanizing sociopolitical processes. Aware of internalized perceptions of cultural and linguistic inferiority among Ghanaians, a significant number of educators advocated

the need to counteract these effects by strengthening the study of Ghanaian culture and indigenous languages.

Recommendations

The findings of this research study identified many remnants of colonial legacies in Ghanaian society and education. Freire (1970) contends that education and educational processes either reproduce the hegemonic discourse necessary for oppression to exist, or they assist in the rediscovery and reclamation of the humanity of the oppressed. Therefore these findings have a number of important implications for Ghanaian educational policy and practice, as well as curriculum.

Educational policy initiatives that represent efforts to counteract colonial legacies in the Ghanaian educational system require more funding and support in implementation to effectively interrupt cycles of oppression. National development, contingent upon a more diversified workforce, is dependent upon the Ghanaian educational system to meet its human resource needs. Ghanaian policy shifts toward technical and vocational education require necessary funding, resources and support to adequately prepare graduates with employable skills. Reducing the oppression of classism requires the elimination of disparities in educational access. The government's policy for free, compulsory education needs to be combined with targeted distribution of resources for those populations most underserved by education, including the northern and rural regions as well as female students. Dismantling pedagogical discourse that facilitates subordination requires increased efforts in teacher training and retraining for effective implementation of child-centered approaches. National

development in a global economy also hinges on the development of a literate people. First, the current language policy of English as the language of instruction needs to be examined in light of regions where local languages are the language of the home, access to fluent English role models is limited, and access to teachers fluent in English is limited. If this language policy is to be effective, then the Ministry of Education will need to adequately provide appropriate funding and resources in these regions that have linguistic competencies in languages other than English. Second, literacy in Ghanaian languages cannot be achieved without defining literacy objectives, developing appropriate materials to support literacy objectives, ensuring quality training of teachers, and posting teachers who are fluent in the indigenous language of the community.

In order to dismantle dominant discourse in historical narratives, it is essential that the Ghanaian voice be heard. First, Ghanaians would be more effective in naming their own reality by including pre-colonial and post-colonial history in the Ghanaian curriculum. The inclusion of pre-colonial history would counteract messages that Africa is devoid of history prior to the arrival of the European. Highlighting significant historical figures, events, and developments following independence is essential to providing students with messages that Ghanaians can meaningfully contribute to national and global development. Second, omissions and misrepresentations of colonial history must be challenged. Any benefits of colonialism must be presented in balance with the oppressive realities of imperialism. Histories of resistance must be

incorporated and properly presented as responses to oppression to provide an authentic voice of the oppressed and build a positive national identity.

Ghanaian textbooks must be examined for evidence of oppressive discourse. Religious bias in textbooks should be eliminated to ensure that discussions on the freedom of worship and religious rituals are inclusive of all religions and not only Christianity and Islam. Efforts must be made to ensure that textbooks are girl friendly with adequate representation of females in illustrations of classrooms, teachers, administration and community leaders. Misconceptions of gender roles and gender role equity must not only be included in isolated units but represented in all textbook discussions of female roles in the home and community. In discussions of national and socio-economic development, messages that reflect the underpinning of racist ideology need to be confronted. Cultural resistance to the assimilation of new practices and laziness must be presented in a balanced perspective with other mitigating factors such as colonial legacies and neocolonial policies so as not to reinforce internalized inferiority. In the pursuit of building a national identity, differences must be celebrated rather than eliminated. An authentic Ghanaian national identity must reflect the rich heritage of ethnic pluralism and capitalize on its benefits.

Though the physical domination of colonialism has ended, there remain two significant sources of continued oppression that must be identified and extricated. First, the educational curriculum must increase awareness of neocolonial influences in the forms of high servicing debt schemes, structural adjustment policies, contingent aid, and disadvantageous social, economic and trade policies. The basic education curriculum

must incorporate these elements to ensure the majority of its graduates are informed citizens that are prepared to participate in electing leaders and policy formation. Second, the internalized oppression that lingers deep in the Ghanaian psyche must be confronted through social justice education that fosters awareness of contradictions, reshaped beliefs and values, and shifts in identity. The internalization of racial inferiority, subordination and dependence must be challenged in order for future Ghanaian leaders to find more effective ways to challenge oppressive systems and promote social justice through education.

There were a number of limitations in the present study that need to be considered. First, the research study was limited to participants that graduated from various forms of tertiary education which is not representative of the majority of Ghanaians whose education is completed with basic and or secondary education. The participants' awareness of colonial legacies may be influenced by access to tertiary education and therefore not representative of most Ghanaians. Future research should consider including more representative samples of teachers and non-teachers. Data from participants of various regions as well as levels of educational achievement could be analyzed. Second, data from research participants was collected in response to open ended questions regarding their experiences and observations. The use of specific questions regarding particular colonial legacies could yield different results regarding the awareness among study participants. Future research that assesses Ghanaians awareness of specific colonial legacies may be more informative in guiding educational policy, practice and curriculum recommendations. Finally, the document analysis was

limited in the number of documents and textbooks reviewed. The textbooks were provided by teachers and bookstores in one region of the country and less than five years old. Due to known shortages in textbooks, it is difficult to know whether these textbooks are representative of textbooks used throughout the entire Ghanaian educational system. Therefore the types and number of colonial legacies noted in the textbooks reviewed for this research study may be vastly different from the textbooks in actual use in various communities. Future research of colonial legacies in Ghanaian textbooks should be sure to include representative textbooks from a variety of regions and communities.

"Africa and other parts of the colonized world have gone through a cultural and psychological crisis and have accepted at least partially the European version of things. That means the African himself has doubts about his capacity to transform and develop his natural environment" (Rodney, 1972, p. 30). The perpetuation of colonial legacies in Ghana not only indicates that Ghanaians continue to accept in part the "European version of things" but that their acceptance fuels internalized resignation that their circumstances are inevitable. Yet there is evidence in educational policy, curriculum and the voices of Ghanaians themselves that they are beginning to embrace the "African version of things" and perceive themselves as agents of change. If education is both the cause and effect of social change (Finlay, 1971), then it plays a crucial role in the negotiated process of validating African cultural values, dignity and self-identity as well as in national development. Thus the development of education in Ghana must continue to assess the presence of colonial legacies, fully extricate those components

contributing to oppression or internalized oppression and empower future leaders to participate in national transformation and development.

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